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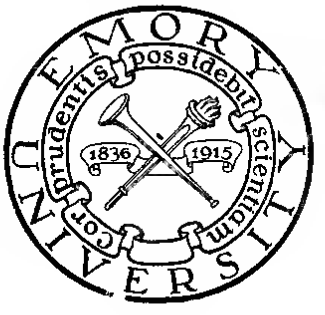


THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF NEW-YORK

Hamilton Fish

THE

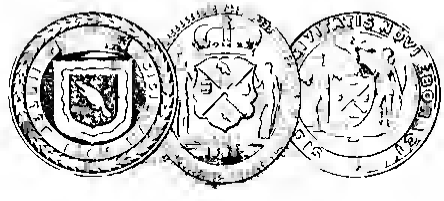
MEMORIAL HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK

FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1892

EDITED BY

JAMES GRANT WILSON

VOLUME IV



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MEMORIAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN METROPOLIS

IS DEDICATED BY THE EDITOR TO

GROVER CLEVELAND

NEW-YORK'S FOURTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Manna-hata, the handsomest and most pleasant country that man can behold. HENRY HUDSON.

The Island of New-York is the most beautiful island that I have ever seen. HESSIAN OFFICER, in "Stone's Revolutionary Letters," 1891.

She is a Mart of Nations. . . . The crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honorable of the earth. ISAIAH, xxiii.

History maketh a young man to be old, without either wrinkles or gray hairs, privileging him with the experience of age without either the infirmities or inconveniences thereof. THOMAS FULLER.

This is a great fault in a chronicler, to turn parasite: an absolute history should be in fear of none; neither should he write anything more than truth, for friendship, or else for hate, but keep himself equal and constant in all his discourses. SIMON N. H. LINGUET.

Industrious persons, by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of the monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private recordes and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of bookes that concern not story, and the like, we doe save and recover somewhat from the deluge of Time. FRANCIS BACON.

They who make researches into Antiquity may be said to passe often through many dark lobbies and dusky places before they come to the *Aula lucis*, the great hall of light; they must repair to old Archives and peruse many molded and moth-eaten records, and so bring to light, as it were, out of darkness, to inform the present world what the former did, and make us see truth through our Ancestor's eyes. JAMES HOWELL.

I was surprised to find how few, if any, of my fellow-citizens were aware that New-York had ever been called New Amsterdam, or had heard of the names of its early Dutch governors, or cared a straw about their ancient Dutch progenitors. . . . A history to serve as a foundation, on which other historians may hereafter raise a noble superstructure, swelling in process of time, until Knickerbocker's New-York may be equally voluminous with Gibbon's Rome, or Hume and Smollett's England. WASHINGTON IRVING.

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CHAPTER I

THE SUBURBS OF NEW-YORK

THE CITY OF BROOKLYN

THE virgin landscape which so attractively opened before the eyes of the sailors of the Half Moon, as her anchor was dropped at the mouth of the "Great River of the Mountains," at sunset of a September day in 1609, included not only the island which is now the metropolis of this New World, but, on the west, the green shores of Scheyichbi (New Jersey), and, on the east, the sandy beach of Meryckawick (Wallabout), the cedar-crowned Ihpetonga (Heights), the sand-hills of Red Hook, and the low swales of Gowanus, now teeming with the life and industry of the city of Brooklyn. For over a quarter of a century thereafter this primeval scene remained almost unchanged. The private enterprise of the merchants of Amsterdam, content with having secured a foothold upon Manhattan Island, was directed to the pursuit of a richly remunerative fur-trade, and to the further exploration of this newly opened region. Not until the final reorganization of the Dutch West India Company (1623) was any attempt made toward its colonization and permanent occupancy. Three years later (1626) land was purchased from the Indians in the present Kings County, on which was subsequently planted the town of Flatlands.

The first step in the settlement of Brooklyn appears to have been a purchase from the Indians in 1636, by William Adriaense Bennet and Jacques Bentyn, of nine hundred and thirty acres at Gowanus (between Twenty-seventh street and the line of New Utrecht), on which the existence of a dwelling-house in 1643–44 presupposes an earlier actual occupation. The second step was a purchase, June, 1637, by Joris Jansen de Rapelje (one of the Walloon emigrants of 1623 to Fort Orange) of three hundred and thirty-five acres at Remagackonck (in the present Wallabout), a tract now covered in part by the United States Marine Hospital grounds, and that portion of the city between Nostrand and Grand avenues. By 1655 the influx to this section

of other settlers, most of whom were Walloons, had given it the name of the Waale-Boght, or "bay of the foreigners." "Pagganck" Island (called by the Dutch "Nutten," on account of its many nut-trees) had become the property of Governor Van Twiller in 1637, whence its present name, "Governor's Island"; and, in 1638, Governor Kieft, in behalf of the Dutch West India Company, extinguished the Indian title to the whole tract lying between Rapelje's patent and Newtown Creek, and extending from the East River to the swamp of Mespaetches,— comprising the whole of the old town of Bushwick, now forming the eastern district of the city of Brooklyn,— a region which had already been invaded by "squatters," who were forthwith made to take out patents from the company for the lands which they had thus preëmpted.

By 1641 a ferry had been permanently established between Manhattan and Long Islands, with its landing-place at the foot of the present Fulton street; from which point southwardly along the present Brooklyn Heights extended farms under cultivation, while Red Hook had become the property of Governor Van Twiller. All these farms and settlements were abandoned during the Indian troubles of 1643–44; but, by 1646, nearly the whole water-front from Newtown Creek to the southerly side of Gowanus Bay was under cultivation. Small hamlets or neighborhoods had also grown up at the original centers of settlement, known respectively as the Waale-Boght, the Gowanus, and the Ferry; and about a mile southeast from the latter hamlet, and between the Gowanus and Waale-Boght, were the corn-lands of the Mareckawieck Indians, of which they were dispossessed during the troubles of 1643–44. Within three years after the close of the war, these lands were taken up under the company's patents by white settlers, who established themselves on either side of the road leading from Flatbush (settled 1630–34) to the Ferry. The village thus formed (present Fulton Avenue, near the junction of Hoyt and Smith streets, and a little southeast of the City Hall) was named BREUCKELEN, after the ancient village of the same name near Amsterdam, Holland. The inhabitants were, at their own request, established as a town by Director-General Kieft, acting under the West India Company's "Code of General Instructions," in June, 1646. Jan Evertsen Bout and Huyck Aertsen, from Rossum, were their first "schepens," or magistrates, and the town organization was subsequently perfected by the appointment of a "schout," or constable. Thus, nearly two hundred and fifty years ago, the town of Breuckelen was founded upon almost the identical geographical site which has since become the political center of the city of Brooklyn.

Between the new municipality thus created and the outlying settlements at the Ferry, the Gowanus, and the Waale-Boght, gradually occurred that crystallization of interests which naturally arises from

propinquity and from a sense of common needs, dangers, etc., so that quite insensibly these original *nuclei* became absorbed into the one township organization of Breuckelen. Its inhabitants were of various nationalities; while the majority were Hollanders, there were mingled with them Frenchmen, Italians, Swedes, Norwegians, Huguenots (Walloons), and even a few Englishmen.

The civil history of Breuckelen during the Dutch régime (1646–64) was simply that of an agricultural community, differing in no respect

THE CORTELYOU HOUSE.[1]

from its neighbors, and inferior to none except to Midwout (Flatbush) in wealth and political influence. Its municipal privileges were enlarged in 1654 by the addition of two schepens and a constable selected from its own citizens. In 1657 Thursday was established as a market-day in the village of Breuckelen; in 1660 palisade defenses were ordered to be erected, and the same year a church was organized, obviating the necessity under which they had previously la-

[1] The old Cortelyou house stood on land which was originally the Vechte farm, afterward owned by Edwin C. Litchfield, near the present corner of Fifth Avenue and Fourth street. It was built of stone and brick, and fastened to the gable end fronting the old road were iron figures indicating the date of its erection, 1699. It was built by Claes Adrianse Van Vechten, an emigrant from Holland, and at the time of the Revolution was owned by his grandson, Nicholas Vechte, finally passing in 1790 into the hands of Jacques Cortelyou, who resided there until his death in 1804. The property has since been divided into numerous city lots. EDITOR

bored, of attending worship at Flatbush on every alternate Sunday morning. In 1661 the magistrates petitioned the director and council for a "messenger for the schepens' chamber, to be occasionally employed in the village of Breuckelen and all around where he may be needed, as well to serve summons, as also to conduct the service of the Church, and to sing on Sundays; to take charge of the School, dig graves, etc., ring the Bell and perform whatever else may be required." The council graciously appropriated "fifty guilders in wampum, annually, for the support of the precentor and schoolmaster in the village of Breuckelen," and Carel de Bevoise became the happy and honored incumbent of these multifarious offices and duties. Yet population increased slowly; for when, in 1663, Indian warfare threatened the colony, and a requisition was made upon Breuckelen for from eight to twelve men, "to be kept ready for the protection of one or the other place in danger, which may God avert!" the result of a public meeting of the inhabitants was that the town was "not strong enough to furnish so many men."

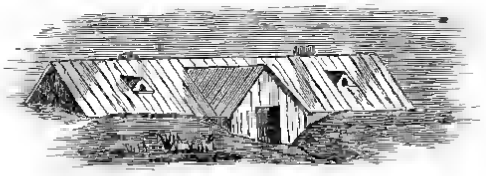
Under the English reconstruction of the colony, consequent upon the revolution of 1664, the people of Breuckelen pursued the even tenor of their way with phlegmatic indifference as to whether their affairs were managed by the States-General or the Duke of York. Its representatives took part in the Hempstead Convention of 1665, for adopting a code of laws for the colony; and in 1667 its people received from Governor Nicolls a full and ample patent confirmatory of all rights and privileges conferred on them by their original Dutch charter. In 1668 Robert Hollis received the exclusive privilege of dispensing liquors at Breuckelen, and the hamlet of Bedford was honored by the establishment of an inn, kept by Thomas Lambert. Two years later the purchase, from its Indian owners, of a large tract of land in and about this hamlet gave a much-needed enlargement to the common lands of Breuckelen. In 1673 the province came again under the control of the Dutch, and Breuckelen, together with the other Dutch towns of Long Island, submitted with alacrity to their old masters, the States-General—fifty-two out of its eighty-one male inhabitants taking the oath of allegiance without demur. And when again, in 1674, by the treaty of peace between England and Holland, the New Netherland was given to the former in exchange for Surinam, the Dutchmen of the five towns accepted the situation with their usual *sang-froid*. Breuckelen, by 1676, had become the leading and wealthiest of the Kings County towns, its assessed population numbering sixty, and its valuation being £5,204, as against the fifty-four persons and £5,079 10*s*. of its neighbor and rival, Flatbush; while its rising importance was still further emphasized by its being made a market-town, with "a faire and markett," near the Ferry, "for all

graine, cattle or other produce of the country, on the first Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in November." In common with the other Long Island towns, Breuckelen received, May 3, 1686, a new patent, or charter, from Governor Dongan.

The loss of all town and county records from 1700 to the close of the Revolutionary War leaves but meager material from which to glean information as to Brooklyn's history during that period. The public interest seems to have been mostly occupied with controversies with New-York as to town and ferry rights, and (in common with Bushwick and Flatbush) with Newtown as to town boundaries. In 1703 a survey of Breuckelen's "improveable lands and meadows within fence" credits it with 5177 acres; and in 1704 the main road, or king's highway (the present Fulton street and avenue), was laid out by a commission appointed by the Colonial Assembly. In 1706 there were sixty-four freeholders in the town, and in 1738 three hundred and two inhabitants,—Flatbush having at that time but five hundred and forty. In the same year, also, and again in 1752, owing to the prevalence of the smallpox in New-York city, the town was honored by the sessions of the Colonial Assembly. In 1774 a ferry was established between Coenties Slip, New-York, and Philip Livingston's "landing-place" (foot of present Joralemon street), and called "St. George's Ferry." Near by, on Tower Hill (a slight eminence on the present Columbia street, between Middagh and Cranberry streets), on "the Heights," John Cornell opened a tavern, where, as he announced in the public prints of that season, "there will be a bull baited, at three in the afternoon, every Thursday." Both ferry and inn were discontinued in the year 1776.

The Revolutionary Period, 1776–83.—Brooklyn, at the opening of the Revolutionary War, was a prosperous agricultural town of between three and four thousand inhabitants. Near the Ferry some fifty dwellings clustered around the old Ferry Tavern, whose reputation for excellent dinners made it a favorite resort for the British officers and young bloods of the city. Groves of cedars crowned the precipitous banks of the Heights, on which were a few private residences, that of Philip Livingston and the Thornely-Cornell (later Pierrepont) mansion being most conspicuous for size and elegance. Between the East River and the present Fulton and Joralemon streets, the Heights were occupied by pastures, thrifty orchards, and market-gardens. From either side of the Ferry, along the shores of the Wallabout to Bushwick, and southward to Gowanus, were the fine farms and snug homesteads of the old Dutch families. Nearly a mile and a quarter back from the Ferry, in the middle of the king's highway to Jamaica, stood the Old Dutch Church, around which gathered the village proper of Brooklyn; and, about the same distance beyond on the same road, a few farm-

houses formed the Bedford settlement. While in 1775 and the early part of 1776 the storm-cloud of war hung over the land, the Dutch occupants of this quiet region were but slightly stirred. The fear of personal inconvenience and pecuniary loss was not, indeed, wanting; but it impelled them to no active preparation for resistance. Whatever of patriotism there was in Kings County, was manifested chiefly by its colonial English element. Even the presence among them, in the spring and early summer of 1776, of a large American force, and the strenuous exertions of the patriot generals to complete the defenses to all the approaches of the city before the expected appearance of the British fleet, failed to arouse in them any confidence or patriotic enthusiasm. And when the unfortunate issue of the battle of Brooklyn (elsewhere described) afforded them the opportunity of withdrawing from a struggle in which they had no heart, it was with a haste which betrayed their sense of relief that the people of Kings County tendered their submission to the conquerors.



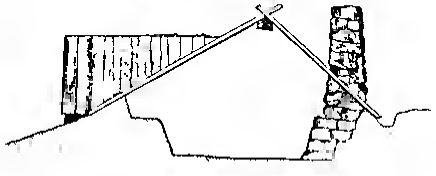
HESSIAN HUT (VIEW ON LOWER SIDE).[1]

The protection so eagerly sought from the British proved to be paternal only in its severity. The heel of military despotism, once planted upon their necks, remained immovable during the seven long years which followed. On Long Island, New-York and Staten Islands, and Westchester, elections, except the *pro forma* town meetings, were abolished; the courts were supplanted by the arbitrary *dicta* of a king's justice, or of a military commander; markets and ferries were guarded by sentries, and no citizen or farmer could carry goods or produce to and from the city without a military or a mayor's pass, for which a round fee was exacted; the prices of food, fuel, and produce were regulated by proclamation, and men, horses, wagons, and servants were liable to summary impressment, at stipulated prices, by the king's officers; while woodland and brushwood were ruthlessly cut down by the troops for their own use. In the summers, soldiers were encamped on the farms, wherever the whim of their officers dictated, and the despoliation of farms, produce, etc., was frequent and without redress. In winter, troops and officers were billeted in the farm-houses, without their owners' consent and to their great incon-

[1] The permanent camp of the British in Brooklyn was situated on the Lefferts farm, Bedford, the point of intersection of Bergen street and Franklin Avenue representing the position of the flagstaff and entrance to the camp. The huts were arranged according to the slope of the ground, with the doors opening on the lower side, and were from thirty to fifty feet long, with a proportionate width. The sectional view given in the illustration on page 7 shows the manner of digging the trenches. One or two fireplaces were built in each hut. The situation of these barracks could be distinguished in several different localities as recently as 1852. EDITOR

venience; their slaves were tampered with and rendered insubordinate, and the hitherto quiet and orderly villages were demoralized by the gambling and dissipation which attend upon camp life. Farmers flourished on British gold, but having no banks or other places for its safe-keeping, were frequently robbed. Churches, except of the established faith of the captors, were taken for hospital, prison, storage, or even for stable and barrack uses, and some were wantonly destroyed. Between the insults and grinding exactions of their "protectors," and the depredations of their lively neighbors, the American whaleboatmen, the good people of Kings had a sorry time of it.

In Brooklyn, the Livingston mansion (before referred to), on the Heights, was used by the British as a naval hospital, and the Livingston brewery, at the foot of Joralemon street, was employed in the making of spruce-beer for the sick of the hospital and the fleet on the station; while the fine gardens belonging to the place were made to contribute to the supply, comfort, and exercise of the patients. On the edge of the Heights, between the present Orange and Clark streets, was erected a small half-moon fort, garrisoned by Hessians; and the "Old Stone House" (Governor Colden's), near by, was occupied by them as a guard-house and prison. At the junction of the present Henry and Pierrepont streets, on a rise of ground, a large square fort was erected in 1780, with two bomb-proof magazines, etc., and a garrison of two hundred Hessians; while at the southerly end of the Heights, Cobble Hill (originally erected, 1776, as a part of the American line of defense) was rebuilt and strengthened. From this fort ran a strong line of intrenchments across the Jamaica road (Fulton Avenue, between Concord and Nassau streets) over the highest land on Washington street to Sands street, near Jay, and so ont to John Rapelje's land and Remsen's Hill. The wagon department of the British army was located, with its sheds, stables, forges, etc., between Main and Jay streets, west of Prospect, with its main gateway between the present junction of Main and Fulton streets.



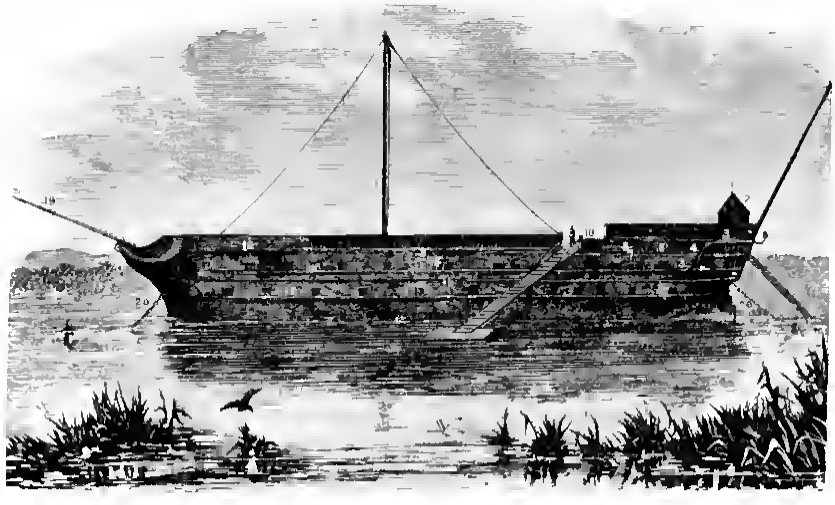
HESSIAN HUT (SECTIONAL VIEW).

The center of Brooklyn's political and military life, during the period of the British occupation, was the Ferry Tavern, a large and gloomy stone edifice (about Nos. 19, 21, and 23 of present Fulton street), which had been a well-known hostelry for thirty years before the war. Its former host, Adolph Waldron (also ferry-master), being a Whig who had the courage of his convictions, and captain of a company of light horsemen which he had raised in Brooklyn, found

it convenient to stay away from the vicinity after the battle; and the inn came into the possession of Loosly and Elms, ardent loyalists, who furnished it in a style of unusual elegance for that day, and made it a most notable place of entertainment for the military and fashionables of the city. At this tavern, renamed the "Kiug's Head," or as it was more generally called "Brooklyne-Hall," there were gay times during the British occupation — fish dinners, frequent junketings and illuminations on occasions of victory to the British arms, or of some royal birthdays; bull-baitings, and "meets" for the races and fox-hunts which were held at "Ascot Heath" (Flatlands Plains), where Loosly also had a tavern. The King's Head was also the "booking-office" for the "Jamaica and Brooklyne-Hall Stage-machine" (otherwise advertised by him in "Rivington's Gazette" as "a caravan," and, again, as "a new flying-machine, with steel-springs"), "six shillings a passage." Lotteries were occasionally gotten up by this enterprising landlord, in aid of which a newspaper was issued January 8, 1782, called "The Brooklyne-Hall Super-Extra Gazette," well filled, under Loosly's favorite motto, *pro bono publico*, with advertisements, fulsome flattery to royalty, and sorry attempts at wit, poetry, and news-giving. Around the farm-houses comprising what was then, as in later times, known as Bedford Corners, was a cantonment of British grenadiers, mostly invalids, their officers being quartered in the old Leffert Lefferts house, corner of present Fulton Avenue and the Clove Road.

In another quarter of the town — the solitary and unfrequented Waale-Boght — during all these years of British occupation, was being enacted a scene of human horror and distress which it is now difficult to realize. From the autumn of 1776, when the British came into possession of New-York, to nearly the end of the war, a number of hulks of condemned war-ships, transports, etc., were anchored in this bay, and, as so-called hospitals, were used mostly for the confinement of captured American seamen. The Whitby was the first moored here, in October, 1776, and was followed, from time to time, by the Hope, the Falmouth, the Stromboli, Scorpion, Hunter, and notably by the Old Jersey, or Hell, as she was familiarly termed. These vessels, unfit even for the purpose to which they were thus converted, were at all times crowded to excess with unfortunate prisoners, whose sufferings from cold, heat, and vermin, from filth, disease, and pestilence, from lack of proper food, water, clothing, and medical attention, and from deprivation of sufficient air, exercise, and the simplest comforts of life, were aggravated by the indifference, brutality, and rapacity of their guards, and the impossibility of any communication with or relief from their friends. Over eleven thousand of these poor wretches are estimated to have died in these foul prison-ships, and their bodies,

naked and shamefully treated, were buried with indecent haste in trenches upon the shore, so shallow that they were washed out by the next rain. But one door of escape was open to those unfortunates, viz., enlistment in the British service; and it is to their undying credit that even this failed, except in a very few instances, to overcome their patriotic devotion to their country. In 1808, the Tammany Society of New-York gathered such of their remains as could be found, and interred them with imposing military and civic ceremonies in a tomb



THE OLD JERSEY PRISON-SHIP.[1]

near the United States Navy-yard. Thence, in 1873, they were removed to a vault prepared for them on the high ground of the Saluting Battery of Washington (Fort Greene) Park, where it is hoped that an appropriate monument will ultimately be placed above them.

But the close of the war was at hand. No longer were there junketings and illuminations at Loosly's, or races at Ascot Heath, by his Majesty's officers and their Tory admirers. Soon after the signing of the provisional treaty of peace, in November, 1782, the public

[1] The Old Jersey prison-ship was one of the terrible old hulks in which American prisoners were confined. At the close of the war she was abandoned when she lay, and finally sank.

Explanation of illustration:

1 flagstaff used only for signaling; 2 canvas tent for use of guards in hot weather; 3 the quarter-deck with a barricade about ten feet high with a door and loopholes on either side; 4 cabin of the ships officers under the quarter-deck; 5, accommodation ladder on starboard side, for the use of the ships officers; 6 the steerage occupied by the sailors belonging to the ship; 7 the cook room for the ships crew and guards; 8, sutler's room, where articles were sold to prisoners and delivered to them through an opening in the bulkhead; 9 upper and spar decks, where prisoners were sometimes permitted to walk; 10 gangway ladder on the port side for the prisoners; 11 the derrick on the starboard side for taking in water, etc.; 12 galley under forecastle, where the prisoners' food was cooked; 13 the gun room, occupied by those prisoners who were officers; 14, 15 hatchways leading below, where the prisoners were confined; 17, 18 between decks, where the prisoners were shut up at night; 19 bowsprit; 20 chain cables by which the ship was moored.

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prints began to teem with advertisements of sales at auction of naval stores; "Waldeck stores of soldiers' clothing, etc.; Government draft and saddle-horses, wagons, harness, etc.;" and among others appears the notice of a "Public Auction of Brooklyn-Hall, for the benefit of the creditors of Charles Loosly"! Through all the land was heard the sound of preparation for departure of the British troops, whose presence had so long rested like a hideous nightmare upon the people whom they sought to subdue. Brooklyn had suffered more severely than the other Kings County towns, and it remained a garrison town until after the evacuation in 1783. As soon as the inhabitants had had time to restore their desolated and impoverished farms to some degree of order and cultivation, they turned their attention to the civil reorganization of the town; and on the first Tuesday of April, 1784, held the first town meeting since April, 1776. Jacob Sharpe, who was then appointed town clerk, applied to his predecessor in office for the town records, but they had been removed from the country during the war, and have never been recovered.

At this point we will turn aside, for a moment, to consider the ecclesiastical history of Brooklyn, 1654–1800. The dwellers on the west end of Long Island, for the first eighteen or twenty years of its settlement, were dependent upon the city for their religious as well as civil privileges. But in 1654 a church was established at Midwout (Flatbush), and the Rev. Johanues Theodorus Polhemus, who had been a missionary in Brazil, was settled there as pastor of the three Dutch towns. Scarce a year had passed before the Breuckelen people declined to concur in a request made to the director and council, by the magistracy of Midwout and Amersfort (Flatlands), for permission to call for a voluntary contribution from the towns for the proper maintenance of gospel privileges, unless the Rev. Polhemus should be allowed to preach alternately at Midwout and Breuckelen. Upon the director and council signifying their williugness that he should do so, "when the weather permitted," opposition arose from the Amersfort (Flatlands) and Gravesend people, who urged that Breuckelen was "quite two hours walking" from them, whereas Midwout was "not half so far and the road much better," and that they deemed it "a hardship to choose either to hear the Gospel but once a day, or to be compelled to travel four hours, in going and returning, all for one single sermon, which would be to some very troublesome and to some utterly impossible." Finally, it was arranged that the Sunday morning service should be delivered at Flatbush, as being nearly equidistant from the other towns; but that the usual afternoon sermon should be changed to an evening service, held alternately at Breuckelen and Midwout. The Breuckelen people, however, when called upon to pay their proportion (300 guilders) of the tax laid upon the three towns for Mr. Polhemus's

salary (1040 guilders, equal to about $416), protested vigorously, asserting that it was impossible to collect such an amount from a poor people so greatly impoverished by the recent Indian war, etc.; and that, moreover, even if they had the means, they were unwilling to pay "for such a poor and meagre service as that with which they have thus far been regaled." Their dissatisfaction seems to have proceeded from no lack of personal respect, or doubts of his Christian character, though they suggest that his "greatly advanced age" was against him, and "that his talents did not accompany him as steadily as in the days of yore"; and it is evident, from the instances cited by them as facts, that they felt that they did not — indeed, could not — under the existing circumstances receive such ministerial service as they were entitled to. The governor, however, enforced the tax, the sheriff proceeded to collect it, and delays, evasions, protests, and open acts of insubordination and resistance continued to agitate the community until, in July, 1658, the refractory Breuckelenites were "brought up with a round turn" by an order from the inflexible governor that the people should not remove their grain from the fields until their tithes were taken or commuted (which commutations were to be paid within three days), and the trouble was ended.

That their demands were not altogether unreasonable, however, is evident from the fact that their request, in 1660, for a pastor of their own, received the favorable consideration of the director and council; and on September 7 of that year, the Rev. Henricus Selyns, from Amsterdam, under a four-year contract with the Dutch West India Company, was duly installed at Breuckelen, and received from Rev. Mr. Polhemus a list of the church members residing in this vicinity, numbering twenty-seven persons, inclusive of one elder and two deacons. The population of the village at this time was one hundred and thirty-four persons, comprised in thirty-one families; and the bounds of the new parish included the Ferry, the Waale-Boght, and the Gujanes. Unable to meet his entire salary (one hundred florins), his congregation petitioned the council for assistance, and Governor Stuyvesant kindly solved the difficulty by personally contributing two hundred guilders, in consideration of Mr. Selyns's preaching on Sunday afternoons at his "bowery," or country-seat, on Manhattan Island, where his audience consisted largely of the city people, the governor's own household, and some forty negroes. Pending the erection of a church, the congregation at Breuckelen worshiped in a barn, and by 1661 had increased to fifty-two communicants (many admitted by letter from the church at New Amsterdam and from the Fatherland), and had received from the West India Company the present of a bell both for their church and for public use. As late as 1662, Mr. Selyns does not seem to have become an actual resident of Breuckelen.

In July, 1664, his contract time expired, and, anxious to be again with his aged father in Holland, he was respectfully dismissed from his charge, and returned to the Fatherland, leaving Charles De Bevoise, the schoolmaster, church precentor, and sexton, to read prayers and a selected sermon to the congregation on Sundays, until such time as another minister could be found. Selyns, after sixteen years spent mostly in serving an obscure rural parish in Holland (during which time he declined a call to the associate pastorship of the church in New Amsterdam), finally yielded to a second call, and returned to this country in the summer of 1682. Thenceforth, and until his death in 1701, he maintained (with the exception of a cloud which rested upon him during the Leislerian troubles) a position among the clergy of the colony which was commensurate with his acknowledged talents. Beloved by his congregation in New Amsterdam, as well as by his ministerial colleagues; enjoying the friendship and respect of the heads of government; and holding pleasant relations, both personally and by correspondence, with the distinguished men and scholars of Massachusetts and other colonies, he wielded an influence which he was not slow to improve in the interests of his own church, by securing its rights and privileges under a royal charter, which he finally accomplished in 1696. The charter for the Reformed Dutch Protestant Church in the city of New-York which he thus obtained is still in force, and is virtually the charter of the Low Dutch Church in America — antedating that of Trinity Church of 1697 hy nearly a year.

Upon Selyns's return to Holland in 1664, his congregation reverted to the charge of Domine Polhemus, pastor of the four Dutch towns of Kings County; and in 1666 the original church edifice at Breuckelen was replaced by one of stone, built, according to tradition, on the walls of a stone fort constructed in the early days of the settlement as a protection against the savages. This church (demolished in 1766) was a large square edifice, its thick walls plastered and whitewashed up to the eaves; its roof, ascending to a peak in the center, was capped with an open belfry, in which hung a small, sharp-toned bell. Its interior was plain, dark and gloomy, by reason of its small windows, which were six or eight feet above the floor, and filled with stained-glass lights from Holland, representing viues loaded with flowers. It was uninclosed, the road passing upon either side of it. Polhemus died in 1676, honored, as the church records show, even by his former recalcitrant Breuckelen parishioners; and was succeeded, 1677, by Rev. Casparus Van Zuren, from Holland, an industrious, practical man, who, after eight years of service, returned to the Fatherland, and was followed (1685–96) by Rev. Rudolphus Van Varick, who, opposing the usurpation of Leisler, fell into troubles both with

the then existing authorities and with his own politically divided parishioners, which hastened his death. The Rev. Wilhelmus Luparduss filled his charge at Breuckelen for a while, but died in 1701 or 1702. Politics were now rampant, and mingled even with things divine; and it so happened that, while the elders of the Breuckelen church were striving to secure the services of Domine Freeman of Schenectady, Governor Cornbury's disapproval so retarded the granting of the necessary official permission, that the disaffected members of the church were enabled to procure from the Classis of Amsterdam the Rev. Vincentius Antonides, who was installed over the associated churches of Kings County, January 1705–6; so that when, late in the same year, Domine Freeman received the regular gubernatorial commission as pastor of the four Dutch towns, there arose a conflict of authority which, after vexing the souls of four royal governors and their councils and keeping a whole county disturbed for over thirteen years, was terminated (1714) by a convention of delegates from the several congregations, by whose order the two domines were finally settled at Flatbush, in what proved to be subsequently a pleasant and harmonious discharge of their joint duties over the religious interests of the county. They were both scholarly men and of respectable talents. Freeman had been a successful missionary among the Mohawk Indians, married a rich wife, and his published works display much learning and research. He died in 1741, and was succeeded by Rev. Johannes Arondeus, who proved to be a clerical adventurer of dissolute life. Mr. Freeman's colleague, Domine Antonides, who died in 1744, was a

Jona M Wainwright

[1] Jonathan M. Wainwright was born on February 24, 1793; was graduated at Harvard; ordained deacon in the Protestant Episcopal Church in Boston in 1817; ordained priest in Christ Church, Hartford, in 1818, and became rector there. The following year he was made assistant minister in Trinity Church, New-York, and rector of Grace Church in 1821, continuing until 1834, when he returned to Boston to become rector of Trinity Church. In 1837 he came back to New-York as assuming the position of assistant at St. John's Chapel, where he remained until consecrated provisional bishop of New-York, November 10, 1852. He was a scholar of high standing, a devoted lover of music, and a fine pulpit orator. He wrote "Short Family Prayers," "Lessons on the Church," "The Lands of Bondage," several volumes of sermons, and three books on church music. He died in New-York, September 21, 1854.

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gentleman of pious life, affability of manner, and extensive learning. He was succeeded by Rev. Ulpianus Van Sinderen.

During the ministry of Domines Freeman and Antonides, the Dutch Church in America began to be sadly divided on questions arising from the formation in this country of the "Cœtus," an assembly of ministers and elders subordinate to the Classis of Amsterdam, and who assumed the power of ordaining and settling candidates for the ministry, etc. The "Conferentie," or conservative party in the Dutch Church, held that all such ordinations, etc., should proceed solely from the Classis in the Fatherland, and the controversy, which lasted until 1772, was so bitter that many would not worship with or even speak to those of the other party. Sometimes, when meeting in the road, they would not turn out for one another, and an instance is cited where two of these redoubtable opponents in Flatbush, meeting in their wagons, and both refusing to give the road, each deliberately took out his pipe and began to smoke! Which first yielded to reason or smoke, history hath not recorded.

The subsequent ministers of the Dutch churches of Kings County, under the associated plan, were Rev. Antonius Curtenius, 1755 until his death, 1786; Rev. Johannes Casparus Rubel (settled 1757), a German and Lutheran, fat and jolly, an outspoken Tory during the Revolutionary period, whose personal habits were inconsistent with his clerical position, ever rebellious against ecclesiastical authority, and finally deposed in 1784, spending the balance of his life as a compounder of quack remedies. Sharply contrasted to him was his colleague, Van Sinderen, small, lean, silver-haired, a Calvinist and a pronounced Whig, who resigned in 1784 and died in 1796, in his eighty-ninth year, a learned but eccentric man. With Rubel and Van Sinderen the Dutch ministry of European birth and importation ceased in Kings County. The Rev. Martinus Schoonmaker, 1785–1824; Rev. Peter Lowe, 1787–1818; Rev. John Barent Johnson, 1802–1803; Rev. Dr. John Bassett, 1811–1824, formed a succession of able and pious divines, whose services Brooklyn enjoyed in common with the other associated churches of the county, between which, however, the collegiate connection — so far as relates to the service in English — was practically discontinued soon after the commencement of the present century.

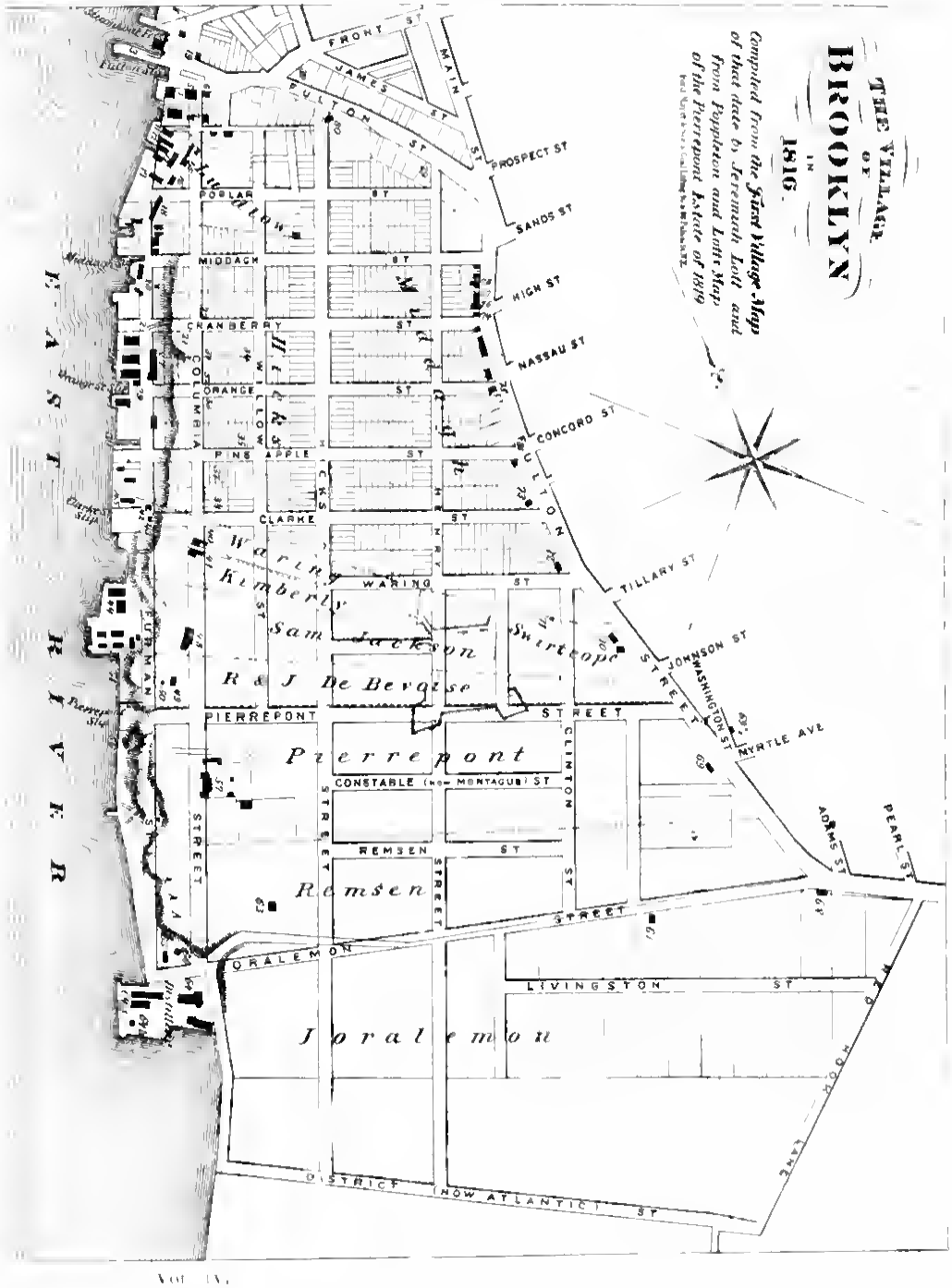
In 1785 Brooklyn's religious interests were represented by the old Dutch congregation, by a small Episcopal society worshiping in the Middagh Barn, and by a handful of "Independents"; and its civic facilities were enlarged by the organization of a fire-company duly equipped with a fire-engine. On March 7, 1786, Brooklyn was recognized as a town under the State government; and in April, 1794, civilization had so far progressed that the supervisors had expended £10 13*s.* 6*d.* for the building of a cage and stocks! The next year the ferry to

Catharine street market, New-York, was established, and a town bell procured and hung on the top of private hay-scales by the roadside. Morse's "Gazetteer," in 1798, credits the town with 1603 inhabitants, of whom 224 were electors, according to the census of 1796; and in June, 1799, the "Courier and New-York and Long Island Advertiser" (the second paper on Long Island) was issued here. Speculation in real estate was rife by 1800, when we hear much talk of "Olympia," which had been surveyed in 1787, on the Comfort and Joshua Sands (old Rapelje) estate; and among the advantages enumerated in its favor, we learn that there were eight (tidal) grist-mills, rope-walks, cordage and twine works, a new patent floor-cloth factory, chair-making, etc., etc.; stone, timber, lath, boards, etc., ready to hand; a powder-house and arsenal already established; and two volunteer militia companies, "whose uniform is as handsome as their conduct is patriotic." There were then three schools in the town—one at Bedford, one at Gowanus, and the third and largest at the Ferry. Attention was specially called to the Wallabout as a suitable site for a navy-yard, and to the entire feasibility of a bridge across the East River to New-York city!—coupled with the statement that "a plan had already been laid down on paper," and that "a gentleman of acknowledged abilities was willing to engage to erect it within two years' time," and that it only wanted "a combination of opinion to favor the attempt." Closely following this, in 1801, the purchase by the United States of forty acres in the Wallabout for a navy-yard, and the enterprise of the Sands brothers and John Jackson in opening streets through their estates, gave a decided impetus to an influx of population and of manufacturing industries. The "Long Island Star" was founded in 1809, and the legislature was petitioned for a bank in 1811, the population of the town being then 4402.

Although the war of 1812 elicited the patriotism of Kings County in the way of the formation of several volunteer militia companies, yet the possibilities of active service were not brought home to the inhabitants until the summer of 1814, when the concentration of a large British fleet at the Bermudas, with New-York as its possible objective point, awakened them (in common with the citizens of New-York) to a sense of their danger. The defensive fortifications planned by General Joseph G. Swift, United States Engineer, for the defense of New-York city, included also a chain of works crossing at the Wallabout (and following very much the line of defenses erected by the Americans previous to the battle of Long Island in 1776) to Gowanus Bay. During the months of August and September, Brooklyn presented a most lively scene of patriotic activity. Under the direction of the Committee of Defense, voluntary contributions of labor and material were the order of the day. Every day, according to pre-

concerted programme, large bodies of men took their turn in working upon the earthworks, in a cheerful frenzy of patriotic enthusiasm. Trades, professions, military associations, firemen's companies, political and benevolent societies, congregations headed by their pastors, and schools with their teachers, foundry hands and factory employees, rich and poor, white and colored, and of all nationalities, came trooping in from the other parts of the island, and even from New Jersey and Connecticut, and gladly took their turn with mattock, spade, and cart until the work was accomplished; but no hostile fleet appeared, and the declaration of peace in February, 1815, was received with joy and illuminations, and the strains of music, and huzzas.

The year 1814, also, marks the introduction of steamboats on the New-York and Brooklyn ferries; in 1816 the first public school was opened, as also the first Sunday-school; and on April 12, in the same year, the village of Brooklyn was incorporated, and surveyed in 1818, and street signs put up at the corners; by 1820 the population was 5210, and there were daily mails to New-York and Jamaica; by 1821, within village limits (where, at the close of the Revolution, there were fifty-six) were now eight hundred and sixty-seven buildings, of which ninety-six were groceries and taverns; and the next year saw fifty dwellings added, a Presbyterian church established, the corner-stone of a Roman Catholic church laid, the issue of the first Brooklyn directory, and the organization of a County Medical Society. The events of 1823 were the founding of an Apprentices' Library, and a severe epidemic of yellow fever, which had appeared in 1803 and again in 1809. With 1824 Brooklyn had fairly entered upon a "boom"; it was now the third town in the State, and the sixteenth in the United States, its (incorporated) population being 7000; the Long Island Bank was chartered, also the Brooklyn Fire Insurance Company and a Baptist church. The town was designated in the official report of the United States Secretary of the Navy as one of the sites of the ten first-class navy-yards recommended to be established; and the Fire Department and a Board of Health were incorporated. In 1825 the village population was 8000; the corner-stone of the Apprentices' Library was laid by General Lafayette; and movements made toward the procuring of a city government were rejected at a public meeting which adjourned for twenty-one years! Meanwhile, real estate was advancing, many old farms were opened and improved, and between 1830 and 1834 a new settlement came into life along the Wallabout Bay; new roads were opening in that direction, and there was much talk of supplying the village with spring water from there. The location of a city hall, the establishment of a south ferry, the widening of the lower part of Fulton street, were matters which largely engaged the minds of the Brooklynites; and a


THE VILLAGE OF BROOKLYN IN 1816.
Compiled from the First Village Map of that date by Jeremiah Lott and from Poppleton and Lott's Map of the Pierrepont Estate of 1819
FRONT ST
JAMES ST
FULTON ST
MAIN ST
PROSPECT ST
SANDS ST
HIGH ST
NASSAU ST
CONCORD ST
TILLARY ST
JOHNSON ST
WASHINGTON ST
MYRTLE AVE
ADAMS ST
PEARL ST
POPLAR ST
MIDDAGH ST
CRANBERRY ST
ORANGE ST
PINE APPLE ST
CLARKE ST
WARING ST
PIERREPONT STREET
CONSTABLE (NOW MONTAGUE) ST
REMSEN ST
JORALEMON STREET
LIVINGSTON ST
DISTRICT (NOW ATLANTIC) ST
WILLOW ST
COLUMBIA ST
HICKS ST
HENRY ST
FULTON ST
CLINTON ST
STREET
FURMAN ST
Waring
Kimberly
Sam Jackson
Swirtcope
R & J De Bevoise
Pierrepont
Remsen
Joralemon
EAST RIVER
Pierrepont Slip
Clarke Slip
Orange St Slip
Middagh St
Fulton Ferry
Steamboat Ferry
Distillery

bill before the legislature for the incorporation of the "City of Brooklyn and Town of Gowanus" passed the Assembly and was lost in the Senate, owing to the opposition of New-York, but was partly atoned for by an amended village charter. Some, however, were so anxious for a city government that they even favored annexation to New-York.

THE FIRST CITY OF BROOKLYN, 1834–54.—Despite the persistent and strenuous opposition of New-York's triple alliance of capitalists, real-estate speculators, and municipal authorities, Brooklyn became by legislative enactment, April 8, 1834, a city, commencing its corporate existence with nine wards, the first five of which corresponded with the five districts of the former village. Its population was then about 24,000, occupying for the most part a district within a radius of about three quarters of a mile from the Fulton ferry. Beyond this limit no streets of any consequence were laid out, the rest of the territory being chiefly occupied for agricultural purposes. Its shores on the East River and the bay were, throughout almost their whole extent, unimproved. Communication was had with New-York by two steam ferries, which ceased running at twelve o'clock at night. The city had three banks (one a savings-bank), two insurance companies, fifteen churches, three public schools, and two weekly newspapers. Sixteen of its streets were lighted with public lamps, of which thirteen had been supplied only within the previous year. The assessed value of the taxable property was $7,829,684, of which $6,457,084 was in real estate, and $1,372,600 in personal property. Of commerce and manufactures it could barely be said to have had any, its business consisting chiefly of that which was requisite for supplying the daily wants of its inhabitants.

Of the wonderful progress made by the new city within the next two decades following its incorporation, we shall speak in another place. Let us, for the present, revert to earlier times, and trace the historic beginnings of another municipality whose fortunes were destined to become united with those of Brooklyn—viz., the town of BUSHWICK. The extensive area subsequently comprised within the town of Bushwick and the village (afterward the city) of Williamsburgh, and now known as the Eastern District of the city of Brooklyn, was purchased from the Indians by Governor Kieft for the West India Company on August 1, 1638, for eight fathoms of duffels cloth, eight fathoms of wampum, twelve kettles, eight adzes, eight axes, and sundry knives, awls, and corals. Patents were soon after issued to certain "squatter" Swedes and Norwegians who had already occupied portions of this tract; but these scattered agriculturists between Newtown Creek and the Wallabout seem to have made no attempt at any organized settlement until February, 1660, when the Indian troubles led the government to enforce upon them some degree of

concentration for mutual safety and defense; and a blockhouse was erected on the Keikout (the Lookout), a high point of land on the East River, at the foot of the present South Fourth street. About the same time fourteen Frenchmen, with a Dutch interpreter, applied to the council for a village site, and the director graciously superintended in person the laying out to them of twenty-two house lots between Mispat (Newtown) Kill and Norman's (Bushwick) Kill, upon which building immediately began. Visiting this settlement officially the next year, he named it Boswyck ("the town of the woods"). Twenty-three persons then signed a petition for town privileges, of whom (from six nominated by the villagers) three were appointed magistrates, and the place was assigned to the jurisdiction of the schout (constable) of the other four—all being henceforth called the Five Dutch Towns. So rapid was the growth of population, that in 1661 the appointment of a clerk and schoolmaster (Boudwyn Manont) became necessary, and in 1663 one Jean Mailjaert, a Frenchman, was obliged by order of the council to accommodate new-comers, at a stipulated price, with some extra lots which he had acquired. It is also to the credit of this little community that in 1662 they were not only able but willing to contribute the sum of forty-seven guilders for the ransom of their neighbor Tennis Cracyen's son, Jacob, then a prisoner among the Turks. The town's progress, though prosperous, was serenely uneventful; and, like their neighbors of the other Dutch towns, they did not allow their political preferences seriously to interfere with their ease or interest. The number of settlers in Bushwick during the Dutch regime was probably less than twenty-five families, not exceeding one hundred persons, including the fourteen French emigrants who founded the original village. In 1703, after the English had been in possession for over forty years, there were but thirty-three names on the tax-list, which (counting five to a family) would give a population of one hundred and sixty-five, which number was scarcely doubled at the beginning of the present century. The town received patents from Governor Dongan in 1686, and from Governor Nicolls in 1708.

The religious interests of Bushwick were entirely dependent upon the occasional and perfunctory ministrations of the Established Dutch Church. Whatever may have been the preferences in this respect of the original French settlers of the town, the strict laws enacted by Governor Stuyvesant against conventicles, and the exercise of religious offices, or teaching, by any one not authorized by the established church, checked any inclination which they may originally have had to maintain worship according to the forms of their own faith, and, together with the remoteness of their location, soon caused religion to degenerate into indifference. It is a matter of inference,

from a few scattered data, that the first church in Bushwick was established about 1708. Its edifice was octagonal in form, with a high, steep, pyramidal roof, topped with an open belfry; and until near the close of the century had neither gallery nor pews, the congregation furnishing their own benches or chairs. The building was reroofed in 1790, was supplied with gallery and pews in 1795, and taken down in 1840. The congregation of Bushwick formed a part of the charge of the pastors of the Five Dutch Towns, and generally got their share of sound Dutch orthodoxy every third Sunday. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, popular sentiment and action were in favor of the American cause. The town was represented in the first New-York Provincial Congress (1775–77) by Theodorus Polhemus, while Abraham Ranst, Abraham Luqueer, John Titus, Just Duryee, Alexander Whately, and others were prominent in local and county affairs. The town was also represented in the battle of Long Island by a company under Captain John Titus, and by others; but its Revolutionary spirit, like that of Brooklyn, was quickly nipped in the bud by the disastrous result of that battle. Like Brooklyn, it suffered all the miseries of an armed occupation—a large Hessian regiment being quartered on the inhabitants, besides having to endure the unwelcome presence of a battalion of renegade Tory guides and pioneers—a rare collection of villains, more dreaded by the farmers than the foreign foe.

There were in Bushwick, at the close of the Revolution, three distinct centers of population—viz., "Het Dorp," or town plot, first set out by Governor Stuyvesant in 1661 (junction of North Second street and Bushwick Avenue), where stood the church before referred to, the old graveyard, the one-story town house, and the school-house—all removed within the memory of persons still living; "Het Kivis Padt" (cross-roads), at the present junction of Bushwick Avenue and Flatbush road; and "Het Strandt," or beach along the East River. On a branch of Maspeth (Newtown) Kill, near the junction of present Grand and Metropolitan avenues, was Luqueer's (later Master's) mill, erected by Abraham Janseu (1664), and further along on the same stream was Schenck's—both tide-mills. The neck of land on the East River between Newtown and Bushwick creeks, called "Cherry Point," and later known as Greenpoint, was quite isolated from the rest of the town, and during the Revolutionary period contained only five family homes. Accessible only by devious and most uncertain roads, its inhabitants, for all practical purposes of communication with each other, or with Newtown, Brooklyn, or New-York city, used their boats. But to them and to their neighbors of Bushwick, quietly cultivating garden vegetables for the New-York market, there was soon to come a great awakening.

In 1805, Richard M. Woodhull, a New-York merchant, established a horse-ferry from Corlaers Hook (foot of present Grand street), New-York, to the foot of present North Second street, Brooklyn, in the vicinity of which he purchased a portion of the Charles Titus farm, had it surveyed into city lots, and named his proposed village Williamsburgh, in compliment to the surveyor, Colonel Williams, a United States engineer. Meanwhile, Thomas Morrell, of Newtown, purchased a part of the Folkert Titus farm, surveyed it, and mapped it out as a village, wherein Grand street was a dividing line; called it Yorkton, and obtained from New-York the grant of a ferry running to the same terminus in that city as Woodhull's—viz., Grand street. Morrell's ferry gradually superseded Woodhull's in public estimation, but his proposed village fell behind; and the name WILLIAMSBURGH soon extended far beyond the limits of Woodhull's first purchase, which by 1812 had passed from his hands under a sheriff's sale. But the turnpike went through Williamsburgh out into the island; and soon (the designations of old farm locations being obsolete and foreign to the idea of a village or city, and falling into disuse) the whole territory between Wallabout Bay and Bushwick Creek became known as Williamsburgh. While this was going on, General Jeremiah Johnson, in spite of determined opposition from property-owners, succeeded in securing by legislative enactment the opening of a two-rod roadway along the entire water-front between Wallabout Bay and the new ferry at Williamsburgh. The effect was magical, for vehicular accommodation with Brooklyn at Fulton ferry, previously accomplished only by a ten-mile drive, taking four or five hours, was now made possible by a two or three hours' drive, over a distance of six miles. Business increased at Williamsburgh ferry, public attention being strongly attracted to its many advantages as a place of residence, and the new settlement grew apace; so that in 1827 it was incorporated (with a population of one hundred and fourteen) as the village of Williamsburgh, which by 1829 had a population of 1007, a number of small factories, one hundred and forty-eight buildings, two churches, four schools, a post-office, a hook-and-ladder company, and—a village debt! By 1835 it contained 3000 of the 3314 population, and all of the manufacturing products (estimated at $481,272), of Bushwick, except that of one grist-mill.

Meanwhile, that secluded corner of old Bushwick previously spoken of as Greenpoint had entered into modern life, through the purchase by Yankee capitalists of the old Meserole farm, in 1833; its trade commenced in 1839; its first magistrate and constable were appointed in 1843; and in the same year a private school was opened by a woman, to be soon supplanted (1845–6) by a public school; its first church (Episcopal) was built in 1846; followed, in 1847, by Methodist,

Baptist, and Dutch Reformed churches; and by a Roman Catholic church in 1865. The introduction of ship-building by Eckford, Webb & Co. in 1850, followed by the establishing of the Francis Metallic Life-boat Company in 1852, gave impetus to Greenpoint's growth, and laid the foundation of the enormous industries of this largest of Brooklyn's manufacturing districts. In 1852 a ferry to the foot of Tenth street, New-York, broke up the old system of skiffs by which people were transferred to the city, at four cents per head; and

THE ELEVATED RAILWAY.

the introduction of gas and a new plank road to Flatbush in 1853 completed the liberation of Greenpoint from its ancient solitude.

Outside of the legitimate growth of Williamsburgh, sketched in a previous paragraph, the village had entered (1828–36) upon an era of speculation, which came to a disastrous end in the commercial crisis of 1837, clogging its progress with a mass of bankruptcies, which, from that time to 1840, the Court of Chancery was busy in clearing away. Yet the gloom of this period of political and financial depression was much lightened by a steady advance in social, religious, and educational advantages; and healthful legislation, together with increasing facilities of access, gradually restored business to its natural channels; so that in less than ten years the population of the village

had doubled, and its necessities seemed to demand a municipal expansion and organization.

This was obtained under a charter which went into effect January 1, 1852, and the city of Williamsburgh commenced its existence with a population of nearly 40,000, and a rapid increase of institutions and business facilities which presaged a brilliant future. But within two years political complications and personal interests combined to induce its inhabitants to merge their civic identity in that of their larger neighbor, Brooklyn.

The new CITY OF BROOKLYN, created by legislative enactment taking effect January 1, 1855, added to its own population (145,000) that of the city of Williamsburgh (50,000) and of the town of Bushwick (7000), an aggregate of over 200,000. It was divided into eighteen wards, to which a nineteenth was soon added. Its superficial area is about 16,000 acres, or twenty-five square miles. Its length along the water-front is eight and one half miles, along the inland bounds thirteen and one half miles, and between the two most distant points in a straight line, seven and three quarter miles, and its greatest width five miles. The value of its combined taxable estate, real and personal, was estimated in 1854 to be $88,923,085. Thirteen ferries maintained its connection with the city of New-York; and the commercial facilities afforded by the almost continuous wharfs between Greenpoint and Red Hook, as well as by the Atlantic docks, and the extensive ship-building works at Greenpoint, already presaged the importance which they have since attained. Yet though Brooklyn thus, as to population, jumped at a single bound from the seventh to the third position among the cities of the American Union, its rise was attributable rather to the overflowing prosperity and greatness of its giant neighbor, New-York, than to its own inherent vigor and enterprise. Its night population outnumbered that of the day by tens of thousands; and it had not then begun to show that wonderful increase of manufacturing establishments which have since rendered it a worthy rival even to New-York.

Of the magnificent onward sweep which, within the past three or four decades, has placed Brooklyn in her present unchallenged position among American cities, it is impossible to convey any idea, except by an array of facts and figures which would far exceed the limits assigned to us in these pages. It must have been seen to be believed; it must have been lived in to be understood. Here and there, only, in this *coup d'œil*, can we indicate, by barest mention, the most salient points of this rapid progress, such as:

I. The gradual development, since 1854, of the system of street surface railroads, culminating in and supplemented by the elevated railway system in 1885.

II. The very perfect system of ferries, now numbering fifteen.

III. The introduction of the Ridgewood water-supply in 1856–59.

IV. The erection of the Academy of Music, which became the crystallization point of all of Brooklyn's future artistic, educational, and patriotic growth.

V. The great Brooklyn and Long Island Fair of 1864, in aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, which, with the other organizations and interests arising from it, fairly welded together all the social and public interests of the city, and gave new form and purpose to its organic life.

VI. The stimulating effect of the War of the Rebellion upon the city's industries, notably in the development of the immense ship-building works at Greenpoint, and other lines of manufacture.

VII. The construction in South Brooklyn of the Atlantic docks in 1839–48, of the Erie and Brooklyn basins in 1856–66, as well as the Gowanus Bay improvements; the extension and improvement of Gowanus Creek as a canal, by which three and one half miles of water-front were added to this portion of the city. In East Brooklyn, the transformation of some seventy acres of unproductive salt-marsh, adjoining the Navy-yard at the Wallabout, into an extensive and valuable basin fronting on the East River, besides an extension of the creek as a canal, affording another mile and a half of wharfage; the creation of a new avenue between the eastern and western districts across the Wallabout lands; the wharfing of the Brooklyn side of Newtown Creek for a distance of two and three quarter miles; the making of two canals from the creek (combined water-front of one and three quarter miles), now furnishing transportation facilities to the center of the eighteenth ward, and ultimately to be enlarged as a ship-canal through East New-York to Canarsie Bay, by which seven miles of water-front and about twenty-five miles of wharfage will be added to Brooklyn, which by that time will undoubtedly embrace all of Kings County.

VIII. The erection of the East River Bridge, opened May 23, 1883, the precursor of others which will indissolubly unite Brooklyn to New-York.

Brooklyn's growth in all departments of material interest has been at a rate almost unexampled by that of any other American city. Had we time or space, it would be interesting to trace the development of its banking, insurance, and other financial institutions, beginning with the incorporation, in 1824, of the Long Island Bank and the Brooklyn Fire Insurance Company; of its numerous buildings of all kinds—used for dwellings, business, manufacture, warehouses, churches, missions, depots, etc.—with an aggregate value of over five hundred and twenty millions of dollars; of which buildings, with the

THE CITY OF BROOKLYN.

increased value of the real estate connected with them, more than four fifths of the erection and increase has accrued since 1854, when Brooklyn and Williamsburgh were consolidated; of its manufactures, wonderful for their variety and amount, and which ranked it, according to the census of 1880, as the fourth (and probably by this time the third) manufacturing city of the continent; of its commerce, the credit of which, vast as it is, has hitherto been absorbed in that of New-York; of its internal facilities of travel and transportation and recreation for its citizens. Then, as to the intellectual character of Brooklyn's civic life, its medical profession, hospitals, dispensaries, etc.; its bench and bar, its courts and judiciary; its learned and eloquent clergy, its ecclesiastical foundations, and its many organizations for Christian work; its system of public instruction, and its excellent private colleges, schools, and institutions of technology; its charitable, beneficent, and social organizations; its numerous libraries and literary societies; its progress in the drama, music, and art; its press, authors, and scientists; its military organizations, and its splendid record in the War of the Rebellion; its immense retail trade; and, last but not least, its delightful social atmosphere. All these things, could they be embodied within a sufficiently comprehensive statement, would read more like the pages of a romance than dry matters of fact.

In view of her past, and the stimulation of her present increasing prosperity, and with the whole of Kings County opening illimitable avenues for further expansion of residence, manufactures, and commerce, the future success of Brooklyn as an independent city seems to be beyond cavil. But there are already at work influences, born of economic and political considerations, and strong as they are subtile, which seem to be drawing her irresistibly toward a surrender of her independence. Statistics, carefully gathered in 1883, showed conclusively that Brooklyn warehouses then handled seventy-five per cent. of all the grain passing through the port of New-York; and over sixty per cent. of the value, and seventy-five per cent. of the bulk, of general imports and exports; that all receipts of raw sugars and molasses came to Brooklyn warehouses and thence to its refineries, the annual product of which exceeded a hundred million dollars; that the greater part of the petroleum-oils are delivered direct to the Brooklyn and Long Island City refineries, the product of which, aggregating $20,000,000, goes direct from refinery to shipboard, without touching New-York, either in receipt or shipment; that fully one half the receipts and shipments of cotton, and eighty per cent. of those of provisions, are at Brooklyn. These facts—which might be indefinitely extended both as to Brooklyn's commerce and manufactures—are facts for which she has never been duly credited;

but they serve to show that the interests of Brooklyn and New-York are indissolubly welded together by the very necessities of their relative position and complementary advantages; and they point, as clearly as human foresight can point, to a day (probably not far distant) when both cities shall be merged in one municipal organization—the greater city of New-York.

JERSEY CITY AND HOBOKEN

THE entire shore of New Jersey opposite the Island of Manhattan was originally settled by the Dutch, under the name of Pavonia, to which that of Communipaw was afterward added. In 1633, Michael Paulusen, an officer of the Dutch West India Company, put up at Paulus Hook—the site of the present Jersey ferry[1]—a hut for the purchase of peltries from the Indians; and in the latter part of the same year, the company authorized the erection of two houses in Pavonia. "This last step," says Winfield, in his "History of Hudson County, New Jersey," "was the first step taken to erect regular buildings on the Jersey shore opposite the Island of Manhattan." In 1660 the town of Bergen (now Jersey City Heights) was also settled by the Dutch, who, in fond remembrance of their Fatherland, gave it the name of Bergen—a word in their language signifying "Little Hills." This name was most appropriate, for after leaving the little sand-bar or reef on which Paulus Hook was situated, the road to the Heights led through a swamp (now the chief business portion of Jersey City), parts of which at high tide were in reality a number of islands; and, indeed, so late as the Revolutionary War, the road from Paulus Hook to the Heights (thence to Newark and Trenton) was over a succession of bridges, reminding one of those over the lagoons of Venice. At the time of the settlement of Bergen, the Indians in that vicinity (consisting of the Delawares, or Lenni Lennape) were hovering around the cabins of the settlers; and for the better protection of the settlement a palisaded fort was erected near the present (1893) Bergen Square.[2]

The early annals of Jersey City, however, are stained by a most atrocious tragedy, caused by the inhuman act of William Kieft, at that time the Dutch governor of New Amsterdam, for whose conduct

[1] This is not strictly correct, as Paulus Hook at this period was really some six hundred feet back of the present ferry-house, the river having been filled in to that extent.

[2] Every year many flint arrow-heads, as well as cannon-balls, are plowed up on the site of this old fort. In the autumn of 1892 the writer was given a remarkably fine and symmetrical stone gouge by a gentleman, who found it while digging a cellar near the site of this fort.

there was not the least justification. The Tapaan Indians in the vicinity were at this time most kindly and peaceably inclined; and (a fact which makes the outrage about to be narrated the more shocking) having been harassed by the Indian tribes on the upper Hudson, they had fled to the settlers at Communipaw[1] for protection. It was just at this juncture that Kieft, wishing to avenge some trivial or fancied wrong growing out of the sale of a piece of land, determined, in consonance with his tyrannical and cruel disposition, to wreak a terrible revenge upon this unfortunate tribe—a tribe, let it be borne in mind, which had lately thrown itself upon the hospitality of the Dutch settlers. Still, he seemed loath to give the order for the massacre; and it was not until he had been well plied with wine by his entertainers (who saw in the extirpation of the tribe a chance to acquire their lands) that he gave the order for the attack.[2] Accordingly, on the night of February 27, 1643, eighty Dutch soldiers, under Sergeant Rodolf, rowed over from New Amsterdam, charged by Governor Kieft with the extinction of those Indians who had sought refuge with the settlers at Communipaw. The men themselves, moreover, were instigated to the brutal deed by a feeling of intense hatred against the red men—the outcome of their own thieving practices in regard to land. They were, therefore, fully in accord with the feelings of their governor, who had sent them on this expedition.

The encampment of the unsuspecting victims lay to the west of the knoll known at that time as "Jan de Dacher's Hoeck" (Hook), and covered the ground now occupied by that section of Lafayette adjacent to the corner of Pacific and Johnson avenues. At this point the Dutch marauders surprised the Indians by a volley of musket-balls. Then ensued a horrible massacre in which eighty Indians, young and old, regardless of sex, were mercilessly butchered, and their bodies left to be buried by the few who had escaped. Trenches were dug, and, in the haste of the terrible hour, the bodies of those thus cruelly slain were thrown into them.[3] Indeed, so unsuspecting were the Indians of the treachery of the Dutch governor, that, when the massacre began, a few of them actually fled from Communipaw, and crossing over the Hudson in their canoes, hastened to the fort at New Amsterdam for protection—believing, in their first astonishment, that they had been attacked by their enemies, the Mohawks!

[1] Now the village of Lafayette, a suburb of Jersey City.

[2] The reader who has perused the sketch of Lord Cornbury in Vol. II will recall how in a similar manner Governor Sloughter was induced to sign the death-warrant for the execution of Leisler.

[3] On April 21, 1886, in making an excavation for cellars on the corner of Communipaw Avenue and Halliday street, the workmen brought to light the remains of these murdered Indians. The appearance of the remains corroborated in every detail the story of the massacre as handed down both by oral and written tradition. The positions in which the skeletons lay were not those of the repose usually given to decently buried dead. Bones in sitting postures and others in discriminately mixed were frequently encountered, and several of the skulls were fractured or crushed. They lay about four feet below the surface. Some forty skeletons in all were unearthed.

The fugitives, however, were soon undeceived, and forthwith entered upon a most relentless war against the treacherous whites. Enlisting as their allies some eleven neighboring tribes, who burned to avenge the cruel conduct of Kieft, they began a crusade against the whites, irrespective of age or sex. In this war they murdered all the settlers they could find unprotected; "dragged the women and children into captivity, burned houses, barns, grain and hay stacks, and laid waste the farms of the whites" from the Raritan to the Connecticut. Not a white person was safe from the tomahawk and scalping-knife, except, indeed, those who sought and found refuge within the palisades of Fort Amsterdam. Such were the consequences of the rash action of Governor Kieft — caused solely by the insensate desire of procuring (without payment) land for three persons, his personal friends. The settlers, smarting under this terrible Indian reprisal, justly laid the entire blame on Kieft, who, goaded by the stings of conscience and the taunts of those who had suffered, endeavored, in turn, to shift the responsibility upon his three friends. But his efforts in this direction were of no avail; and, indeed, such was the strength of public opinion that not only was his name held in execration, but a serious attempt was made to depose him from the governorship and send him back to Holland in chains.

After the permanent capture and occupation of New Amsterdam by the English in 1674, nothing particularly noteworthy occurred in the history of Pavonia (Jersey City) until the war of the American Revolution. In that contest, however, Jersey City, or Paulus Hook, became from its position a salient feature in the manœuvers of the two contending armies under the immediate command, respectively, of Washington and Clinton.[1] Many were the skirmishes which took place in Bergen (Jersey City Heights) between the opposing forces. In fact, the newspapers of the day are full of accounts of these attacks, a few of which only are here given:

On Friday night, April 2, 1779, Lieutenant Paul of Colonel Shreve's Regiment, with twelve privates, were captured on Bergen Neck by a detachment of the 64th Regiment, which lay at Powle's Hook. "Rivington's Gazette," April 7, 1779.

On Sunday night, 28th ult., a party of about thirty men belonging to Lieutenant-Colonel Van Buskirk's corps of Tories and embodied Refugees, stationed at Bergen, went out on a horse-stealing and thieving Expedition. "New Jersey Gazette," April 28, 1779.

Last Wednesday, January 13th, a Mr. Allen, ensign in the Rebel army, with three Jersey Militiamen, were apprehended on Bergen Point by a party from Captain Anstruther's company of the 26th Regiment. "Rivington's Gazette," January 20, 1779.

Early yesterday, a party of the 4th Battalion met a gang of Rebels in Bergen carry-

[1] There is a house still standing, one block from the writer's former home in which Washington slept one night, and two days afterward the same room was occupied by Clinton. This fact is well authenticated, and is mentioned here to show how close were the relations of the two armies.

ing off an inhabitant, but being briskly pursued, one of them was found to be David Bogert, whose life was a second time spared. "Rivington's Gazette," July 24, 1779.

A party of Rebels came down last Thursday as far as Prior's Mills, within a mile of Powle's Hook, and fired some shots at the sentry at that post; but a few men being ordered out after them, they soon took to their heels and made the best of their way into the Bush. "New-York Mercury," June 21, 1779.

Generals Washington, La Fayette, Greene, and Wayne, with many other officers and large bodies of Rebels, have been in the vicinity of Bergen for some days past. They have taken all the forage from the inhabitants of that place. Their officers were down at Prior's Mill[1] last Friday, but did not seem inclined to make any attack. "New-York Mercury," August 28, 1780.

But perhaps the most brilliant episode of the entire Revolutionary War — if we except the capture of Stony Point by General Wayne — was the raid of Major Henry Lee ("Light-Horse Harry"), the most active and dashing officer of the war, upon the blockhouse at Paulus Hook.[2] Lee was a great favorite of Washington, and was invariably employed by him on any occasion which required both calm judgment and celerity of movement. During Lee's many reconnoiterings in the vicinity of New-York, he had found that the British post at Paulus Hook was but indifferently guarded. This work had been originally built by the Americans at the suggestion of Lord Stirling, and had been garrisoned by Bergen militia. General Mercer had also agreed with Stirling in regard to the strategic value of the place; and, indeed, as early as August 15, 1776, he had written to Washington that "a body of four hundred men, well accoutred, from Delaware might be stationed at Powles [Paulus] Hook, and four hundred of the New Jersey men for the flying-camp at Bergen town." Washington also had, as early as August, 1776, written to the president of Congress that "some reinforcements would be necessary at New-York and Powles Hook." All of which goes to show that this was regarded as a post of the greatest moment to fortify. It had, however, naturally fallen into the hands of the British upon their taking possession of New-York. Hence Major Lee, knowing the value of the post, had repeatedly urged Washington to allow him to attempt its capture. At first the commander-in-chief was against the attempt; but finally, persuaded by his favorite officer, he consented to the undertaking, with the proviso, however, that in case of success no time should be lost in bringing off the cannon and stores; for, as Washington very truly said, "The delay of a few moments might subject the party to great risk from the army of General Clinton," then occupying the island of New-York. "The position," wrote Washington, "is a strong one, and it is almost rashness to attempt it." The enthusiasm of Lee, however,

[1] This place, now known as the "Point of Rocks," is about four blocks from Bergen Square.

[2] The site of this blockhouse, which stood at the junction of Washington and Grand streets, is now marked by a tall liberty pole. The burying-ground for its garrison was about a block from the present post office in Jersey City — viz., near the intersection of Essex and Warren streets.

prevailed over the better judgment of his chief, and the required permission was given.

The result of Lee's attack, or, in the military parlance of the present day, his "raid," is a matter of history. It is sufficient for our present purpose to say that, sweeping down from the Highlands like an eagle upon its quarry, he surprised the garrison of the blockhouse, and overcoming all opposition, became in an incredibly short time master of the main work and its cannon. So suddenly, indeed, was this accomplished, that the garrison had not time to discharge even one piece. Breaking through the abatis, Lee's troopers were nearly victors, and would have been entirely so had not Major Sutherland, who was in command, hastened to a small redoubt near by, and kept the attacking party at bay. Meanwhile, the early dawn was approaching, and the reports of the guns having been heard across the river by Clinton, he hastened to send over to the relief of the garrison a large reinforcement in boats. Lee, through his glass, discovered the approach of these troops, and immediately ordered a retreat, at the same time stationing a part of his command in a strong position on Bergen (Jersey City) Heights to cover his retreat. Major Sutherland pursued Lee to what is now Englewood, N. J.; but, upon discovering the approach of Lieutenant Reed, who was advancing to Lee's relief, he quickly retreated without even the semblance of an attack. The result, however, of this raid by Lee was not without good effects; for, while losing only two in killed, he had captured one hundred and fifty-nine of the garrison, some of whom were officers. In his report of the action, Major Lee, with his characteristic chivalry, says: "I intended to have burned the barracks; but, on finding a number of sick soldiers and women with young children in them, humanity forbade the execution of my intention."

From this time until the opening of the campaign of 1780, there is little of interest in the annals of Bergen. In the December following Lee's attack on Paulus Hook, General Wayne came down from Tappan, and encamped at Bergen around a fort which at the beginning of the war had been erected about two hundred yards east of the center of the town, nearly on the site of the old palisaded fort first built in the early settlement of the place as a protection against the Indians.[1] On August 24, also, in 1780, the light troops under the command of Lafayette moved down from their camp near Fort Lee, and took post the same evening within musket-shot of Paulus Hook; and the following morning all of Lafayette's command was encamped on the brow of the hill (now a portion of Hudson City, a part

[1] Near the present Bergen Square. The fort here spoken of as having been built at the beginning of the Revolution, was in reality only an earthen breastwork covered with sod, having trenches in front. No stone- or brick-work had been employed in its erection.

of Jersey City) in full view of the enemy.[1] From this time, and until the close of the war, both armies indulged in skirmishes and raids upon each other's lines. The result was considerable irritation upon either side, but with no serious consequences.

But the vivid scenes of the Revolutionary struggle were again recalled to the minds of the citizens of Jersey City — some of whom had been active participants in the war — by the visit of General Lafayette as the guest of the United States in 1824. On September 23 of that year he crossed over to Jersey City from New-York, whence, with a large escort, he journeyed to Newark. Upon arriving at the "Five Corners" (Hudson City), he found a large assemblage of the people of Bergen prepared to tender him a most hearty welcome. During this demonstration he was presented by Domine Cornelisen, pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church of Bergen, on behalf of the citizens of Bergen, with a superb gold-mounted cane, made from an apple-tree under which, in 1779, he and his chief, Washington, with other officers of the American army, had dined, and on which occasion a council had been held in regard to the movements of the army then in the vicinity.[1]

THE STEVENS INSTITUTE[2]

The Dutch Reformed Church on Jersey City Heights, organized in 1680, for many years depended upon Holland for its pastors; and even as late as 1850, Dr. Benjamin C. Taylor — so long the revered

[1] The exact locality was on the hill overlooking the present Jersey City cemetery, and around the old tree which stood between Magnolia Avenue and Henry street. This tree, according to Winfield (an excellent authority), was cut down December 20, 1871; but the writer's impression is that this act of vandalism was committed in 1873.

[2] The Stevens Institute of Technology is the result of a bequest made by Edwin A. Stevens of Hoboken, N. J. In his will, dated April 15, 1867, he gave a block of ground between Fifth and Sixth and Hudson and River streets, Hoboken, and $150,000 for the erection of buildings, together with such sum of money, not to exceed $500,000, as his executors might deem necessary to maintain the institution. It was opened in September, 1871, with a competent corps of professors and instructors, and has since continued in successful operation. A short distance from the institute, on a high projecting bluff which commands a superb view of the noble Hudson, stands Castle Point, which has been the residence of the Stevens family for nearly a century. The present mansion was built in 1857 (see Vol. III., pp. 475, 476), and is surrounded by beautiful grounds, forming one of the finest homes in the country. — EDITOR.

[1] Taylor's "Annals of Classis and Township of Bergen." The cane bore the following inscription: "Should the hero and his friend Washington in 1779." It was presented by the Corporation of Bergen in 1824. The presentation was accompanied by an address by Rev. John Cornelisen.

pastor of this church — preached in the morning in Dutch, and in the evening in English.[1]

At the present day Jersey City is really an immense depot for the railroads whose termini are within its limits. It has, perhaps, the largest railroad depot in the world — that of the Pennsylvania Railroad, covering over seven acres of ground; and it is destined in the near future to be *the* railroad center of the United States. Two large ocean steamship lines have here their docks, and however prosaic a place it may now appear to be, yet to students of American history it will always, from its antecedents, be a city of interest.

HOBOKEN[2] — the twin sister, so to speak, of Jersey City — was settled in 1643, its first house having been built in that year by Teunissen Van Putten. The village attracted little attention until the first quarter of the present century, when it became a noted resort for New-Yorkers, who were wont after business hours to cross the Hudson with their families and enjoy a pleasant afternoon's outing under the delightful shade. Its "Elysian Fields" and its beautiful Weehawken were also for many years veritable Meccas where old politicians — especially Federalists — sought each other's companionship, and talked over the signs of the times as they gazed sadly at the spot where their idol, Alexander Hamilton, had so recently fallen. This locality, known for many years as the "Weehawken dueling-ground," lies a little north of the site of the Elysian Fields, directly opposite the foot of West Thirty-first street, New-York. Here, in 1801, Philip Hamilton was mortally wounded in a duel by George J. Eacker; and on precisely the same ground, three years later, his father, the illustrious Alexander Hamilton, fell before the pistol of Aaron Burr. Formerly a marble monument, erected by the St. Andrew's Society, marked the exact place of the fatal encounter; and, as late as 1870, a cedar-tree, against which Hamilton leaned while the seconds were arranging the preliminaries, was still standing. Now, however, the bed of the West Shore Railroad has destroyed the tree, besides removing every vestige of the narrow ledge on which the principals stood. After the monument disappeared, two granite boulders occupied its place, with the names of Hamilton and Burr inscribed upon them respectively.

But the distinctive and charmingly unique features of Hoboken have long since vanished. All is changed. The memories of the

[1] In the early days of this church, when it was without a minister (the one engaged in Holland not having arrived), the Dutch pastor of the New-York church was in the habit of coming over on certain Sundays to administer the sacrament for which he received three bushels of wheat and four of corn. Dr. Taylor, also, as late as 1840, used to ride down to Jersey City ferry, hitching his horse to a fence; and, after spending the day in New-York city, he would return and find his horse in the same place. (Conversations by the author with the late Dr. Taylor.)

[2] Hoboken — or Hobocan, as spelled in original deeds — is a pure Indian word, and signifies "a tobacco-pipe." In an ancient deed given in 1630 by the director-general of New Netherland, it is spoken of as Hobocan Hacking, *i. e.*, "The land of the tobacco-pipe."

Elysian Fields and of Weehawken now linger only in the polished verse of Halleck[1] and Sands, and the classic prose of Irving and Verplanck. The population has become almost entirely German; lager-beer gardens, in the midst of artificially constructed groves, usurp the classic shades of the Elysian Fields; and the places which once witnessed sighing swains and languishing inamoratas are now filled with the more prosaic labors of longshoremen toiling at the wharves of the great ocean liners.[2]

STATEN ISLAND

STATEN ISLAND, which belongs to the State of New-York, is pleasantly situated five miles southwest of the city of New-York, from which it is separated by the waters of New-York Bay. The picturesque Kill von Kull, narrow but navigable for steamboats and sailing vessels, winds between the major part of its northern boundary and the State of New Jersey, while Newark Bay and Staten Island Sound continue its environment on the northwest and west, the lower bay and Raritan Bay on the south and southeast, and the Narrows, flowing between it and Long Island, complete its watery surroundings. Its length is thirteen and a half miles; greatest breadth, eight miles; and it embraces an area of fifty-eight and a half square miles, divided into the towns of Castleton, Middletown, Northfield, Southfield, and Westfield, and forming, together with a few neighboring islets, the county of Richmond, the most southerly in the State. In 1609, when Hudson first cast anchor inside of Sandy Hook, Staten Island was inhabited by numbers of Raritan Indians, a branch of the powerful nation of Delawares. These savages, who were at first of a friendly disposition toward the whites, were soon converted into a hostile race, owing to the injustice with which they were treated by the Dutch who had settled on Manhattan Island. Governor Kieft's cruelties added to the resentment felt by the Indians, which resulted in a series of murders, attacks on villages, burning of houses, and general destruction of life and property, as shown in the first volume of this history.

The earliest settlement on the island was made in 1624 by a party of Walloons, some of whom found homes for themselves there; but unable to remain permanently, owing to the proximity of the Indians

[1] Weehawken was the scene of Fitz-Greene Halleck's "Earthly Paradise."

[2] Five of the largest steamship lines which come into the port of New-York have their docks at Hoboken. Among them are the North German Lloyd, running to Hamburg, Bremen, and the Mediterranean ports; and the Wilson Line to Hull, England.

and the lack of proper food and clothing, they returned to Manhattan Island. Other attempts, more or less successful, were frequently made thereafter by various persons, including the Waldenses and Huguenots, to open up settlements on Staten Island; but it was not until April 13, 1670, when its purchase was finally effected by Governor Lovelace (the terms of sale requiring its evacuation by the Indians shortly after), that it became a safe place of abode for the whites. In 1673, upon the declaration of war against Holland by England and France, the island was captured by the Dutch, Lovelace's property suffering severely. The following year, however, on the conclusion of peace by the treaty of Westminster, the island came again into the possession of the English. During the colonial period there was a rapid increase of population, many French Protestants coming to it for homes, and "bringing with them useful arts, a knowledge of gardening and husbandry, and, above all, their well-known virtues, with a pure, simple Bible faith."[1] In the last thirty years of the eighteenth century the question of the ownership of Staten Island was one that constantly intruded itself, New-York claiming it as a part of the State, and the Dutch asserting that it belonged to New Jersey. Commissioners were appointed to settle the dispute in 1807, but accomplished nothing; new commissioners were appointed in 1827, with a like unsatisfactory result, and it was not until 1833 that the question was finally settled.

George McCurtis

Throughout the period of the Revolution, Staten Island occupied a conspicuous place in affairs. Favored by its situation, the British quickly availed themselves of its comparatively defenseless condition, establishing temporary camps and headquarters there, and many engagements occurred between them and the American troops, generally on the western and northern sides of the island. With the advent of peace in 1815, the island partook of the prosperity which gradually extended to the whole State. New villages sprang up, the population increased, and good roads were laid out. The first steam ferry-boat, the Nautilus, began its trips between the island and the Battery, November 29, 1817. The population, which in 1698 was 727, became in 1790, 3838; in 1870, 33,029; and in 1890, 51,693; and is now composed chiefly of persons of American birth. The topography of the

[1] Bayles's "History of Richmond County." New-York, 1887.

island is somewhat peculiar: while the surface is mostly level or of a slightly undulating character, two broad ranges of hills extend across its northern part, and attain a maximum height of over three hundred feet. From the slopes and summits of these hills superb views are obtained in all directions. The bold land at the northern extremity commands the whole bay, the Long Island shore, Governor's Island, New-York city, the Palisades of the Hudson, and the New Jersey shore, while the Statue of Liberty on Bedlow's Island looms up in the foreground. Looking southeast from the high land opposite the Narrows, and adjoining the government property of Fort Wadsworth, it appears but a stone's-throw to Fort Lafayette, with the long outline of Fort Hamilton immediately behind it; beyond is Gravesend Bay, the many towering buildings upon Coney Island, and the white beach of Rockaway. To the south the waves of the lower bay ripple upon the Staten Island shore, the highlands of Navesink stand out boldly at the limit of the view, and the faint line on the horizon a little to their left is Sandy Hook. The great expanse of water presented in this view is by no means a desolate one, and while the stir and life of the upper bay in its proximity to the metropolis are not visible, there is still sufficient movement to charm the eye. Steamships may be constantly seen going and coming, steamboats pass and repass unceasingly, the omnipresent tugs dash here and there in search of customers, coasting-schooners plod along lazily, and trim yachts rise lightly and speedily over the ocean's swell. Further south, the Atlantic stretches away in all its glory, the hulls of the vessels grow smaller and less distinct, sea and sky converge, and the sun occasionally lends an unusual whiteness to the sails, now become mere specks on the distant horizon.

The island is sought by many New-York business men as a place of residence; it is dotted over with homes of all varieties, from the modest cottage to the pretentious country-seat. One of the former, near New Brighton, was for more than a quarter of a century the home of George William Curtis. An excellent ferry service of fine boats enables persons to reach St. George's—the northern point of the island—every twenty minutes, where, upon arriving, rapid-transit trains, with a central station at the ferry-houses, meet the boats and carry passengers to each side of the island. New Brighton and Port Richmond on the north shore, and Tottenville at the southern extremity of the island, are incorporated villages; the latter place is reached by the Staten Island Railroad, which runs from Clifton, opposite the Narrows, directly through the center of the county. A mile from St. George's, and also on the north shore, is situated an important institution, "Sailors' Snug Harbor." It occupies a beautiful site on the banks of the Kill von Kull, and is a retreat

for aged and superannuated seamen, who must be native-born.[1] The extensive buildings which compose it have accommodation for one thousand inmates, and the grounds, containing one hundred and eighty acres, are excellently kept. It was founded in 1801 by Captain Robert R. Randall, who bequeathed to the institution New-York real estate now of great value. A board of trustees manages its affairs, and its yearly income is over $300,000.

The dangers arising from infected vessels entering the port of New-York was foreseen over two hundred years ago, and as early as 1716 all vessels from the West Indies were compelled to anchor off Staten Island. In 1758 Bedlow's Island was constituted a quarantine station by the provincial legislature, which enacted laws for the protection of the city; these laws were reënacted in 1784 by the State legislature. In 1794 Governor's Island was substituted as the headquarters of the quarantine station, but its proximity alarmed the citizens, and seven years later it was removed to Tompkinsville, Staten Island. The location of this institution on the island was the cause of much discontent among the inhabitants, and strenuous efforts were made from time to time to have it removed. In 1857 Sandy Hook was selected as a site by the legislature, but the citizens of New Jersey prevented the transfer. Another site was chosen, in the southern part of the island, at Seguine's Point, where buildings were erected. These were destroyed by fire in a night attack; and the old buildings at Tompkinsville were treated in the same manner. At present the main quarantine station is at Clifton, opposite the Narrows, and is connected by telegraph with the lower quarantine, six miles south in the lower bay, on two artificial islands named Swinburne and Hoffman islands, where all vessels having contagious diseases on board are detained by the health officer of the port.

The approaches to the city of New-York by water are peculiarly well adapted for defense by fortifications. Especially is this true of the southern entrance to the harbor, the comparatively contracted channel at the Narrows compelling vessels to pass within a few hundred yards of both Long and Staten Islands. On the latter island the area of the government reservation for military defenses is about one hundred acres. The purchase of the territory contiguous to the reservation and required for military purposes has not been completed, excepting that of a tract of fourteen acres adjoining South Beach, which is still in the hands of the Engineer Department, it not having been transferred to the charge of the commander of the post. For many years there have been two separate forts at this point. The lower fort, formerly known as Fort Richmond, and named after the county

[1] Or, if of foreign birth, must prove by documentary evidence that they have served before the mast at least five years in vessels under the American flag.

in which it is situated, is an inclosed granite work, with three tiers of casemated guns, surmounted by a barbette battery. It is flanked on each side by earthworks, with the usual traverses and emplacements. The fort on the highest ground in the rear, called Fort Tompkins, one hundred and forty feet above high-water mark, is also an inclosed granite work surmounted by a barbette battery. It was named after Governor Daniel D. Tompkins of New-York, who died on Staten Island, June 11, 1825. A modern fortification just outside and south of Fort Tompkins is nearing completion. Battery Hudson is the name given to the earthen works in the southwest corner of the reservation, with a few emplacements for heavy guns and some sea-coast mortars in rear of the guns. The construction of Fort Wadsworth was begun in 1847, and its cost was $731,084; early the following year work was inaugurated on Fort Tompkins, and the amount thus far expended upon it is $1,470,300. Battery Hudson has involved an outlay of $267,305. The whole reservation is now called Fort Wadsworth, in memory of the gallant and patriotic services of Brigadier-General James S. Wadsworth of New-York State. "With this fort is connected one of President Lincoln's humorous sallies. High officials of the navy proposed to the President that the military engineers should prepare Fort Wadsworth with sand-bags and other appliances, according to the latest idea of defense against iron-clad ships with heavy armaments; and that an iron-clad ship should then try to batter it down. The experiment was to be tried of the relative powers of such a battery to destroy, and of such a fortification to withstand. The President paid a visit to Secretary Stanton in his office, to ask his opinion of the scheme. Mr. Stanton sent for the then Chief of Engineers, General Delafield.[2] He heard the whole plan in silence, and then said: 'Mr. President, I do not perceive that any pro-

THE AUSTEN HOUSE.[1]

[1] The Austen house, said to have been built in 1710 at Clifton, S. I., just north of the quarantine station, is almost surrounded by venerable trees and commands a view of the bay. The front door is of oak, three inches thick, and is ornamented with a large knocker in the form of a griffin's head, brought from a French château near Rouen. The ceilings are of paneled oak and the floors of solid deal taken from the cabins of captured ships. In the main hall is a fireplace, ten feet wide, decorated with tiles brought from Amsterdam two hundred years ago; and above the mantel is suspended one of the links of the enormous chain which was stretched across the Hudson in 1778 as a protection for West Point. The house was used both by the British and Americans at various times during the Revolutionary War. EDITOR.

[2] General Richard Delafield was a New Yorker and a prominent military engineer, and for many years superintendent of the U. S. Military Academy. EDITOR.

vision is made that my fort shall be allowed to defend itself. This is one of our most costly permanent forts, and it is in complete order. I shall have no objection whatever to the test, if you permit me to man my batteries and fire back again; but I am not willing to stand by and see those expensive works knocked to pieces without their having a chance to give as good as they get.' 'That 's right! that 's right!' said the President. 'Why, they told me you were a good deal of an old fogy; but I like just such old fogy ideas as yours.' It seemed that some persons had been advising the President to retire General Delafield, and put a younger officer at the head of his corps."[1] General Wadsworth fell at the head of his division, May 6, 1864, in the battle of the Wilderness, Virginia; of him, Horace Greeley, in his "American Conflict," writes: "The country's salvation claimed no nobler sacrifice than that of James S. Wadsworth of New-York. . No one surrendered more for his country's sake, or gave his life more joyfully for her deliverance." The fort which bears his name is at present under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Abram C. Wildrick, First United States Artillery.

The rapid-transit railroad has given an extraordinary impetus to Staten Island. The summer sail down the bay, the convenient change to the cars, and the rapidity with which persons are carried to their stations, have attracted thousands to its shores. Arrochar, on the east side of the island, a seaside resort possessing a fine beach, is thronged daily by crowds during the season, who reach it by these trains. The island has its athletic and cricket clubs, its boating and canoe organizations, and some of these associations have grounds of surprising excellence. As a suburb of New-York it has no equal for beauty of situation and facility of access, and to business men who desire to have their families near them during the summer months, its hotels and cottages afford ample accommodation, and it will always remain a convenient and favored spot.

GOVERNOR'S ISLAND

In the sense that Columbia is the "gem of the ocean," Governor's Island may be fitly called the jewel of New-York harbor. In winter its mantle of snow causes it to glitter in the sunlight like a veritable Koh-i-noor; in summer its verdure-covered slopes and rich foliage, surrounded by the flashing waters of the bay, suggest some huge

[1] Townsend's "Anecdotes of the Civil War."

emerald in a crystal setting. Situated due south of Manhattan Island, little more than a stone's-throw from the Battery, it has been in turn a vestibule of settlement and an outwork of defense. "In the year 1621 the West India Company, which obtained a grant or patent from the States-General for the settling and planting of a colony here, called the New Netherlands, made one of the first settlements near the mouth of Hudson's River upon an island called Nutten Island."[1] Its Algonquin name was "Pagganck" or "Pecanne," meaning nut-trees; before the settler's ax was plied with unsentimental vigor in the interests of so-called civilization, the island was covered with groves of walnut, shellbark, and chestnut trees, in memory of which the practical Dutchmen who first visited it translated its Indian name into "Nutten" or "Nooten" Island. At first it was a mere appurtenance of the colonial governors who, in turn

GOVERNOR'S ISLAND, 1892

for England or Holland, ruled over the province. In fact, it became a sort of country-seat of those dignitaries as early as 1637, when the thrifty Wouter Van Twiller purchased it for his own use, erecting thereon a windmill for sawing purposes. Upon his departure it reverted to the government, and in 1698 we find the Earl of Bellomont complaining that Colonel Fletcher, the late governor, "hath had no regard to rules, but upon notice of His Majesty's pleasure that I should be Governour he granted away every foot of land that was to be disposed of in the Government in such extravagant quantities that a grant to one man contains seventy miles in length and eight miles broad. A small island called Nutten Island for the grazing of a few coach horses and Cows for the Governour's family, he would likewise have leased out to one formerly his footman, but the Council were ashamed to consent to it, so that is only left undisposed of for the pleasure or convenience of the King's Governours."[2]

The coveted "Naboth's Vineyard" was of irregular shape, its longest diameter being from north to south, about five hundred yards in length; transversely it measured about three hundred yards; it had

[1] Colonel Nicholas Bayard to the Earl of Bellamont, July 6, 1698.
[2] Earl of Bellomont to Lords of Trade, July 1, 1698.

an elevation above high-water mark of twenty feet. Its earliest area was computed at over one hundred acres, but the action of the waters of the bay has gradually reduced it to about sixty-five acres. At a council held at Fort William Henry, September 26, 1691, Nutten Island was officially absorbed within the county of New-York. The island does not seem to have attracted attention for military purposes before 1702, when Lord Cornbury wrote the Lords of Trade that "this Province is liable to be attacked two ways. One by land, that is by Schenectady and Albany. The other way is by sea at New York itself; there lies just over against the town a small island of about four-score acres of land, called Nutten Island, which lies on the southeast side of the town. A bomb-vessel may lie behind that island and bombard the city as they please and all the guns we have cannot hurt them. The way to prevent this will be to erect two stone batteries at a place called the Narrows. One upon Long Island and the other upon Staten Island: the sea is but a little over a mile in this place, and batteries being placed there of twenty guns each it will be impossible for anybody to hurt us by sea." This appeal was eventually responded to by an appropriation of £1500, which the thrifty Cornbury expended largely in building a handsome residence, and in other peaceful improvements.

But people are slow, the world over, to take "an ounce of prevention," and it is a matter of record that Americans have always been reluctant to anticipate invasion. And so, from time to time, during the colonial period, we find the recommendation repeated to the home government to strengthen the defenses of the harbor of New-York, or that "some heavy cannon may be mounted in the Narrows and upon Nutten Island."[1] In 1708 the island became a temporary quarantine station for 10,000 immigrants fleeing from religious persecution in the Old World. They were Palatines, and after brief detention in the harbor they passed on to found new settlements in the interior of the province, near Albany. The dawn of the Revolution found the island still without any permanent fortifications; and although it was in turn occupied by detachments of American and British troops, the close of the conflict left it with simple intrenchments of earth.

In 1784, Governor George Clinton leased Governor's Island for a race-course and summer resort, and we are told of races having been held there in 1785 and 1786; and from 1786 to 1794 it was again a quarantine station. In 1794, £50,000 was appropriated by the State for placing the island in a defensive condition against an anticipated attack by the French, and volunteers were called for the work on the intrenchments; this was increased by an appropriation from the general government of $31,117, and from 1799 to 1801 Congress voted

[1] Governor Hardy (1756) to the Lords of Trade.

$60,578.23 for the same purpose. In 1806, however, a carefully considered plan was carried into execution under the supervision of the chief engineer of the army, Colonel Jonathan Williams, whose name was given to a detached work on the northwestern point of the island, now used only as a saluting-battery. Colonel Williams's plans (prepared at the request of the State Board of Fortification) proposed an armament for Fort Columbus of 104, and for Castle Williams of 100 guns. The last-named work was built on a bed of rocks, its wall forty feet high, covering three fifths of a circle two hundred feet in diameter, casemated with bomb-proof arches for two tiers of guns, and was built of Newark red sandstone taken from the same quarry that supplied the material for the construction of Fort Lafayette and Castle Garden. The interior of the castle was open to the sky; the walls were eight feet thick on the lower tier, and seven feet on the upper; there were also two stone magazines for powder, and a small well of good water. Fort Columbus was built on the site of Fort Jay (as the earliest earthwork was called), and consisted of four batteries, three curtains, and an attached casemated ravelin. The ditch was about forty feet wide. There was a magazine of 500 barrels' capacity, and brick barracks and quarters for a garrison of two companies.

When the War of 1812 began, the island became the scene of bustle and military preparation. Under the supervision of Colonel Burbeck of the regular artillery, commanding the harbor posts, the State volunteers and recruits for the army were drilled and fitted for the field. About this time (July 6, 1812) occurred the resignation of Colonel Williams, Corps of Engineers, his assignment to command the work bearing his name having given rise to dissatisfaction in the artillery arm of the service. After the War of 1812 an additional defensive work, called the "South Battery," was erected on the lower end of the island, so as to command Buttermilk Channel. In 1812 a cholera scare interrupted the routine of service, and in 1836 the post was left without a garrison, all available troops being needed in Florida during the Seminole War. From 1837 to 1852 nothing disturbed the even tenor of life on the island excepting a ripple of activity during the Mexican War period (1846–48). In the latter year it was formally announced as the headquarters of the recruiting service for the army.

Another interval of pipe-clay and monotonous guard-duty was succeeded by the stirring times of 1861–65, when the island became an important depot for the United States, although it was never remarkable for the size of its garrison. The ancient Castle Williams became the dungeon for Confederate prisoners of war, more than one thousand having been confined there at the time. A notable event was the execution in 1864 of John Y. Beall, a Confederate officer, convicted of piracy on the lakes. A peculiar interest was attached to

the fate of this unfortunate man, by reason of his kinship with a distinguished family which had in other days served the country long and faithfully. After the war came the usual reaction, the island becoming a place of deposit for surplus stores and the débris of numerous battlefields.

Under the administration of General Winfield S. Hancock, commanding the military division of the Atlantic, a large sum of money, appropriated by Congress, was expended in improving the military post of Fort Columbus, which comprises all of Governor's Island, excepting about six acres on the north side, upon which are the buildings of the New-York Arsenal, under the jurisdiction of the United States Ordnance Department. At this time a number of modern cottages suitable for officers' quarters was erected, a flexible pipe was laid on the bed of Buttermilk Channel, connecting the island with the Brooklyn water-system, work was begun on a permanent sea-wall to protect the public domain from further encroachment by the tide, a new steam ferry-boat was purchased, and the headquarters of the division established on the island. The old station became infused with new life; social entertainments, to the success of which the citizens of the metropolis lent their presence, were frequent; public intercourse with the island, which for years had been suspended, was renewed, and from Uncle Sam's old watch-tower, under the old flag, spoke the morning and evening gun with a new meaning.

In 1878, the Military Service Institution of the United States, an association of officers of the army and others interested in military progress, was formed in the city of New-York, with General Hancock as its president. Soon after, the institution was established on Governor's Island, where with its library and museum it has added greatly to the local attractions. Since 1878 it has increased in importance and membership,—comprising nearly three thousand officers of the army, volunteers, and National Guard,—and through the medium of its journal has penetrated to the uttermost parts of the earth. A small chapel, under the care of Trinity parish, and an officers' club, are provisions for the spiritual and temporal comfort of the garrison, which consists of two batteries of the First Regiment of Artillery, under the command of Major William L. Haskin, U. S. A.

Nearly three centuries have passed since the white man first set foot on Governor's Island. During that time men high in civic or military station have pressed its turf and kept watch and ward over the harbor entrance. Colonial governors like Colden, De Lancey, Hardy, Moore, and Tryon have smoked their pipes, sipped their Madeira, and meditated more or less mischief in the shade of the nut-trees. Gallant soldiers have planned battles or rested on their laurels in sight of its lawn-like "parade." Here the gallant Prescott

of the Revolution trained his feeble armament upon the proud war-ships of King George; here the engineer Williams, some thirty years afterward, traced the angles of Fort Columbus, and saw arise the red sand-stone monument to his memory; on this spot, under the eyes of Loomis, preparations for the Mexican war went on with military method; from his modest quarters at this post was called, in 1861, the sterling field-officer Heintzelman to do honor to a higher grade; and here, after four years of bitter, bloody strife, came to a well-earned rest and high command, Hancock,—"the Superb,"—who, surrounded by family and friends, "fought his battles o'er again," and rounded up his career with a civic campaign in which defeat brought no dishonor: and it is admitted that under no other resident was so much done to improve the island and preserve its natural beauty. Finally, in succession, came the able and courteous Schofield (now the head of the United States Army), and the earnest and scholarly Howard, who, from his office overlooking the Narrows and Staten Island, administers the affairs of a military command extending from Maine to Florida.

FORT LAFAYETTE

The construction of this fort was begun during the war of 1812, when the necessity of preventing hostile armed vessels from entering the harbor of New-York had become apparent to the government authorities. A ledge of rock in the Narrows, some two hundred yards from the Long Island shore, afforded an opportunity for forming an artificial island, and here Fort Lafayette was erected. It is a large, round brick structure, pierced at regular intervals for artillery, and its guns formerly commanded the channel. When first built, it was named after the island or ledge on which it stands; but at the time of Lafayette's visit to this country its name was changed. Its armament at first was seventy-two 32-pounder guns, costing $54,792; these were replaced in the early part of the civil war by heavy Parrott guns. Its war garrison was originally fixed at five hundred men, while on a peace footing this number was reduced to eighty.

This fort attained great notoriety during the civil war by reason of its use as a prison for disloyal persons and political captives, at which time Colonel Martin Burke, a noted character, was in immediate command under General Scott.[1] Of the different individuals confined within its walls at that period, no more remarkable or noteworthy case

[1] See Vol. III. p. 48, note.

occurred than that of General Charles P. Stone, a native of Massachusetts, of "a family belonging to old Puritan stock, and which had been honorably represented in every war in which the American people had engaged."[1] A gradnate of West Point, General Stone served with credit as a lieutenant in the Mexican war, resigning his commission in 1855. Tendering his services at the outbreak of the war, President Lincoln appointed him colonel of the Fourteenth United States Infantry. Subsequent to the hattle of Bull Run, Stone was made a brigadier-general, and commanded a division in McClellan's army; and in this division was the hody of troops under Colonel Edward D. Baker which engaged in the disastrous fight at Ball's Bluff, wherein the loss was severe, the commanding officer heing among the slain. Colonel Baker was a most popular man, and a rumor that his life had been unnecessarily destroyed, and that he had gone into the hattle protesting against his orders, rapidly gained currency. The newspaper columns increased the apparent truth of the wide-spread exaggerations, until finally General Stone was driven to reply to the attacks made upon him by Colonel Baker's friends. On January 5, 1862, Stone was summoned before the Committee on the Conduct of the War at Washington, and under oath replied in a satisfactory way to all questions asked him. In addition, numberless officers of the lower grades in his division testified also, and to his disadvantage, although, on the other hand, the testimony of higher officers in his command was favorahle. Twenty-six days afterward he was again called hefore the same committee, and was informed hy the chairman of the charges against him as formnlated from the evidence of the witnesses examined, and of which he had previously heen ignorant. To these accusations General Stone replied in a full, frank, and manly way, without the slightest reservation; to the charge of disloyalty he replied feelingly: "That is one humiliation I had hoped I should never be subjected to. You, Mr. Chairman, remember last spring, when the government had so few friends here, when the enemy had this city I might almost say in his power, I raised all the volunteer troops that were here during the seven dark days. I disciplined and posted these troops. I commanded them, and they were the first to invade the soil of Virginia, and I led them. I could have surrendered Washington. And now I will swear that this government has not a more faithful soldier, of poor capacity it may he, hut not a more faithful soldier from the day I was called into service to this minute." It was afterward ascertained that, three days before this second examination, Secretary Stanton had sent General McClellan an order "to relieve General Stone from his command of a division of the Army of the Potomac, and that he he placed in arrest and kept iu close custody

[1] Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress," Vol. I.

until further orders." This fact afforded ample evidence that the War Department had settled the case in advance, and before the general could reply to his accusers. By order of McClellan, he was arrested on February 8, taken at midnight from his bed in his hotel, and hurried off by train to Fort Lafayette, where his money was taken from him, and he was placed in solitary confinement in a room used for quarters by enlisted men. Here he was kept under the strictest surveillance for forty-nine days, receiving no replies to his numerous applications to Washington for a statement of the charges against him, neither was he allowed to receive a visit from his wife, from whom he had been separated nearly two months. On the fiftieth day he was removed to Fort Hamilton, where he renewed his requests to the War Department for information as to his imprisonment, but without avail; he applied twice for permission to join the army again, pending the disposition of his case, and even telegraphed to the President, but no answers were ever vouchsafed to him. In March the subject of his arrest was taken up by Congress, and after a protracted debate a resolution was adopted calling upon "the President of the United States to communicate to the Senate any information touching the arrest and imprisonment of General Stone not deemed incompatible with public interest." The President replied on May 1, stating in effect that Stone had been imprisoned under his general authority, and upon evidence that such proceeding was necessary for the public safety; that he would be allowed a trial without unnecessary delay, and that charges and specifications would be furnished him, and every facility for his defense afforded him by the War Department. Nothing was done, however, and General Stone languished in confinement until set at liberty by an act of Congress, August 16, having been one hundred and eighty-nine days in prison. A free man once more, he used every exertion to obtain a copy of the charges against him, but unsuccessfully. Finally, five months after his release, he appeared for the third time before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, was shown the hitherto withheld testimony, and triumphantly refuted all the accusations which had been brought against him. He awaited orders until May 3, 1863, when he was directed to report to the com-

COLONEL MARTIN BURKE.

manding general of the Department of the Gulf, where he served until April 17, 1864, principally as chief of staff to General Nathaniel P. Banks. "No reparation was ever made to him for the protracted defamation of his character, no order was published acknowledging that he was found guiltless,"[1] and worn out with petty annoyances and grievously wounded in spirit, he resigned his commission in September, 1864, and in 1870 accepted the position of chief of staff to the Khedive of Egypt.

Another noted, but troublesome prisoner at Fort Lafayette was a Captain or Colonel Thomas, who held a Confederate States commission. He had the aliases of "Zarvona" and "the French lady"; the latter sobriquet, which illnstrates his daring character, was derived from the following incident, the account of which is taken from the "Baltimore American" of July 2, 1861:[2]

> The steamer Saint Nicholas was captured in the Potomac River by a party of secessionists. The steamer left Baltimore, having on board about fifty passengers. Among those who went aboard previous to her departure, was a very respectable "French lady," who was heavily veiled, and, pleading indisposition, she was immediately shown to her state-room, where she was kindly cared for by the females on board. There was also a party of about twenty-five men dressed in the garb of mechanics, carrying with them carpenters', tinners', blacksmiths', and other tools. When near Point Lookout, the "French lady" appeared on deck, not in crinoline, but in the person of a stalwart man, who was immediately surrounded by the party of mechanics above alluded to. Captain Kirwan of the steamer demanded an explanation, when the "lady-man" informed him that he designed confiscating the steamer and going on a privateering expedition. Finding himself overpowered, Captain Kirwan was compelled to submit, and the boat was handed over to the man and his crew, who took possession, and proceeded to run the steamer to a point known as "the Cone," on the Virginia shore. Upon landing at that place, the steamer was boarded by a body of about one thousand Virginia troops, when the passengers were landed and allowed to go on their way.

Not long after, Captain Thomas and eight of his men were seen on board the Mary Washington, *en route* from Fair Haven to Baltimore, by Captain Kirwan and two of his officers, as well as two policemen, all of whom happened to be passengers on the same boat. The captain of the steamboat was instructed to land at Fort McHenry, but Thomas, noting the stratagem, flourished a pistol, and backed by his followers demanded that the boat should go at once to Baltimore. He and his men were overpowered, and upon reaching Fort McHenry, a guard was sent on board the boat to arrest him. He "could not be found for over an hour, when he was at last dragged from a bureau-drawer in the ladies' cabin," his small height enabling him to hide himself in this eccentric manner. "During his confinement in Fort Lafayette, he was constantly making trouble in some way. He once

[1] Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress," Vol. I.
[2] Townsend's "Anecdotes of the Civil War." New-York, 1884.

actually attempted to escape by throwing himself overboard, although he could not swim, with nothing to depend on but some empty tin cans arrayed for floats."

In the winter of 1868–69, the interior of Fort Lafayette, with the exception of the magazine, was destroyed by fire, and its armament of heavy Parrott guns was entirely ruined. The total cost of the construction of the fort was $318,305. Since the fire it has been utilized as a storage place for ordnance and stores, also for experimenting with the dynamite-gun and other military devices.

FORT HAMILTON, NEW-YORK HARBOR, ON THE NARROWS

The reservation on which the fort stands contains about one hundred and fifty-four acres, situated in the old Dutch town of New Utrecht, which was settled in 1654. Just to the east of the present earthworks is Gravesend Bay, the place where Lord Howe's English soldiers landed the day before the battle of Long Island, in August, 1776; and on the government reservation is the old Cortelyou house, which is supposed to have been Lord Howe's headquarters. Fort Hamilton, in conjunction with Fort Wadsworth on Staten Island, commands the Narrows, by which name is known the channel between Staten Island and Long Island; and Fort Lafayette, erected on an artificial island called Diamond Island, lies off Fort Hamilton to the east of the main ship-channel. The War of 1812 awakened the military authorities to the fact that New-York city was not sufficiently fortified at the entrance of the bay. Such an important point as the Narrows could not long escape the attention of the government, and ground was immediately secured for the purpose of strengthening this point.

The land now occupied by the main work (or fort proper) and officers' cottages was ceded to the government by New-York city on May 30, 1814, in exchange for certain property of the government situated in the city of New-York. That part where the earthworks were afterward constructed was purchased from George S. Gelston and Mrs. Julia Delaplaine. The reservation was admirably suited to the use required of it, having an elevation on the water-front of about fifty-five feet above the sea-level, and sloping rapidly, though irregularly, to the shore. Swamps and stagnant ponds covering peat-bogs dotted the central portion of the reservation, causing much fever and malaria among the soldiers who were stationed there for any con-

siderable length of time, and it has been in this direction that the recent work of improvement has been pushed forward.

Ground was broken for the building of Fort Hamilton by Captain George Blaney of the United States Engineer Corps, superintending engineer, and his assistant, Lieutenant Joseph K. F. Mansfield, Corps of Engineers, in immediate charge, on April 26, 1825; and on July 10, 1831, it was completed according to the plan at that time adopted, and ready for occupancy. The constructing engineers were, besides

THE NARROWS AND FORT WADSWORTH, 1892.

Captain Blaney, Major René E. De Russy, Colonel George Talcott, and Lieutenant Mansfield. The corner-stone was laid June 11, 1825. From May 19, 1825, regular annual appropriations were made by Congress for pushing the work on the fort; and they were as follows: March 14, 1826, $75,000; March 2, 1827, $55,000; March 19, 1828, $60,000; May 24, 1828, $20,000; March 2, 1829, $80,000; March 2, 1831, $10,000; February 24, 1832, $10,000. Since 1832 large sums have been appropriated for work outside of the fort proper, such as the building of storage magazines, service or traverse magazines, and emplacements for heavy sea-coast guns and mortars. In October of 1831 the chief of engineers advised the War Department that the fort was ready to receive a garrison.

The total amount expended upon the work up to that date, according to the annual report of the chief of engineers for the year 1831, had been $482,599.40, which, considering the disbursements mentioned above, must have included the price of part of the land. The fort is trapezoidal in outlines, with the parallel sides more than twice as long

as the others, and is fitted with quarters in the casemates for officers and enlisted men. In front of the main work is a water-battery, and to its left, extending along the shore, is a sea-coast gun battery, behind which is a mortar-battery; while further in the rear, and about the middle of the reservation, is a redoubt of nearly the same age as the fort itself.

On November 1, 1831, Battery F of the Fourth Artillery, under command of Captain Levi Whiting, left Fort Columbus with two officers and fifty-two men, and occupied Fort Hamilton as its first garrison. From this time until April 14, 1847, Fort Hamilton and Fort Columbus appear to have been under command of the senior officer in New-York harbor, wherever he may have been stationed. Its status as a separate, independent command dated from April 23, 1847, when Captain William H. Tompkins, Tenth Infantry, assumed com-

THE NARROWS.

mand with a garrison of seven officers and two hundred and eighty-seven enlisted men, including Company E of the Third Dragoons, and Companies B, C, and D of the Tenth Infantry. Again, on August 22, 1852, separate returns were ordered discontinued, and all the posts in New-York harbor consolidated in one and the same return, and this status existed until July 24, 1852, when separate returns were resumed.

Without definite information, regarding which the records of the War Department are singularly silent, there is little doubt that this fort was named in commemoration of the distinguished services of one of the most eminent citizens of the State of New-York—Alexander Hamilton, a member of the cabinet of President Washington. The post has been continuously garrisoned from 1831 up to this date (1893), and since 1848 has generally been commanded by a field-offi-

cer. From 1824 to 1875 the various sums appropriated for the use of Fort Hamilton amounted to $1,205,000.

Since the time of its completion it has been the station of regiments, batteries, and officers that have made famous records in the Mexican and Indian wars, and in the War of the Rebellion. Among these were William P. Bainbridge of the Fourth Artillery; John Sedgwick, Second Artillery, who, while serving as major-general of volunteers, was killed at Spottsylvania. William F. Barry and Henry J. Hunt served here as lieutenants of the Second Artillery, both becoming afterward brigadier-generals of volunteers. Thomas Jonathan Jackson, better known as "Stonewall Jackson," and Truman Seymour, who was afterward a brigadier-general of United States Volunteers, were both quartered here as first lieutenants of the old First Artillery. Seymour lived in the first casemate to the left as one enters the officers' postern, and Jackson in the casemate nearest the stairway at the other end of the row. Robert E. Lee was on duty here as lieutenant of engineers for two years before the Mexican war.

The records of the fort for the first fourteen years of its existence were destroyed or lost, and but little is known of its early history. In 1843 Captain Samuel MacKenzie took possession, with several batteries of the Second Artillery; he was succeeded, after two months' command, by Major Matthew M. Payne, also of the Second Artillery. Later, Captain Allen Lowd took command, with staff officers, and batteries C, E, F, and I of the Second Artillery. In 1848 the Second Regiment New-York Volunteers and the First Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers occupied the fort under Captain Lowd. In November of the same year, a change of the station of troops occurred, and Light Battery K of the First Artillery, with Companies B, C, and K of the Second Infantry, came in, under the command of Major Levi Whiting of the First Artillery. In 1849 Captain Frank Taylor of the First Artillery, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, U. S. A., took command, and his garrison was succeeded in 1850 by several batteries of the Fourth Artillery. From this time until the beginning of the Civil War, the commanders were as follows: Captain George W. Getty, Fourth Artillery; Major Harvey Brown, Second Artillery; Lieutenant-Colonel Justin Dimick, First Artillery; Major Martin Burke, Third Artillery; and Major Charles E. Harvey, U. S. A. Then came Major Robert Anderson, of the First Artillery, with Batteries B and H, and five companies of the Third Infantry. The stirring times necessitated many changes, and during the first two years of the war the fort had no less than eight commanders. Following Major Anderson came Captain Abner Doubleday of the First Artillery; First Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer of the First Artillery; Martin Burke, who had by that time been promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel of the Twelfth

Infantry; Colonel Harvey Brown of the Fifth Artillery; Colonel Samuel Graham; and Colonel Harvey Brown.

In 1861 the Forty-eighth New-York Volunteers, under Colonel James H. Perry, was camped at Fort Hamilton prior to embarkation for the seat of war; in 1864 the forces at the fort were increased, Colonel Hannibal Day taking command with detachments of the Fifth Artillery, Sixth and Twelfth Infantry, and the Fourteenth New-York Volunteer Heavy Artillery. He was succeeded by Major Dickinson Woodruff, Twelfth Infantry, and from that time until the autumn of 1865 the fort was occupied at various times by the Third United States Infantry, Sixty-ninth Regiment National Guard of New-York, the Second, Tenth and Seventeenth United States Infantry, and several batteries of the First Artillery. Colonel Israel Vogdes of the First United States Artillery took command in the early part of 1866. In 1872 Colonel Getty again took charge, and in 1877 Lieutenant-Colonel Romeyn B. Ayres of the Third Artillery came in for two years' command. Lieutenant-Colonel George A. De Russy took command in 1879, and he was succeeded in 1881 by Colonel John Hamilton of the Fifth Artillery, who was succeeded in October, 1887, by Colonel Alexander Piper of the Fifth Artillery. In May, 1890, the garrisons of Forts Hamilton, Wadsworth, and Columbus, in New-York harbor, were all replaced by batteries of the First Regiment United States Artillery; the headquarters, field, staff, and band, were established at Fort Hamilton, with Colonel Loomis L. Langdon of the First United States Artillery in command of the post and regiment; and no changes have taken place up to the date of this present writing.

FORT SCHUYLER, WILLET'S POINT, AND DAVID'S ISLAND

Any sketch of the present defenses of the harbor of New-York would be incomplete without mention of the three military posts lying north of the city. Although but one of them can boast of the name and semblance of a fort, all are of both national and local importance. Fort Schuyler, the earliest in date of construction, is situated upon Throgg's Point, a narrow projection of Westchester County, at the junction of the East River and Long Island Sound, and is distant from the City Hall about seventeen miles. The reservation of fifty-two acres was acquired by the general government in 1826, but work was not commenced until 1833, and the fortification was not completed until 1856. It is a substantial casemated structure of

granite, intended for an armament of heavy guns and a sufficient garrison to protect and handle them. It shares with its opposite neighbor, Willet's Point, the honor of guarding the approach to Hell Gate, and is also available as a station for any line of torpedo defense that might be established by the corps of engineers. For many years Fort Schuyler has been the station of one or two batteries of artillery, seldom aggregating more than one hundred men. During the Civil War, one of the large general hospitals (McDougall) was established on this military reservation. It is a fine specimen of that type of post which is fast disappearing from our military establishment—feeble as to its garrison, antiquated in its *matériel* of war, and, owing to its remoteness from the railroad, comparatively isolated.

Willet's Point, a part of Long Island, is situated on the south bank of the East River, about fifteen miles from the city. In 1857 the War Department purchased the ground (one hundred and ten acres), and in 1862 the construction of the post was begun. In the following year the remainder of the present reservation (twenty-six and a half acres) was acquired by the government. During the Rebellion, a temporary depot for recruits was situated here, and in 1864 the Grant General Hospital, with a capacity of fourteen hundred beds, was established at this point. At the close of the war it became a place of deposit for engineer material, and the headquarters of the battalion of engineers. Under the able command of General Abbot, of that corps, a system of torpedo experiment was begun and carried on to an extent that soon placed at the control of the government information of the highest military value, and won for that officer a world-wide reputation. As the natural result of General Abbot's researches, the "School of Submarine Mining" was evolved, and a course of study prescribed and thrown open to a limited number of officers of the army desiring to inform themselves on the practical application of the theory of torpedo defense. The garrison is composed of some five hundred engineer soldiers, who are constantly exercised in the duties of their special branch of service as well as in infantry drill. As a rule, these men are of a high order of intelligence, and are required to become familiar with the principles of mechanics; to construct and lay bridges; to sink, explode, or take up torpedoes; to understand the nature and operation of high explosives, steam-engines, and electrical apparatus, as well as the duties formerly pertaining to sappers and miners. Commodious officers' quarters, barracks for the men, a post school, a library with several thousand volumes, a modern post hospital commanding a beautiful view of the Sound, a printing-office for the publication of professional papers, and a chapel are provided. The proximity to Whitestone, on the Long Island Railroad, and a triweekly steamer, bring the city within easy communication,

while the social intercourse at so large a post renders the officers' families comparatively independent of outside entertainment.

David's Island, with an area of eighty-six and a half acres, is at the southwestern extremity of Long Island Sound, about twenty-two miles from New-York. In 1863 it was utilized as a permanent camp for the rendezvous of troops *en route* to the field. It is now one of the two depots for receiving and training recruits for the infantry arm of service—the other depot being situated at Columbus, Ohio. Here there are barracks and quarters for nearly one thousand officers and men; a well-equipped hospital; a large mess-hall fitted up with modern culinary contrivances, and a novel system of railway tracks and cars for conveying the cooked food from the kitchen to the mess-tables with the least trouble and a minimum loss of heat. The soldiers' barracks are models of comfort and convenience, and contain neat lockers for clothing, iron folding-beds with wire mattresses, lavatories with numerous marble basins, a reading-room supplied with current literature as well as the works of standard authors, separate rooms for non-commissioned officers,—the whole built and equipped on the best sanitary and hygienic principles. The barracks and mess-hall are monuments to the ability and enthusiastic devotion to his profession of the late Captain George W. Cooke of the quartermaster's department of the army, who, in 1889, died here in the midst of his work. The island is protected from the encroachments of the tide by a substantial sea-wall. The post is generally commanded by a field-officer of infantry, assisted by a staff of captains and lieutenants, assigned to duty with the permanent party and six recruit companies always under instruction, and from which drafts are from time to time sent to regiments serving on the frontier. An officer's tour of duty at David's Island seldom exceeds two years, when a new detail is made for recruiting service. A small steamboat runs to New Rochelle for the convenience of the garrison, which is supplied with the necessaries of life, and such luxuries as are contained within the scope of the authorized "ration," by means of the quartermaster's steamer, which makes biweekly trips to and from the city. The taxpayer is too apt to look upon forts and guns, and other military appurtenances, as sources of public expenditure not to be encouraged in time of peace. This economist, however, overlooks the fact that much of the outlay is returned to the merchant through local commercial channels. The amount of money put in circulation in the city of New-York to cover the cost of construction and maintenance of the military posts and improvements in its vicinity, and of supplies purchased in its market for the army at large, to the date of this writing, is almost incalculable, leading thoughtful and peace-loving citizens to admit that war is not an unmixed evil.

CHAPTER II

THE KNICKERBOCKER AUTHORS

IT has been the writer's peculiar privilege to have enjoyed more or less intimacy with many of the "Old Guard" of American authors connected with what has been called the "Augustan Age of American Literature," which existed in this city during the decade ending in 1840. All those who will be mentioned in this monograph have deserted the ranks of those De Quincey described as "the not inconsiderable class of men who have not the advantage of being dead." Madame de Staël used to say that the highest happiness she had experienced was derived from her conversations and correspondence with great and gifted men. The writer is fully disposed to share this belief, and he deems it among the happiest circumstances of his life that he has had the good fortune to enjoy the friendship of so many eminent literary men, described by Chaucer as

> On Fame's eternall bead-roll worthie to be fyled.

What has been occasionally designated as the "Knickerbocker Literature" may be defined as the poetry and prose produced in New-York, during the first half of the nineteenth century, by Bryant, Cooper, Drake, Halleck, Hoffman, Irving, Morris, Paulding, Poe, Verplanck, Willis, Woodworth, and others, as essayists, historians, novelists, and poets. The pioneers among Knickerbocker authors were the friends and literary partners James K. Paulding and Washington Irving, who were joint writers of "Salmagundi; or, the Whim-whams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff, Esq., and Others," a work which appeared in fortnightly numbers from the Shakespeare Gallery of Longworth. It was continued through twenty parts. In "Salmagundi" the humors of the day are travestied in a collection of sunny and good-natured essays, and in so agreeable a manner that the work is still read with interest after the lapse of more than four score years since it was completed. The few poems which appear on its pages were written by William Irving, an elder brother of

Washington, and the brother-in-law of Paulding, whose sister he had married. "Cockloft Hall," which figures conspicuously in "Salmagundi," is a veritable mansion on the Passaic River, near Newark, and was so called by Irving. It is still in a good state of preservation. Nearly ninety years ago it was a favorite resort of its young owner, Gouverneur Kemble, Paulding, the Irvings, Captain Porter (father of the admiral), Henry Brevoort, and other merry young blades, who made the old mansion gay with their fun and frolic. Kemble, in a note to the writer, dated February 6, 1872, says: "The old place near Newark, in New Jersey, christened 'Cockloft Hall' by Mr. Irving, was called Mount Pleasant. The house was built by Nicholas Gouverneur, grandson of Abraham Gouverneur, who married the daughter of Governor Jacob Leisler."

WILL WIZARD.[1]

Among the first to make a creditable appearance in the field of American literature was James Kirke Paulding (1779–1860). He was also the first of our writers who could be put forth as successfully refuting those critics—chiefly English—who claimed that there was no nationality in the literature of the western world. Nationality is the prominent characteristic of all his writings, which appeared almost continuously during a period of nearly sixty years, commencing with "Salmagundi," in 1807, and concluding with a volume of American comedies. The author of "The Dutchman's Fireside"[2] and "Westward Ho!" found inspiration at home for his earlier works,—when neither American scenes nor American society were supposed to furnish attractive materials,—as he continued to do throughout his long career of authorship. Paulding was a man of great intellectual robustness; strong in his convictions, and inexorable in his prejudices; with great clearness of perception, but little inclination to the ideal; a hearty hater, and a devoted friend; rejoicing in sarcasm, though free from malignity, both in his books and conversation; never yielding to the illusion of fancy or feeling, and expressing himself in language more remarkable for its grave irony and brusque vigor than for its amenity or elegance. No man ever stood up more stoutly or manfully in

[1] Will Wizard was the *nom de plume* of Washington Irving in "Salmagundi," his brother William writing the papers signed Anthony Evergreen, and Paulding those attributed to Launcelot Langstaff. It is a well known fact, however, that the above distinctive authorship was not always closely adhered to, and that most of the satires were written conjointly by the three literary partners.

[2] Paulding, as he told me, was much indebted in this work to Mrs. Grant's "American Lady."

defense of that "mother of a mighty race," when assailed from abroad, than did James K. Paulding; nor did any author born on American soil ever entertain greater contempt for foreign example or criticism.

Between Paulding and his contemporary, Cooper, there were many strong points of resemblance; between the author of "The Backwoodsman" and his lifelong friend and literary partner, Irving, few, if any. In addition to his numerous novels and an exceedingly popular "Life of Washington," Paulding was the writer of the now forgotten verse frequently referred to in "Fanny," and elsewhere, by Halleck, who says,

> The muse has damned him, let him damn the muse,

and by another New-York bard, who, in a couplet, thus elegantly and judiciously determines the merits of Homer and Paulding as poets:

> Homer was well enough; but would he ever
> Have written, think ye, "The Backwoodsman"? Never!

No doubt, during his long career, Paulding

> Gave up to party what was meant for mankind,

by devoting much of his time and strength to political controversy, and to writing anonymous articles and editorials on miscellaneous subjects for the newspapers.

The echoes of the eloquent eulogies wreathed by Bryant and Everett around the name of Washington Irving on the 3d of April, 1860, had scarcely reached the beautiful home on the banks of the Hudson, near Hyde Park, of his contemporary, Paulding, when he, too, was called away, and it requires no stretch of fancy to imagine that he only lingered to gather up and carry with him to his honored friend the grateful homage of their common country. The hand of Spring was laid on the elder, whom Winter had spared. Paulding passed away peacefully early on the evening of the 6th of April; and although by "reason of strength" he had attained to more than four score years, he died as Irving died, suddenly, and, like his lifelong comrade, in the peace of his own happy home, surrounded by those who were most near and dear to him.

"Knickerbocker's History of New-York" was published in December, 1809. It was commenced by Washington Irving (1783–1859) in company with his brother, Dr. Peter Irving, with the purpose of parodying a handbook which had just appeared, entitled "A Picture of New-York." Dr. Irving's departure for Europe left it in the hands of his brother, by whom it was completed. The humor of this racy work is irresistible, and it is related of a grave judge that, in the course of

an important case, he suddenly exploded over some laughter-compelling passage of the work, which he had smuggled with him to the bench. Of Irving's other well-known writings, a series fitly concluded by his noble "Life of Washington," it is unnecessary to speak; to enumerate or criticize them is needless, and would be a plagiarism from the stores of universal memory. Of his works, including his well-written life by his nephew, Pierre M. Irving, more than a million of volumes have been sold in this country, and hundreds of thousands in Great Britain, where they are only less known and admired than in his native land. I should be glad to share with my readers some personal recollections of the genial author, but I must pass on to refer to other less known writers and works than those which emanated from his ever busy and ever charming pen, concluding with a brief extract from an essay by Richard H. Dana, who lived to the age of ninety-two, an object of the deserved respect and admiration of his

"These struggling tides of Life, that seem
In wayward aimless course to end,
Are eddies of the mighty Stream
That rolls to its appointed end."

William Cullen Bryant.
October 25th 1872.

countrymen. "Amiableness," remarks Mr. Dana, "is so strongly marked in all Mr. Irving's writings as never to let you forget the man; and the pleasure is doubled in the same happy manner as it is in lively conversation with one for whom you have a deep attachment and esteem."

Samuel Woodworth (1785–1842), who may be called a single-song poet, was the youngest son of one of the patriot band that achieved our independence. He removed from Massachusetts, his native State, after serving an apprenticeship as a printer in Boston, and established, in 1812, a weekly newspaper in New-York, entitled "The War," to the columns of which he contributed numerous patriotic songs and odes on the victories won on land and sea by the Americans. These and other poetical pieces were published in a volume in 1818, and a second collection, including his most popular poem, "The Old Oaken Bucket," appeared in 1826. At this time Woodworth was one of the

notable citizens of New-York, and his house in Duane street was the resort of the leading literary men of the day, such as Cooper, Halleck, and Verplanck. The second named of these writers, it will be remembered, addressed one of his beautiful compositions, "A Poet's Daughter," to Miss Woodworth. In 1823, Woodworth, with George P. Morris, established the "New-York Mirror." In this very popular literary journal there appeared in 1827, after his retirement, a fine steel-engraving containing a group of portraits of the most popular American poets of that period, among which appear the amiable features of Samuel Woodworth, while among the others are James G. Brooks, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Washington Irving, James G. Percival, John Pierpont, Edward C. Pinckney, and Charles Sprague, the last survivor of this group. Halleck, in "The Recorder," written a year later, alludes to two American poets not included among the above:

Hillhouse, whose music, like his themes,
Lifts earth to heaven; whose poet dreams
Are pure and holy as the hymn
Echoed from harps of seraphim,
By bards that drank at Zion's fountains,
  When glory, hope, and peace were hers,
And beautiful upon her mountains
  The feet of angel messengers.
Bryant, whose songs are thoughts that bless
  The heart, its teachers, and its joy,
As mothers blend with their caress
Lessons of truth and gentleness,
  And virtue for the listening boy.

Woodworth was also the author of a "History of the War of 1812–14," and of several dramatic pieces, chiefly operatic. Of these, perhaps the most popular is "The Forest Rose." In 1861 his son edited and issued an edition of his father's poetical writings, accompanied by a memoir from the pen of George P. Morris. Samuel Woodworth was a man of irreproachable character, and notwithstanding the want of success that invariably attended his various literary enterprises, he was universally esteemed an honorable and upright citizen. His fame will rest chiefly on his fine lyric of "The Old Oaken Bucket," which has embalmed in undying verse so many of the most touching recollections of rural childhood, and will preserve the more poetic form *oaken*, together with the memory of the almost obsolete implement it celebrates, through all dialectic changes as long as English shall be a spoken language.[1]

Gulian Crommelin Verplanck (1786–1870), an accomplished author, and for sixty years prominent in the highest literary and social circles

[1] "Lectures on the English Language," by George P. Marsh. New-York, 1860.

of his native city, was born in Wall street, New-York, and, as his name indicates, was descended from the founders of the Empire State. He graduated at Columbia College in 1801, and, after studying law, he spent several years of study and travel in Europe. Returning to New-York, he entered upon a literary career, and in 1821 accepted the Professorship of the Evidences of Christianity in the Episcopal Seminary of New-York. In 1825 he was elected to Congress, where he held his seat for eight years, and later was a member of the State Senate in 1838–41. He was the first president of the State Board of Emigration, an office which he retained till his death in New-York city at the age of eighty-four; and for nearly half a century he was vice-chancellor of the State University. He was for forty years a member of the vestry of Trinity Church, and occupied many other posts of trust and usefulness in his native city and State.

More than three score years ago Verplanck began his literary life by the delivery in New-York of the first of a series of scholarly addresses on which his fame is mainly founded. As early, however, as 1814 he wrote a dozen or more incisive articles against the war with England then in progress; followed by a volume of essays on the "Nature and Uses of the Various Evidences of Revealed Religion." In 1827, in connection with William C. Bryant and Robert C. Sands, he engaged in the production of an annual entitled the "Talisman," which was illustrated with engravings on steel from paintings by American artists. Three annual volumes of the "Talisman" were issued for the years 1828, 1829, and 1830, to all of which Verplanck was a contributor. He was a somewhat indolent man, and his mode of composition was certainly singular. Nearly all his contributions to the "Talisman" were written in Sands's library, where, seated in a chair, with his arm resting on another, while his feet were supported by a third, he dictated to one of his *confrères* as rapidly as he could write.[1] All the articles and poems in the second of the series were written by Verplanck, Sands, or Bryant, with three exceptions: "The Little Old Man of Coblentz" is from the pen of John Inman, a brother of Henry, the painter; "Red Jacket" was written by Halleck; and the sonnet beginning

Beautiful streamlet by my dwelling side

is by John Howard Bryant, an Illinois farmer, and the only surviving brother of William Cullen. The preface to the volumes, signed "Francis Herbert," is the joint production of the three literary partners.

In 1847 Verplanck completed his scholarly illustrated edition of Shakespeare, which was issued by the Harpers in three handsome

[1] This proceeding is suggestive of the statement of a member of the literary firm of Erckmann Chatrian, who says: "Since we have worked together, Chatrian has not once put pen to paper."

royal octavo volumes. His labors consisted in a thorough revision of the text, which was done with independence as well as carefulness. An excellent feature of his work is the pointing out of colloquial expressions, often called Americanisms, which, obsolete in England, are yet preserved in this country. He gives original prefaces to the plays, characterized by the ease and finish common to all his compositions. This ripe scholar, able writer, wise statesmau, and highly gifted conversationalist divided his time between the city of New-York and his ancestral home at Fishkill on the Hudson, a well-preserved old mansion in which was founded the Society of the Cincinnati, an order established in 1783, by surviving officers in our Revolutionary army, "to perpetuate their friendship and to raise a fund for relieving the widows and orphans of those who had fallen during the war." Washington, Hamilton, the Pinckneys, Lafayette, and many other distinguished men were of its early membership. It still exists, and preserves its historical and social characteristics; while the well-known Tammany Society, originated to oppose the possible aristocratic tendencies of the Cincinnati, has become the synonym of factional local politics in the city of New-York.

In conversation with the writer, Bryant remarked: "As a young man, Verplanck took no part in the Cockloft Hall and other frolics of his friends Irving, Paulding, and Kemble; but, on the contrary, he was held up by the elder men of the period as an example of steady, studious, and spotless youth." To the "Analectic Magazine," edited hy Irving, he contributed articles on Commodore Stewart, General Scott, Barlow the poet and diplomat, and other distinguished Americans. Verplanck married, in 1811, Mary Eliza Fenno, the aunt of Matilda and Charles Fenno Hoffman, who bore him two sons, and died in Paris in 1817. "She sleeps," says Bryant, "in the cemetery of Père la Chaise, among monuments inscribed with words strange to her childhood, while he, after surviving her for sixty-three years, yet never forgetting her, is laid in the ancestral burying-ground at Fishkill, and the Atlantic Ocean rolls between their graves."

Mr. Verplanck was a frequent guest in my father's family, and in later years I constantly met him at the New-York Society Library and elsewhere. Among the last meetings with him that I recall was an evening at the Century Club, when he talked for several hours almost uninterruptedly, although his friends Bryant and Samuel B. Ruggles were of the party of half a dozeu delighted listeners. Art, literature, the drama, and old New-Yorkers were among the topics of his talk. A few months after his death a *brochure* appeared, entitled "Proceedings of the Century Association in Honor of the Memory of Gulian C. Verplanck"; and in May, 1871, Bryant delivered an admirable address on his old friend before the New-York Historical Society.

James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), whose writings are instinct with the spirit of nationality, stands at the head of American novelists. The "Edinburgh Review" long ago said: "The empire of the sea has been conceded to Cooper by acclamation; and in the lonely desert or untrodden prairie, among the savage Indians or scarcely less savage settlers, all equally acknowledge his dominion.

"Within this circle none dare move but he."

Cooper was born at Burlington, New Jersey; entered Yale College in 1802, and, having obtained a midshipman's warrant in the navy three years later, he for six years followed the life of a sailor. Resigning from the naval service in 1811, he married Miss De Lancey, a sister of the Bishop of western New-York, and soon after entered upon a literary career by the publication of his first novel, "Precaution." His second work, "The Spy," displayed more skill and power. This charming story, founded upon incidents connected with the American Revolution, appealed strongly to the sympathies of his countrymen, and became a great favorite, as it is still, after a lapse of more than seventy years. It was first published in New-York in 1821. "The Spy" was speedily translated and reissued in several European languages, including the Russian, and it made the name of Cooper almost as well known in the Old World as in the New. His reputation was confirmed by the appearance, in 1823, of "The Pioneers" and "The Pilot," works which shared public attention, at home and abroad, with the Waverley novels. From that time until the publication, in 1850, of his twenty-eighth and last work of fiction (being one more than Scott wrote), Cooper enjoyed an uninterrupted career of literary prosperity. Several years after his death, a noble uniform edition of his novels was issued in thirty-two octavo volumes, with illustrations by Darley, of which, it is said, fifty thousand copies are sold annually. Many other editions have since appeared in this country and in England, where his novels are still popular.

J. Fenimore Cooper

In 1827 Cooper visited Europe, the fruit of which was a manly vindication of the land of his birth from many current misrepresen-

tations, in his "Notions of Americans." Halleck, in his admirable poem, "Red Jacket," refers in this wise to this work and its author:

> Cooper, whose name is with his country's woven,
> First in her fields, her pioneer of mind;
> A wanderer now in other lands, has proven
> His love for the young land he left behind.

Cooper also wrote, while abroad, "Gleanings in Europe," "Sketches of Switzerland," and several other similar works, which enjoyed a large measure of popularity half a century ago,—American books of Old World travel being less common at that period than the present. Soon after his return from Europe, Cooper gave to the world his elaborate work on the "United States Navy," which has passed through numerous editions, and is still the standard history of the American naval service. Besides this valuable work, which was republished in England and led to considerable controversy, he published two volumes of the "Lives of American Naval Officers." The distinguished author died at his residence, Cooperstown, in his sixty-second year, and since that time his beautiful home, known as Otsego Hall, has been destroyed by fire. Six months after his death a public meeting (as many of my readers may remember) was held in honor of his memory, an occasion which no one who had the good fortune to be present will be likely ever to forget. The place of meeting was in New-York, and the presiding officer was Daniel Webster, with Irving and Bryant seated by his side. The illustrious statesman addressed the large assemblage, speaking for the last time in New-York, and was followed by Bryant in an appreciative and poetical discourse, now included in his volume of public addresses.

Perhaps Irving and Cooper are the best-known of American authors in the Old World. During a year and a half spent abroad, I visited some two hundred of the principal public libraries of Europe, containing about 25,000,000 books, or enough to extend in solid rows (ten deep) around the island of Manhattan. Everywhere I observed the writings of Cooper and Irving, and even at Helsingfors in Finland, in their collection of about thirty thousand volumes, chiefly Russian, I found "The Spy" and "Sketch Book" translated into that language.

Fitz-Greene Halleck (1790–1867), who enjoys the proud distinction of being the first American poet honored by a public statue, left his native town of Guilford, Connecticut, for New-York city in 1811. Here he resided for two score years, and during a large portion of that period was perhaps the most popular poet of this country. During the second war with Great Britain, Halleck joined a New-York infantry company,

> Swartwout's gallant corps, the Iron Grays,

as he afterward wrote in "Fanny," and excited their martial ardor by the composition of a spirited ode. This and occasional poems which appeared in the papers were Halleck's only claim for poetic fame, till the appearance of "The Croakers," in 1819, electrified the town. Their happy blending of wit, humor, satire, and sentiment threw the whole city in a blaze of excitement. Of this series of satirical and quaint chronicles of New-York life more than seventy years ago, Halleck, in 1866, said "that they were good-natured verses, contributed anonymously to the columns of the New-York 'Evening Post' from March until June, 1819, and occasionally afterward." The writers[1] continued, like the author of the Junius letters, the sole depositaries of their own secret, and apparently wished, with the minstrel in Leyden's "Scenes of Infancy," to

Save others' names, but leave their own unsung.

Halleck's longest poem, "Fanny," the perpetual delight of John Randolph, was written during the summer and autumn of 1819, while the poet was residing for a brief period at Bloomingdale. It was issued anonymously, and a few months after its first appearance in December of that year, "Fanny" enjoyed the unusual distinction of being printed in full in a London journal. A second edition, enlarged by the addition of about fifty stanzas, for which the poet was paid five hundred dollars, appeared early in 1821. The following year Halleck visited Europe, carrying with him letters to Lord Byron, Campbell, Moore, Scott, Southey, and Wordsworth, and the manuscript of his friend Fenimore Cooper's "Pioneers" for publication in London. While abroad he wrote "Alnwick Castle,"

Home of the Percys' high-born race,

and the song he sang in praise of his brother bard Burns. "Nothing finer has been written about Robert than Mr. Halleck's poem," said Isabella, the youngest sister of the Scottish minstrel, as she gave the writer, in the summer of 1855, some rosebuds from her garden, and leaves of ivy plucked from her cottage door, near the banks of the

[1] Fitz-Greene Halleck and Joseph Rodman Drake

bonny Doon, to carry back to his gifted friend. In 1827 the first collection of Halleck's poems was published, containing, among others, his immortal lines, "Marco Bozzaris." Other editions followed, and in 1832 he appeared as the editor of a complete edition of Byron's poems, for which he wrote an admirable memoir. Halleck died at seventy-seven, and was buried in his native town, where a noble obelisk, erected by New-York friends and admirers, now marks his grave. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes sent me a beautiful lyric to read on the occasion, beginning,

Say not the poet dies,
Though in the dust he lies!
He cannot forfeit his melodious breath
Unsphered by envious Death!
Life drops the voiceless myriads from its roll;
Their fate he cannot share,
Who, in the enchanted air,
Sweet with the lingering strains that echo stole,
Has left his dearer self, the music of his soul!

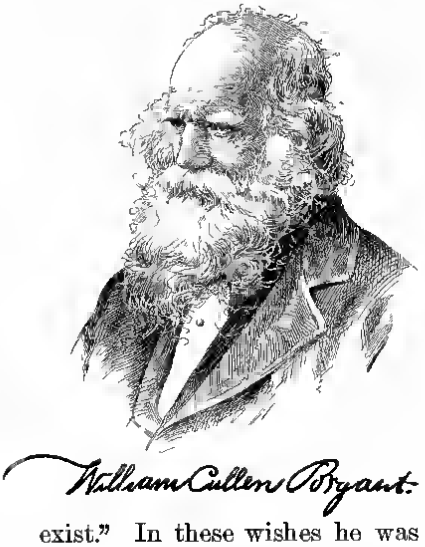
In 1867 his biography, prepared by his literary executor, was published; ten years later his statue in the Central Park was unveiled by the President of the United States in the presence of fifty thousand spectators, and since that time a memorial volume has appeared containing the addresses and poems delivered at the monument and statue dedication by Bryant, William Allen Butler, and Bayard Taylor, by John G. Whittier and Oliver Wendell Holmes. In the judgment of Alfred B. Street, "Halleck is the greatest poet the New World has yet produced." His poetry affected him as it did Bryant, like the strains of martial music, making his heart beat quicker. No other American poet's writings had a similar effect. Another writer remarks that it is a curious fact that Halleck, who never studied the classics in their original, should have been, in some cases, so severely classical, while his Connecticut contemporary, Percival (1795–1856), who was steeped in classics, often followed the romantic school.

Bayard Taylor

Sir Walter Scott relates that when some one was mentioned as a "fine old man" to Dean Swift, he exclaimed with violence that there was no such thing. "If the man you speak of had either a mind or a body worth a farthing, they would have worn him out long ago." Titian, Voltaire, Goethe, Lyndhurst, Brougham, Humboldt, Moltke,

and Gladstone, and among Americans, Adams, Taney, Gallatin, Horace Binney, and Richard H. Dana, may be cited in refutation of this theory, which, I presume, has nothing to do with thews or stature. Another bright and brilliant example of faculties, and faculties of a high order, remaining unimpaired in mind and body till long past the grand climacteric, is William Cullen Bryant, born in Massachusetts, November 3, 1794, and for fifty-three years a citizen of New-York; who, until his death, at the age of eighty-four, remained cheerful, and full of conversation, continuing heartily to enjoy what Dr. Johnson happily calls "the sunshine of life." Having early in the century written "Thanatopsis," a poem which a popular clergyman says is the only one yet produced by an American that is likely to live five

hundred years, the venerable poet, after an interval of nearly seventy years, enriched the world with such noble lines as "The Flood of Years," and the sonnet in memory of his friend John Lothrop Motley.[1]



In April, 1867, Mr. Bryant expressed to the writer a wish that he might not survive the loss of his mental faculties like Southey, Scott, Wilson, Lockhart, and the Ettrick Shepherd, who all suffered from softening of the brain, and mentioned his hope that he should be permitted to complete his translation of Homer before death or mental imbecility, with a failure of physical strength, should overtake him. On another occasion he said, "If I am worthy, I would wish for sudden death, with no interregnum between I cease to exercise reason and I cease to exist." In these wishes he was happily gratified, as well as in the time of being laid away to his final rest, as expressed in his beautiful and characteristic lines to June:

I gazed upon the glorious sky,
And the green mountains round,
And thought that when I came to lie
At rest within the ground,
'T were pleasant that in flowery June,
When brooks send up a cheerful tune,
And groves a cheerful sound,
The sexton's hand, my grave to make,
The rich, green mountain turf should break.

The day after his death, which occurred at half-past five in the morning of June 12, 1878, I was taken up to the little front chamber in which the poet lay, and the covering being removed, saw his countenance "all cold and all serene." Never shall I forget the beauty of that wondrously beautiful face, almost buried in snowy hair, and so marble-like in the sleep of death. As Washington Irving said of the old sexton who crept into the vault where the myriad-minded Shakespeare was entombed, and beheld the ashes of ages,

[1] On Mr. Bryant's eightieth birthday he was presented by his troops of friends with the superb silver vase represented on page 65, which may be seen in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It may be added that in 1884 the name Reservoir Square was changed to Bryant Park, and that it is proposed to place there a bronze statue of the poet, or the noble bust now in the Museum of Art.

"it was something to have seen the dust" of Bryant. Assuredly no sculptor ever modeled a more majestic and beautiful image of repose.

It was indeed a glorious day, and the daisies were dancing and glimmering over the fields as the poet's family, a few old friends, and the villagers saw him laid in his last resting-place at Roslyn, after a few words fitly spoken by his pastor, and beheld his coffin covered with roses and other summer flowers by a little band of country children, who gently dropped them as they circled round the poet's grave. This act completed, we left the aged minstrel amid the melody dearest of all to him in life—the music of the gentle June breezes murmuring through the tall tree-tops, whence also came the sweet songs of many summer birds.

J. Rodman Drake

Joseph Rodman Drake (1795–1820), the author of "The Culprit Fay," was born in the city of New-York in the year that gave birth to the eccentric poet James G. Percival, and John P. Kennedy, the author of "Horseshoe Robinson." At eighteen he abandoned merchandise and began the study of medicine. It was at this time that Drake and Halleck first met and formed a friendship that was only severed by death. When the young physician married in 1816, it was Halleck who acted as groomsman; when their only child was born, she was christened Halleck; when he went to Europe, it was to his brother poet that Drake addressed several amusing poetical epistles; when the pulsations of his gentle heart were daily growing feebler, it was his faithful friend "Fitz" who, with more than a brother's love, soothed his dying pillow; and when the grave closed over Drake, and his sorrowing friend had said, as Scott did when standing by the last resting-place of Johnnie Ballantyne, "there will be less sunshine for me hereafter," it was the sorrow-stricken friend who wrote those tender lines so familiar to the English-speaking world:

Green be the turf above thee,
Friend of my better days!
None knew thee but to love thee,
Nor named thee but to praise.

The exquisite poem, "The Culprit Fay," on which Drake's reputation as a poet chiefly rests, was written in his twenty-first year, and

not, as it has always been asserted, in the summer of 1819. It was in this year that the two literary partners produced the "Croaker Papers," a signature adopted from an amusing character in Goldsmith's comedy of "The Good-natured Man." The poems were copied from the original by Langstaff, Drake's partner, that their handwriting should not betray them, and were either sent through the mail or delivered by Daniel Embury or Benjamin R. Winthrop, then fellow-clerks with Halleck in the counting-house, in Wall street, of Jacob Barker, the well-known Quaker banker and merchant. So carefully did they keep the secret of the authorship, that these amusing *jeux d'esprit* were generally attributed to the Salmagundi set —the cultured Irvings, Duers, Pauldings, Hoffmans, and Verplancks. They have recently been collected and included in the latest editions of Halleck's poems, and the author of each indicated for the first time. Sixteen years after Drake's death, his poetical writings were first published in a handsome octavo volume, dedicated to his devoted friend Fitz-Greene Halleck.

The genial George Perkins Morris (1802–1864), a well-known journalist, and the most admired of American song-writers, was a native of Philadelphia. In early life he removed to New-York, and at fifteen was a contributor of verses to the newspapers of that city. At twenty-one, with Woodworth for a partner, he established the "Mirror," a literary weekly journal, which he continued until 1844, when, associated with Willis and Hiram Fuller, he began the publication of the daily "Evening Mirror." At the close of 1845 he established the "National Press," changed in November of the year following to the "Home Journal," a highly successful society weekly, which he edited with Mr. Willis until a short period before his death, at the age of sixty-two. General Morris edited a number of works, including "The Song-Writers of America," and, in conjunction with Willis, "The Prose and Poetry of Europe and America." In 1825 he wrote a successful drama, called "Briar Cliff," founded upon events of the American Revolution, from which he derived the substantial reward of thirty-five hundred dollars royalty or copyright. He was the author of the libretto of Charles E. Horn's opera, "The Maid of Saxony," and of a volume of prose sketches published in 1836. But it is chiefly as a song-writer that Morris will be best remembered. Some of his lyrics, such as "Woodman, Spare that Tree," and "Near the Lake where Drooped the Willow," are compositions of which any poet might be proud. A proof of the great popularity of Morris as a poet is the fact that for above a score of years he could, any day, exchange one of his songs unread for a fifty-dollar check, when none of the *literati* of New-York could at that time sell one for the fifth part of that sum. Between 1838, the year that he published "The Deserted

Bride, and other Poems," and 1860, when the last edition of his poetical writings appeared, several collections of his songs, ballads, and poems were issued by some of the best New-York publishers.

A Song for the Union

A song for the Union!—The watchword recall
Which gave to our banner its station
"United we stand—divided we fall,"
Both made and preserved us a nation.
The union of lakes—the union of lanes—
The union of states none may sever—
The union of hearts—the union of hands—
And the flag of the Union for ever,
And ever,
The flag of our Union for ever!

What God in His Infinite Wisdom designed,
And armed with his weapons of Thunder,
Not all the earth's despots and factions combined
Have the power to conquer or sunder!
The union of lakes—the union of lands—
The union of states none may sever—
The union of hearts—the union of hands,
And the flag of the Union for ever!
And ever!
The flag of our Union for ever!

Geo P Morris

Written Feby 27. 1850.

His military title, by which he was usually designated, came from his connection with the State militia.

Morris said to the writer, in 1862, that he believed the three most popular American songs were Payne's "Home, Sweet Home," Sargent's "A Life on the Ocean Wave," and "Woodman, Spare that Tree," and alluded to the pleasure he had received from hearing the elder Russell, who composed the music for his own and Sargent's

poem, sing them, and also Sir Henry Bishop's arrangement of "Home, Sweet Home." "But," added the poet, "no one ever sang Payne's lines like Anna Bishop." "Is your song founded on fact?" "Oh, yes, certainly," said Morris; and he then gave me substantially the same account that appeared in a published letter, written by the poet, dated New-York, February 1, 1837.

Many years ago a member of the House of Commons concluded a long speech in favor of protection by quoting, "Woodman, spare that tree"; the "tree," according to the speaker from Yorkshire, being the "Constitution," and Sir Robert Peel the "woodman" about to cut it down. What American poet could desire a more gratifying compliment to his genius? It greatly delighted Morris. He resided chiefly at Undercliff, on the banks of the Hudson, near Cold Spring; and it was when on his way to or from New-York by the steamer Powell that I enjoyed the pleasure of frequently meeting the poet.

Charles Fenno Hoffman (1806–1884)—a brother of Ogden Hoffman, the distinguished lawyer—born in New-York city, and for thirty-four years, by reason of a mental disorder, living in complete retirement from the world, was perhaps the most generally admired of the group of Knickerbocker authors who flourished in his native city something less than half a century since, and of which he was the last survivor. As a song-writer he stands among Americans second only to Morris, and some writers have asserted that his lyric of "Sparkling and Bright" is unsurpassed by any similar production in the language.[1] Few American martial poems, produced even during the War of the Rebellion, surpass Hoffman's spirited lines on the Mexican battle of Monterey, which enjoyed the distinction of being admired by both Grant and Sherman. During the war these illustrious soldiers sometimes called on a young cavalry officer to repeat them, and also to sing, at the siege of Vicksburg and elsewhere, Bayard Taylor's spirited "Song of the Camp."

Charles Fenno at the age of eleven was with some boyish companions one day seated on the Cortlandt-street dock, with his legs hanging over the wharf as the ferry-boat came in, which caught one of his limbs and crushed it so badly as to render amputation above the knee necessary. At fifteen he entered Columbia College, having previously pursued his studies at the Poughkeepsie Academy, and six years later was admitted to the bar. Abandoning the law, he associated himself with Charles King in the editorship of the "New-York American," and three years later established the "Knickerbocker Magazine." To its columns he contributed a series of letters descriptive of a tour in the Northwest, which were collected and published

[1] "We often hear that such or such a thing is 'not worth an old song.' Alas, how few things are!"
—WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

in 1834, entitled 'A Winter in the West." This work was followed by "Wild Scenes in the Forest and Prairie," and in 1840 by the romance of "Greyslaer," founded on the celebrated criminal trial of Beauchampe for the murder of Colonel Sharpe, of Kentucky, which also furnished the theme of Simms's novel of "Beauchampe." Mr. Hoffman also issued several volumes of poetry, and it is as a lyric poet that he is best known to the world. In this field he is unquestionably entitled to take very high rank. Among the favorites which made his name so widely known may be mentioned "Rosalie Clare," "'Tis Hard to Share her Smiles with Many," "The Myrtle and Steel," "Room, Boys, Room," and "Rio Bravo: a Mexican Lament."

Of the large number of literary men who were present at the famous dinner given to authors at the City Hotel, March 30, 1837, by the booksellers of New-York, Hoffman was the last survivor. During the forty-seven years that he outlived that memorable evening, he saw pass away, among others who were present, Chancellor Kent, Colonel Trumbull, Albert Gallatin, Washington Irving, Fitz-Greene Halleck, James K. Paulding, William Cullen Bryant, George P. Morris, William L. Stone, Edgar A. Poe, Dr. John W. Francis, Dr. Orville Dewey, Matthew L. Davis, Charles King, and Lewis Gaylord Clark.

"Hoffman," said a leading London literary journal some two score years ago, "belongs to the front rank of American authors"; adding, "his plume waved above the heads of all the literary men of America a cubit clear." While filling a government position at Washington, he was in 1850 attacked by a mental disorder, from which he unfortunately never recovered. He died in the Harrisburg Asylum, in Pennsylvania, of which he had been an inmate for thirty-four years, June 7, 1884. He was not a graduate of Columbia College, which he left in his junior year; but at the semi-centennial celebration of its incorporation he received the honorary degree of A. M., conferred on him in company with Washington Irving, Fitz-Greene Halleck, and William Cullen Bryant. According to my youthful recollection, Hoffman had a military bearing, was above the average height, with broad shoulders, on which was set a fine head, with dark-brown hair, and eyes hidden behind glasses, made necessary by his near sight. He had about him the hearty, breezy atmosphere that characterized Christopher North, and he possessed all the professor's love of manly outdoor sports.

It was a sunny morning in September, 1860, that I walked on shore from a steamer at the wharf known as Caldwell's Landing, midway between Cold Spring and Newburg on the Hudson, and drove to a picturesque mansion nestled among evergreens, admirably situated on the plateau north of the justly celebrated Highlands, and within sound, under favorable conditions of weather, of the evening

gun at West Point. Entering the substantially built brick house, I saw around me on every side signs of culture and refinement in the fresh flowers, pictures, books, and bric-à-brac, so perfectly in harmony with my idea of a poet's bome. The tall and graceful master of the mansion enters, and after a cordial and manly greeting we set forth to see his loved domain, and to gaze upon the extensive and varied view commanded by his "coign of vantage." Passing through the well-kept grounds, we soon reach a picturesque glen, and descending, walk along to a mass of rocks, among which the musical waters rush past on their way to the great river two miles distant. Seated on the gray rocks, the master, with much animation, describes substantially in these words his first visit to the site on which his beautiful home now stands: "I was recommended by my physician," he said, "to seek a residence somewhere north of the Highlands; and some sixteeu years ago, when, during a short summer outing, 1 first saw the place, it was one of the roughest pieces of land tbat I ever looked upon. But it had capabilities. I saw trees, knolls, rocks, and this ravine, musical witb waterfalls, and to the south, 'a noble wild prospect,' as Sam Johnson would have said, and I at once determined that it should be mine. Walking over the rocky fifty acres with the owner, who looked his astonishment, no less than expressed it, that a city man should want his 'unimproved property,' as he called it, he said, 'What on earth can you do with it? It 's only an idle wild.' I did not tell him, but I bought it, and you see what I have made of it, and that I was indebted to my Dutch predecessor for an appropriate and very pretty name." The speaker was Nathaniel Parker Willis (1807–1867), and the place Idlewild, almost as famous as Irving's Sunnyside. Here, with the exception of a health trip to the tropics and to the Southern and Western States, the gifted and graceful writer spent the last twenty years of his ever busy literary life; here it was that, after bravely battling for existence for many years, he at length fell a victim to the relentless tyrant

John Howard Payne

consumption, on the sixtieth anniversary of his birth, and was laid at rest by the side of his mother's grave in Mount Auburn.

Willis, for many years the most talked about of American authors, was a native of Portland, the birthplace of Seba Smith, John Neal, and Henry W. Longfellow. His father and grandfather were publishers, the latter having been an apprentice in the office with Benjamin Franklin, and a member of the famous "Boston tea-party." He graduated at Yale College, and began his literary career by winning a prize of fifty dollars offered by the publishers of an illustrated annual. He established in New-York the 'American Monthly Magazine," which he conducted for two years, and then, in 1831, merged it in the "New-York Mirror." Willis spent several years in Europe, where he wrote "Pencillings by the Way" for his paper, and before his return to New-York in 1837, he married an English lady, and fought a duel with Captain Marryat. Having lost his wife, Willis in 1845 married the only daughter of Joseph Grinnell, a brother of Henry and Moses H., and soon after established with Morris the well-known weekly, "The Home Journal," which is still issued in this city. To its columns he contributed, for nearly a quarter of a century, much of the material afterward embodied in some two score of duodecimo volumes. He published, in 1856, "Paul Fane," a novel, and he was also the author of several plays and various volumes of poems, issued between the years 1827 and 1860. Many of his sacred poems have found a place in the popular collections, some even in church hymn-books, and are much admired for their exquisite finish and melody.

The gifted and unfortunate child of genius Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849), to some extent a maniac, not always sober or a responsible agent, was the son of David Poe and his wife Elizabeth, members of the theatrical profession. He was born in Boston, January 19, 1809, shortly before his parents' departure for the South, where they both died, the mother being an object of charity when she lay on her death-bed in Richmond in December, 1811. The poet's grandfather, who saw active service in the Revolutionary War, was a man of much stability of character; but his father, the actor, did not inherit the trait, nor did it reappear in the old general's grandson. The player possessed a fine personal appearance, but in his profession his range was narrow, his manner always remained amateurish, and after repeated trials he sank at last, it is said, into insignificance.

While a child Edgar was adopted by John Allan, a wealthy citizen of Richmond, who sent him to England to be educated. Poe afterward entered the University of Virginia, where he excelled in his studies, but was ere long expelled for gambling and other bad conduct. He was in the following year admitted into the United States Military Academy at West Point, from which he was also expelled at

the expiration of ten months. General Cullum, one of his classmates, told me that his career as a cadet was disgraceful, adding, "I could discover no good in him beyond his ability to make verses." Mr. Allan again received Poe kindly, but was soon compelled, for gross misconduct, to turn him out of his house.

Poe now entered upon a literary career, winning in 1833 two prizes of one hundred dollars each, offered by a Baltimore publisher. Five years previous he had published in Boston "Tamerlane and other Poems," a copy of which was sold in 1892 for $1850.[1] Through the influence of John P. Kennedy, he obtained the editorship of the "Southern Literary Messenger." While in this position he married his cousin, Miss Virginia Clemm, with whom, having been discharged by the publisher, he removed to New-York. Here he acquired a precarious living by writing for the magazines, and in 1838 published "The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym." The following year he became editor of "Burton's Gentleman's Magazine"; in 1840, of "Graham's Magazine," published in Philadelphia; and in 1845, having returned to New-York, he published his poem of "The Raven," which made him famous. He next became editor of the "Broadway Journal," but was so poor that public appeals were made in his behalf by the newspapers. I have in my possession a letter written at this time by Poe, which shows better than anything else could do his position.[2]

In 1849 Poe's wife died, when he went to Richmond, and there, ere long, formed an engagement with a lady of fortune; but before the day appointed for their marriage Poe drank himself into a state of intoxication, and died of delirium tremens.[3] His grave remained unmarked till 1875, when the school-teachers of Baltimore placed a monument over it. On May 4, 1885, the Poe Memorial was unveiled in the Poet's Corner of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which stands in New-York's noble park. It was dedicated with appropriate cere-

[1] This rare little *brochure* of twenty-seven pages, of which there is but one other copy known, has since been sold for twenty five hundred dollars,—probably the highest price ever paid for a book of its size, with the single exception of the two Spanish editions of the celebrated Columbus letters of four and eight pages respectively.

[2] "NEW-YORK, December 1, 1845.

"MY DEAR MR. HALLECK: On the part of one or two persons who are much embittered against me, there is a deliberate attempt now being made to involve me in ruin by destroying the 'Broadway Journal.' I could easily frustrate them but for my total want of money and of the necessary time in which to procure it; the knowledge of this has given my enemies the opportunities desired. In this emergency—without leisure to think whether I am acting improperly—I venture to appeal to you. The sum I need is one hundred dollars. If you can loan me for three months any portion of it, I will not be ungrateful.

"Truly yours, "EDGAR A. POE."

Halleck responded promptly to the appeal of Poe, who, like so many of the rhyming fraternity, was never able to repay the loan. The mad poet McDonald Clarke often received pecuniary assistance from the kind-hearted Halleck, and upon more than one occasion said, "I would rather have a kind word from that noble man, Fitz-Greene Halleck, than from any emperor."

[3] "No need to tell again the gloomy story of splendid power eaten into and finally destroyed by the cancer of rampant appetite. In our own literature the names of Ben Jonson, Nat. Lee, Robert Burns, and others at once occur to the student. Edgar Allan Poe represents the same tragic fatefulness of genius in American letters." "Nineteenth Century," June, 1885.

monies, in the presence of a notable gathering of authors, actors, and artists. It is a curious fact that Fitz-Greene Halleck, chiefly through the efforts of his biographer, and Edgar A. Poe, by the liberality of the members of the profession to which his parents belonged, secure their memorial statue and bas-reliefs in the Central Park before Bryant, Cooper, and Irving. But these others, it is now believed, will all be similarly honored during the coming decade.

Poe's works in prose and verse were collected after his death, and published, with a memoir, by Dr. Griswold. Since then his life has been written by Mrs. Whitman, to whom he is said to have been engaged, and by Richard Henry Stoddard, William F. Gill, John H. Ingram, and George E. Woodberry, his latest biographer, all of whom view his character more favorably than does Griswold.

I remember Poe, in 1848, as a slight and erect person, with a pale, sad face and brilliant black eyes; and I recollect Bryant, twenty years later, replying to my question as to his opinion of Poe as a poet by quoting Lowell's lines:

> There comes Poe with his Raven, like Barnaby Rudge,
> Three fifths of him genius, and two fifths sheer fudge;

adding that the unfortunate writer's story was the saddest that had yet been told of an American author.

It has not, of course, been my purpose to include in this chapter all of the company of American authors who contributed, more or less, to the "Knickerbocker Literature," but simply to introduce a dozen of the most prominent among the hundred or more that might be mentioned, did our space permit. A large proportion of these poets and authors contributed to a volume, entitled "The Knickerbocker Gallery," published in 1855 for the benefit of Lewis Gaylord Clark, one of their number, who was for more than a score of years editor of "The Knickerbocker Magazine," founded in 1832 by Hoffman.

A high English authority—perhaps the very highest—mentions Bryant as one of the most eminent of English-speaking poets, who

has unquestionably written one of the noblest poems in the English language.[1] Dana, Halleck, and Longfellow looked up to Bryant as to a master. Whitman placed Bryant at the head of American poets. Dickens admired Halleck[2] above all other American authors, except Irving. Samuel Rogers said two or three of Halleck's productions surpassed anything that he had seen from the New World, and Alfred B. Street asserted that he would rather have been the author of Halleck's six best poems than of any other half-dozen written hy an American. Poe, the next of the Knickerbocker trio of poets, is placed by competent authorities among the six most popular of American singers, one of whom says, "In the regions of the strangely terrihle, remotely fantastic, aud ghastly, Poe reigns supreme."

C. B. Brand

It may be doubted whether the recent prediction will be verified, that few American writers of fifty years ago are destined to last another fifty years. We do not helieve that the productions of Bryant and Cooper, of Halleck aud Irving, of Drake and Edgar A. Poe and the other principal Knickerhockers, will he forgotten in the year 1943. On the contrary, we have the faith to believe that at least a portion of their writings, together with those of Bancroft and Emerson, of Hawthorne and Holmes, of Longfellow and Lowell, of Prescott and Whittier, will successfully endure the test of a much longer period; that "upon the adamant of their fame, the stream of Time beats without injury."

A few of the many minor authors who, in prose or verse, contrib-

[1] The Encyclopædia Britannica, article "American Literature," Ninth Edition, Vol I, 1875.

[2] To the author of this chapter, Charles Dickens wrote in January, 1868: "I thank you cordially for your considerate kindness in sending me the enclosed note [from Halleck to Mrs Rush of Philadelphia, describing the Dickens dinner at the City Hotel, New-York, in 1842]. I have read it with the greatest interest, and have always retained a delightful recollection of its amiable and accomplished writer. I, too, had hoped to see *him!* My dear Irving being dead, there was scarcely any one in America whom I so looked forward to seeing again as our old friend often thought of."

nted to the "Knickerbocker Literature," during the first half of the present century, are still among us with their "locks of gray"; but the great majority, crowned with years and honors, have passed away to join the "dead but sceptred sovereigns who still rule over our spirits from their urns." These writers were the brilliant pioneers of American literature; for the only professional authors of the New World who preceded them were Joseph Dennie and Charles Brockden Brown. Many voices have followed Bryant and Cooper, Halleck and Irving, Paulding and Verplanck; but we shall not forget the forerunners who rose in advance of their welcome in what Bacon beautifully calls "the great ship of Time."

Whether the writers representing the "Knickerbocker Literature" that gathered around Washington Irving in his golden and palmy days at Sunnyside, half a century ago, or those that clustered around the loved poet of Cambridge some three decades later, in the era when it was called by competent authorities the "intellectual center of the United States," were the strongest, my readers must judge for themselves. Notwithstanding the prevailing fashion among many recent writers to underrate and sneer at the "Knickerbocker Literature," it would seem, in the writer's judgment, that Irving, Bryant, Poe, Cooper, and their comrades certainly contributed at least no less to the literary glory of their native land than have Prescott, Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, and their New England contemporaries. When a very great man was asked by the author of this chapter for his opinion on this point, he answered, "They cannot be compared, any more than you would compare the commerce of the city of Boston with that of your great metropolis." Who will question the impartial judgment of so competent a critic as Benjamin Disraeli?

CHAPTER III

THE LIBRARIES OF NEW-YORK

THE ASTOR LIBRARY

SIR THOMAS BODLEY—who, toward the close of his life, founded the great library which bears his name—once remarked concerning the renowned city of colleges, that it had everything but an adequate library. With some modifications, this observation might have been considered applicable to this metropolis—the city of Mr. Astor's adoption—when he founded the library that bears his name.

John Jacob Astor was born at Waldorf, near Heidelherg, Germany, in the year 1763. When only sixteen, he left his father's farm, setting out, on foot, for the Rhine; and when resting under a tree, he is said to have made these three resolves—"to be honest, industrious, and never gamble"; and it is added that he adhered to them throughout his long life. He went to his elder brother, at London, and engaged with him in business some three years, after which he came to New-York. This was in 1783; subsequently, he embarked in the fur trade, which he prosecuted with such energy and success that in ten years his establishment at the mouth of the Columbia River, known as Astoria, had its agencies in England, Germany, France, and indeed in all parts of the civilized world. At the beginning of the present century, he shrewdly invested in the real estate of the then young city of New-York to such an extent that his property continued to augment so largely as to constitute him the most opulent merchant in the United States, if not in America.

Although the Astor Library may not claim precedence over other public libraries of New-York city in the order of time, yet in respect of its distinctive character as a cosmopolitan library of reference for scholars, its claim to priority will not be disputed As to the origin of the institution, it may suffice to cite the words of its first librarian, Dr. Joseph Green Cogswell, which are the following: "For the existence of this library, the community are indebted to the generosity of the late John Jacob Astor. It was a kind impulse of his own heart

which prompted him to do this noble act. He wished, as he said, by some permanent and valuable memorial to testify his grateful feelings towards the city in which he had so long lived and prospered. When he consulted with his friends as to the object to which his intended liberality should be applied, the plan of founding a public library was most approved, and his decision was promptly taken in favor of it. Nor was it owing to any misgiving or wavering in opinion that the accomplishment of the purpose was not effected in his lifetime." In a

THE ASTOR LIBRARY.

subsequent letter, Dr. Cogswell wrote, under date of July 20, 1838, the following: "Early in January, Mr. Astor consulted me about an appropriation of some three or four hundred thousand dollars, which he intended to leave for public purposes, and I urged him to give it for a library, which I finally brought him to agree to do; and I have been at work ever since settling all the points which have arisen in the progress of the affair."[1] Washington Irving and Fitz-Greene Halleck cordially indorsed the proposition of the establishment of a public library; and yet the matter was kept in abeyance until March, 1842, when Dr. Cogswell received the appointment of librarian, and measures were put into operation for the erection of the library building. Meanwhile, Dr. Cogswell commenced the (to him) congenial service of book-hunting at home and abroad—an office for which his eminent bibliographical and critical scholarship so signally qualified him. The

1 "Cogswell's Life and Letters," by Anna A. Ticknor. Boston, 1874.

board of trustees therefore authorized him to visit the literary centers of the Old World, for the purpose of obtaining the rare foundation works in the several departments of learning adapted to the higher order of study in all branches of art, science, and literature. It so happened that he was singularly opportune in his earlier visits to the great book-marts of Europe. In its several capitals—London, Paris, Leipzig, Rome, Stockholm, and elsewhere—his purchases were a great success; and at the auction sale of the celebrated library of the Duke of Buckingham he secured many very rare and choice works of art and of renown. It having been the design to form a library that should be adequate to meet the demands of advanced students, the selection of its books has been governed by that fact.

In a republic of such free political institutions as ours, intellectual culture is a necessity, since it affords a guaranty of our national greatness, if not, indeed, of our national existence. The leading capitals of the Old World have long since proved the vast importance of such beneficent institutions; and it may justly be deemed a matter of gratulation and national honor that the metropolitan city of the New World should thus emulate their example. Yet, not in New-York only is this the case; the like liberal endowments have since become conspicuous in the principal cities of the United States. Thus, our public libraries may be said to unite with our colleges and schools, harmoniously combining their aid for the universal elevation of the people—the one supplementing the other. As pioneer in this important work, the Astor Library may thus prove to America what the library of the British Museum has so long been to Great Britain—"The Scholars' Court of Appeals." Differing from the popular circulating libraries, the Astor is a consulting or reference library, its books being freely accessible to all visitors. It is a literary laboratory, where are engendered those mental forces that propel the industrial achievements of the age; where may be seen many an earnest worker who,

> with calm, inquiring looks,
> Has culled the ore of wisdom from his books—
> Cleared it, sublimed it, till it flowed refined
> From his alembic crucible of mind.

Thus public libraries present many claims upon our grateful regard, since they not only educate and elevate society, but also conserve and perpetuate the intellectual treasures of past ages. It has been well said that "moral and intellectual light is all-pervading: it cannot be diffused among one class of society without its influence being felt by the whole community."

But to resume the sketch of the library. On the death of Mr. Astor, in March, 1848, and by virtue of his will, the munificent sum,

at that time, of four hundred thousand dollars, for the founding of a public library in New-York, was conveyed to a board of trustees selected by the testator. An act of incorporation was granted by the State legislature on the following January, and active operations were commenced for the carrying out of the requisitions of the founder. On the 9th of January, 1854, the Astor Library building, with its eighty thousand volumes, comprising an assemblage of costly works of art, and the accepted authorities in the several departments of human lore, was formally opened to public inspection. The novelty of its grand display of the great national art-productions of Europe,—such as the stately volumes of the Musée Français and Raphael's Vatican,—together with the prestige of the founder, naturally gave éclat to the occasion. The exhibition was continued several successive days, and afterward the institution was rendered available for students.

During the early years of its history, the library was honored by the visits of many distinguished personages, among them His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with his suite, to whom a private reception was tendered by the Astor family and Dr. Cogswell with his aids. Afterward came another notable visitor, Prince Napoleon, who was said to bear such close resemblance to the great Emperor. Then, some years later, came the Japanese commissioners, who, when shown some of the portraits, in books, of their historic men, greatly marveled. After their visit the Chinese ambassadors came in great state, arrayed in their courtly costumes; their deportment was so indicative of culture and refinement that it occasioned general remark. The Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro, was the next distinguished visitor; he seemed much interested in the important features of the library and in popular education.

Among the host of literary characters who have at various times visited the institution, it must suffice simply to mention the names of the more distinguished: Washington Irving (who was a frequent visitor), George Bancroft, Edward Everett, Fitz-Greene Halleck, S. F. B. Morse, G. P. R. James, Thackeray, Dickens, Longfellow, Emerson, Saxe, Willis, Holmes, Motley, Hawthorne, Colden, Sparks, Gould, Greeley, and Dean Stanley. Lovers of learning, and men eminent in the various departments of art, science, and literature, have always been cordial in their commendation of the library. From a great number of such testimonials, one only is cited, as indicative of the others. Charles Sumner wrote on one occasion to his friend Theodore Parker: "I range daily in the alcoves of the Astor: more charming than the gardens of Boccaccio, and each hour a Decameron." The Astor Library soon became widely known abroad, as an evidence of which, numerous donations of important works have

been made from time to time by the governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Spain, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Australia, China, and Japan; as well as by the Czar of Russia, the King of Italy, the Duke of Northumberland, and many other distinguished personages.

The year 1859 was memorable in the annals of the library, on account of the lamented death of Washington Irving, its first and honored president. In this sad event, the institution, in common with the world of letters, suffered severe loss. Among the numerous loving tributes to his memory, Tuckerman has voiced for us one of the best: "No one ever lived a more beautiful life; no one ever left less to regret in life; no one ever carried with him to the grave a more universal affection, respect, and sorrow."[1] In September, 1859, William B. Astor, eldest son of the founder of the library, presented to the trustees the second library building, with the ground upon which it stands. This second hall, of the same dimensions and style as the first, afforded the required facilities for the increasing accessions to the library. Upon the decease of Mr. Irving, William B. Astor was elected president of the board of trustees, which office he filled till his death. During his life he extended to the institution his fostering care, liberally augmenting its financial resources,—having by special gifts and bequests enriched its treasury to the extent of five hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The library lost a generous patron in his death.

In the year 1864 Dr. Cogswell completed his first catalogue of the library, which then comprised about one hundred thousand volumes. This herculean and self-imposed work — which, however, to him was a labor of love — he achieved while superintending the daily administration of the library. A lasting debt of gratitude is due to this devoted service from students who consult the library; since without the assistance of such a key to unlock its treasures, they would prove, to a great extent, unavailable. The board of trustees readily recognized this fact, and acknowledged the doctor's essential service by their recorded vote of thanks. Not long after the completion of this catalogue, forming four large octavo volumes, and a supplementary volume, bringing the record down to the year 1866, and including a subject-index, Dr. Cogswell tendered his resignation as superintendent, and soon after resigned his membership in the board of trustees.

His impaired health and prolonged service demanded this action, yet his interest in the institution which had ever claimed his devoted

[1] It has been claimed that it was honor enough to be known as "the friend of Sir Philip Sidney"; a like honor may be accorded to the writer of the present sketch, who enjoyed for a score of years the privilege of the friendship of Washington Irving.

labor during twenty years still remained with him; he was its *genius loci*. He retired to his home at Cambridge, Mass., honored alike for his eminent scholarship, refined courtesy, and untiring self-devotion to the interests of the library.

Few men of letters could have evinced more of the *suavitas in modo* amid the varied conditions incident to the arduous duties of his profession, than Dr. Cogswell, and none could have surpassed him in his unremitting labors in the formation and the interests of the institution he served so long and so well. After his retirement from his official connection with the library, the board elected as superintendent Francis Schroeder, ex-minister to Sweden, who resigned in 1870; E. R. Straznicky then became the incumbent until 1875, when the trustees installed one of their number, James Carson Brevoort, who continued in office until 1878, when the present incumbent, Robbins Little, was installed. In the year 1877 Alexander Hamilton was elected president of the trustees, and this office he held until his death. The gentlemen who now compose the board of trustees are the mayor of the city of New-York, *ex officio;* Hon. Hamilton Fish; Dr. Thomas M. Markoe, President; Professor Henry Drisler, Secretary; John Lambert Cadwalader; Right Rev. Henry Codman Potter; Stephen Van Rensselaer Cruger; Robbins Little, Superintendent; Stephen Henry Olin; Edward King, Treasurer; and Charles Howland Russell.

In October, 1881, the late John Jacob Astor, the grandson of the founder, erected a third building adjoining the other two, of corresponding style and dimensions, which, with the ground, he presented to the trustees. The entire structure now has a frontage of about two hundred feet, with a depth of one hundred feet. It is built of brownstone and brick, and is in the Byzantine order of architecture. The main floor of the library, which is twenty feet above the street level, is reached by marble steps from the vestibule, or main entrance. This entrance-hall is richly frescoed and paneled; around it are twenty-four classic busts of heroes and poets in Italian marble, by a Florentine artist, from antiques. These busts, with the colored-marble pedestals upon which they are placed, were presented to the library by Mrs. Franklin Delano, of this city, a sister of the late John Jacob Astor.

At the delivery desk, at which readers apply for books, are the printed slips upon which the title of the book desired is written, together with the name and address of the applicant. In close proximity are the two printed catalogues, which now form eight large volumes. These bring the record of the collections down to the close of 1880, and are supplemented by the card catalogue, which includes all accessions after that date. The second printed catalogue, which

connects with Dr. Cogswell's, costing about forty thousand dollars, was the gift of the late John Jacob Astor, whose combined gifts and bequests exceeded eight hundred thousand dollars. In the central hall, westward, are glass show-cases of rare manuscripts and brilliant missals — one manuscript in golden letters on purple vellum is over twelve hundred years old; there are also rare specimens of early typography, and many choice literary relics, in all estimated to be worth about $100,000. The central as well as the south and north halls, which are connected by arched passages, are uniformly walled around with alcoves devoted to some specific classification of subject. The same arrangement is continued in the galleries of the three halls. The north hall is devoted to histories of all nations, and the south hall to all branches of science and art. The middle or central hall, at the west end, is devoted to the patents of all nations — the British patents alone forming some five thousand volumes. The entire capacity of the library, thus enlarged, would now afford space for half a million of volumes, which is at present about double the extent of its accumulations, exclusive of about twelve thousand pamphlets. The whole number of volumes on the first of January, 1893, was 245,349. The library may be said to be especially rich in some departments, such as the fine arts, architecture, archæology, Orientalia, history, the classics, French literature, scientific serials, and mathematics, political economy, and bibliography. It has also a very extensive collection of the transactions of the scientific and literary societies of Europe and America.

It would be impossible, within the restricted limits of this sketch, to present even an epitome of the numerous noteworthy productions that grace the alcoves of the library. With its advancing growth will inevitably come the evidences of its ever increasing utility and appreciation. Like our Colossus of Liberty, with uplifted torch guiding the toilers of the seas to the shelter of our hospitable shores: so this monumental library, as an intellectual lighthouse, attracts literary toilers to its ever accessible treasury of mental wealth. In the halls of the library are marble busts of its founder, of Washington Irving, its first president, and of Dr. Cogswell, its first superintendent; also life-size portraits of William B. Astor, Alexander Hamilton (the late president), Fitz-Greene Halleck, and Daniel Lord, its first treasurer. Subsequent to the death of the late John Jacob Astor, the library became enriched by the gift of his rare collection of paintings — costing originally seventy-five thousand dollars — presented by his son, William Waldorf Astor. These beautiful art-productions, by eminent foreign artists, are freely accessible to visitors on Wednesdays, during library hours, from nine A. M. until five P. M., except during the three winter months, when the hours are from nine A. M.

until four P. M. The administration of the library is under the direction of the board of trustees, the several departments of its routine service being assigned to the superintendent and four librarians with their numerous assistants.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE LIBRARY

THE library of Columbia College occupies the greater part of the principal building on the present site of the college, at the corner of Forty-ninth street and Madison Avenue. This building was erected in 1883, and contains, besides the library, lecture-rooms for the law school, and in the tower accommodations for the astronomical department and the observatory. The chief architectural excellence of the building, aside from its handsome exterior and its general effect, is found in the great reading-room, which is 113 feet long by 75 feet wide and 58 feet high. Filled with an abundance of light from windows on all sides, its walls are surrounded with books to the height of twenty feet, and it is by many considered the handsomest reading-room in the country. The library is maintained primarily for the officers and students of the institution and its regular academic work, but it is practically open to all investigators who have occasion to consult a library for scholars. It is accessible throughout the entire year from half-past eight o'clock in the morning until ten at night.

The collections of books belonging to Columbia College date back to the foundation of the institution in 1754; but for the first century of the college history the library did not attain great size or importance. Its contents previous to the Revolution seem to have been chiefly the result of gifts. Among the early donors are mentioned the Earl of Bute and the University of Oxford. The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in the prosecution of its work in America, aided some of the struggling educational institutions, and gave to the library of King's College a body of books, some of which are still in the library. During the Revolution and the British occupation of New-York, the greater part of the library was dispersed, and much of it finally lost. After the close of the war, when King's College was reorganized as Columbia College, the resources of the institution were too limited to foster rapid growth of the library. In 1792 an addition, coming from a grant of the State legislature, was made. In 1812 the college purchased for the library the books of the recently deceased Prof. John Kemp, who for many years occupied the chair of Mathematics and Philosophy. In 1825 the collection of

Prof. Lorenzo Da Ponte, consisting of Italian literature and miscellaneous works, was acquired. Later the library of the first president of the college, Dr. William Samuel Johnson, at that time thought an important law library, was incorporated; and, later, the libraries of President Benjamin Moore and other officers of the college have been, from time to time, acquired either hy purchase or gift. Another gift of interest was that of the law library of John Jay, first chief justice of the United States. After the death of Prof. Henry J. Anderson, a large part of his lihrary of mathematics was bought for the college library by subscription among the Columbia alumni.

The library of the college down to the time of the erection of the present library building contained ahout thirty thousand volumes, and was ordinarily spoken of in the college publications as not large but unusually choice. It contained a good collection of Latin and Greek classics, particularly old editions, and many excellent works in all departments of learning. With the foundation, in 1864, of the School of Mines in connection with the college, beginnings were made of a special library of scientific and technical works to accommodate that school. Books were drawn from the general college library, special purchases were made, and this library was maintained and administered as a separate collection. In the same way, after the foundation of the School of Law in 1858, a library, which received Prof. Theodore W. Dwight's special attention, was gradually formed. With the foundation, in 1880, of a School of Political Science, similar steps were taken to hegin a collection of books for the use of that school. In 1883, on the completion of the present library building, these various isolated libraries were brought into the new edifice, and were consolidated into one university library. Shortly hefore this time a most valuable hequest had heen received by the will of Stephen Whitney Phoenix, a graduate of the college in 1859, who left his library of seven thousand volumes to the college. Including these gifts, the library numbered, in 1883, something less than fifty thousand volumes. With the erection of the new building, the enlarged resources of the college, and its general growth, has come a largely increased development of the lihrary. It now numbers one hundred and sixty thousand volumes, and it is increasing at the rate of fifteen thousand volumes a year.

A gradual departure from the former policy of the library has taken place during the past ten years, with the development of Columhia College from an academic college, with a group of allied professional schools, to a university. It is now found necessary to gather, in all fields of knowledge taught in the institution, the means for original research. The library at present contains a good collection of books in law, especially foreign law, and one of the richest collections in political science, public law, and political economy, with its kindred

branches, to be found in the country; a fair collection of books and original sources in the fields of history, literature, and philology; valuable sets of periodicals in all these departments, and also, particularly, in the pure and applied sciences. The library of astronomy has recently been increased by the addition, by purchase, of the library of Dr. Otto von Struve, director of the observatory at Pulkova, Russia,—a collection of several thousand volumes. Worthy of special mention, also, is the botanical library, which is a collection of great value and fullness. Many valuable and extensive gifts have been received within the past few years. Among them may be mentioned the library of the late President Barnard, which was bequeathed to the college; also that of Charles M. da Costa, a trustee of the college. The estate of Dr. Frederick A. P. Barnard was also left to the library in large part. Prominent among the recent gifts to the library should be mentioned the Avery architectural library, founded in 1890 by Samuel P. Avery of this city, in memory of his son, Henry Ogden Avery. This collection, entirely the gift of Mr. Avery, who made a foundation for its continuation, consists now of about ten thousand volumes, most of them of great value and cost. In the field of architecture and the decorative arts, costume, pottery, wood-carving, painted glass, and similar topics are represented here by hundreds of precious volumes. A considerable portion of this collection is also devoted to archæology. Numerous foreign and domestic periodicals, and transactions of societies devoted to the subjects included in this special library, are to be found in complete series.

Among special collections which enrich the library may be mentioned the Mary Queen of Scots library, formed and given to the college by General J. Watts de Peyster of this city, and numbering some six hundred volumes. A unique and valuable collection of nine hundred volumes is devoted to Goethe; and the Shakespeare library is of about the same extent. The books are carefully arranged by subjects on the shelves, and a catalogue, compiled with great care, is accessible to the readers. For the proper administration and care of this library, a staff of some thirty people is constantly employed. The first librarian at Columbia was Ex-President N. H. Moore. From 1851, William A. Jones was for many years librarian. He was succeeded by Rev. Beverly R. Betts, who, in 1883, was followed by Melvil Dewey. The present competent librarian, who has been connected with the library since 1883, is George H. Baker.

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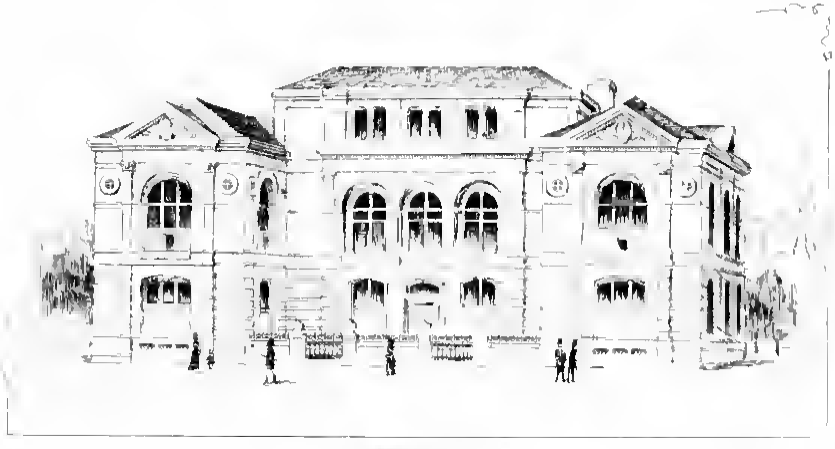
THE LENOX LIBRARY

THE Lenox Library was founded in his native city by James Lenox, the only son of a wealthy Scotch merchant.[1] By an act passed in the New-York legislature, January 10, 1870, the government of the library was vested in nine trustees, among whom were the founder, Hamilton Fish, Alexander Van Rensselaer, and William H. Aspinwall. The library, facing the Central Park, and occupying the whole Fifth Avenue front of the block between Seventieth street and Seventy-first street, is built on the finest site to be found in the southern or central portion of the island. It was wisely established in a section now deemed the best residence quarter of the city. The noble edifice stands on solid rock; the outer walls are hollow, and are constructed of Lockport limestone, backed with brick; the stairs are of stone, the

1 James Lenox and Elizabeth Sproat, both of Kirkcudbright, Scotland, were married on November 29, 1750. The parish register contains record of the baptism of their children, by which it appears that they had, among other children, David, baptized October 14, 1753; Robert, baptized January 2, 1760; and James, baptized April 6, 1772. David and Robert came to America before the War of the Revolution, being sent out to their uncle David Sproat, who held a civilian appointment from the British government. David settled in Philadelphia, and Robert in New-York. In later years, their brother James came to New-York, becoming a member of the firm of Lenox & Maitland, 1799. David espoused the cause of American independence, and was commissioned captain in the Third Pennsylvania Battalion, Colonel John Shea, in 1776; was captured at Fort George, November 16, 1776; was a prisoner for eighteen months, then exchanged and appointed aide-de-camp, with the rank of major, on the staff of General Anthony Wayne. He was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and was president of the Pennsylvania society of that order for about twenty years. He became prominent in Philadelphia, being president of two of the oldest and strongest banks in that city. He was appointed by General Washington one of a commission to visit England in connection with the recognition of the rights of Americans on the high seas. He died in Philadelphia, April 10, 1828, without children. James Lenox, after being a number of years in New-York, and acquiring a fortune, returned to Scotland, where he purchased the estate known as Dalscairth, in Kirkcudbrightshire, a few miles from Dumfries, where he died a bachelor on May 10, 1839.

Robert Lenox married Rachel, daughter of Nicholas Carmer, who was a vestryman of Trinity Church in later years, on the 1st day of September, 1783. Engaging in business, he became known as one of the foremost merchants of New-York, carrying on an extensive trade both abroad and toward the interior of the continent. He was a member of the Chamber of Commerce, and its president 1826–1839, a member of the St. Andrew's Society, and its president 1798–1813, and one of the founders of the Society of the Lying-in Hospital of the city of New-York, incorporated in 1799, and its president 1829–1835. He died December 13, 1839, leaving one son, James (born in 1800, died unmarried in 1880), and seven daughters, of whom but three have left descendants: namely, the eldest daughter, Elizabeth Sproat, married to Robert Maitland; Isabella, married to William Banks; and Rachel Carmer, married to her cousin David Sproat Kennedy. Robert Lenox was identified with the First Presbyterian Church, and was a man of strength of character and unswerving integrity. Being intrusted by a friend with the investment of some of his money, he made a loan of a few thousand dollars on a farm at the "Five-mile Post." The gentleman objected to the security. Mr. Lenox immediately took the loan for himself, making a new investment for his friend. He afterward became possessed of the property, and it became what is now known as the area covered by the blocks between Fourth and Fifth avenues and Sixty-eighth and Seventy-third streets. It was Mr. Lenox's custom for a number of years to gather his family round him on New-Year's Eve. On one of these occasions he took his snuff-box from his pocket, and opening it, showed that it was full; thereupon remarking that he had resolved, at the beginning of the year which was then closing, to break off his habit of taking snuff, and that the contents of the box, as then exhibited, were the same that he had placed in it twelve months previously; that he had carried the box around in order that he might be certain that he had sufficient power over himself to carry out his resolution, although having the means constantly at hand to return to his former indulgence.

shelf-supports of iron, and the entire structure is thoroughly fire-proof. The style of architecture is an adaptation of the new Greek, and of a similar character to the Paris School of Fine Arts. The front of each wing is surmounted by a pediment, the one to the north bearing a head of Apollo, the other a bust of Minerva. On the north and south aspects of the building the style of the front is repeated, a pediment on each side appearing at the same altitude as those in front. The main building is approached by a flight of stone steps, and is ornamented by two Corinthian columns of American granite. It rises to an altitude of ninety-five feet above the ground; its upper floor is both supported and ornamented by three columns of Aberdeen granite. The roof is of the peaked order, built with iron



THE LENOX LIBRARY.

rafters and covered with copper. The library consists of three floors in the main building and two stories in the wings above the basement. Its dimensions are 114 feet deep by 200 front, containing four spacious reading-rooms, or libraries, a gallery for paintings, and another for sculpture. The present value of the ground, together with the cost of the edifice, is more than $2,000,000.

For more than half a century James Lenox, well known as one of the wealthiest and most benevolent citizens of New-York, and as a cultivated scholar, was quietly gathering together what he himself has designated as a "collection of manuscripts, printed books, engravings and maps, statuary, paintings, drawings and other works of art," which, with the building now containing them, he presented as a free gift to the public. The giver also declared that no necessary sums of money would be withheld to complete the collection upon a scale commensurate with the intellectual wants of New-York. The

value of the gift to the scholars and students of this country cannot be overrated. Neither time, labor, nor money was spared in collecting treasures of art and literature the like of which cannot be found in the land. In the departments of early American history, Biblical bibliography, and Elizabethan literature, this library supplied a hiatus which existed in the Astor and all other American public collections. The John Carter Brown Library perhaps equals the Lenox collection in the field of Americana; the Barton collection of Shakespearian literature, now owned by the Boston Public Library, may surpass in single plays the Lenox collection; but in complete folio editions, and in old Bibles and parts thereof, it leads the western world. The gems of the Lenox manuscripts and volumes of Americana, of Elizabethan literature, include thirteen copies of the first folio editions of Shakespeare, and the Mazarin and other early Bibles, among them six copies of Eliot's Indian Bible—the first Bible printed in America, which only one person now living can read; and a fine copy of the Bay Psalm Book, the earliest volume in English printed on this continent, together with many missals, black-letter books, and other literary treasures, are to be seen in the cases of the Lenox Library.

Of Americana, early voyages and travels there are about 5000 volumes, mostly printed before 1700. This department is exceptionally rich in the rarer books relating to America, its discovery and colonization. It contains very full collections of the early printed letters of Columbus,[1] Vespucius, and Cortes, in their various editions, with the literature relatiug to them; special collections of Las Casas, Gomara, Acosta, and other Spanish writers; Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Drake, Captain John Smith, English works on New England and Virginia, Dutch publications on New Netherland, editions of Hennepin, Esquemelin, and works on the Buccaneers; the works of Lescarbot, Champlain, and other early writers on Canada. The set of "Jesuit Relations of New France" is the most complete in existence, embracing nearly every edition and variety. The collection of Early Oriental Travels includes many of the primitive editions of Marco Polo, Mandeville, Peter van Suchen, Breydenbach, Barthema, Castanheda, Barros and Couto, Herbestein, etc. There is a very full collection of editions of Gonzales de Mendoza's "China." Ptolemy's "Geography" is represented by nearly every edition, beginning with the Bologna edition of 1462. In February, 1893, the trustees purchased a Ptolemy manuscript at a cost of $2500. Among the general collections of Voyages and Travels are remarkably full sets of Grynæus, Ramusio, Hakluyt, Hulsius and Hulsiana, Linschoten,

[1] The first letter, written in Spanish, and printed at Barcelona on four folio pages, was acquired by the trustees in 1892 for seven thousand five hundred dollars. There are several other copies of the Spanish editions of the Columbus letter, but the Lenox and Ambrosian copies are the only ones now believed to be genuine. *Vide* foot-note, Vol. I, p. 2

Schouten, Hartgers, Boutekoe and Raven, Spilbergen, De Veer, Thévenot and Thevenotiana, in nearly every edition and variety. There is also an extraordinary set, or rather several sets, of the De Bry collection of voyages, including the famous Rothelin, Albani, and Sobolewski copies, and a series of other works published by members of the De Bry family.

The Incunabula comprise a very choice and valuable collection of block books, illustrating the beginnings of printing, and containing various editions of the "Biblia pauperum," the "Ars moriendi," the "Apocalypsis," the "Speculum salutis," the "Ars memorandi," Donatuses, etc.; also a collection of the oldest and most notable books from the first printing-presses established in Germany, Italy, France, Holland, and other parts of Europe. Among these are a beautiful copy of the Mazarin or Gutenberg Bible of 1450–1455, the Durandus of 1459, the Catholicon of 1460, the first Bible with a printed date, 1462, and many others remarkable for their interest and rarity. There are seven works from Caxton's press, exhibiting nearly every style of his type, and including a portion of the first book printed in the English language, about 1474; also books printed by Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Pynson, William de Machlinia, Peter de Treveris, and other early English printers. The Mexican presses, the oldest in America, are represented by at least ten works printed before 1550, and many printed between that date and 1700; the South American presses by choice specimens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, beginning with 1585; the early Cambridge and Boston presses by their most remarkable productions, commencing with the Bay Psalm Book of 1640; and the first presses of Pennsylvania, New-York, Connecticut, and other American colonies, by select examples. There are also specimens of printing in Polynesia, Africa, and Asia; among the last a copy of the first book printed in India, 1561.

There are also about 150 volumes of Aldines, being a selection of the earliest, rarest, and most noteworthy examples; and over sixty editions, 1550–1878, of the Roman Indexes of prohibited and expurgated books. A select collection of about 1000 volumes is devoted to Shakespeare and Shakespeariana, containing many of the early quartos, two copies of the first folio, seven of the second, two of the third, two of the fourth, all with variations, and the most important later editions. The Milton collection of about 250 volumes, containing nearly every variety of the early editions, may also be seen. Among these are several volumes from Milton's own library, with his autograph and annotations. There are about 500 volumes of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" and Bunyaniana, containing nearly 350 editions in English, beginning with the first in 1678, and translations in many languages. The choice collection of Angling and Ichthyology

made by Thomas Westwood, of about 500 volumes, is here. This includes nearly all the editions of Walton's "Complete Angler," and other rare works of early date. In bibliography there are about 1000 volumes. The section of American bibliography is especially full, and contains many works with important manuscript additions, such as Rich's own copies of his bibliographies, in duplicate, profusely annotated; the Ramirez copy of Beristain; Mr. Lenox's interleaved copies of Ternaux, Rich, and Lea Wilson.

The Duyckinck library, formed by Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck, comprising about 15,000 volumes, is also here. It is very full in works relating to literary history and biography, English and American poetry (1200 volumes), and the drama (800 volumes). It contains special collections relating to proverbs and aphorisms (100 volumes), emblems and the "Dance of Death" (100 volumes), books illustrated by Bewick and Anderson (over 100 volumes), by Cruikshank (250 volumes), and by other eminent engravers. Among the works illustrated by Anderson is the engraver's own collection of proofs of his woodcuts, in ten large scrapbooks. There is also a collection of Greek and Latin classics, including nearly 100 editions of Horace. By the will of Joseph W. Drexel, the Lenox received his complete and fine collection known as the Drexel Musical Library, comprising about 7000 volumes, relating to the history and literature of music. Many of these are of early date. There are also manuscripts and autograph letters by many of the famous composers, books and manuscripts from Dr. Rimbault's library, etc. The Lenox also has the Astoin collection of French literature, of about 5000 volumes; it is especially full in modern belles-lettres, in bibliography, and in the fine arts; and possesses the Robert L. Stuart collection of about 10,000 volumes, acquired in 1892, and containing many rare and valuable works relating to natural history and the fine arts, editions of the Bible in English, manuscript and valuable printed missals.

James Lenox

A most interesting department is that devoted to Spanish manuscripts relating to America, embracing about 200 volumes. Among these are original autograph letters of Diego Columbus (the son of the discoverer), Francisco Roldan, Bobadilla, Juan de Trasierra, Nicolas de Ovando, and others, mostly written in America between the years

1500 and 1512; the original manuscripts of Muñoz's "Historia del Nuevo Mundo," and of other important documents; transcripts of historical works, partly unpublished, by Las Casas, Oviedo, Duran, Sahagun, Tezozomoc, Zurita, Yxtlylxochitl, Columbus, Cortes, and others; papers relating to California, Texas, New Mexico, Mexico and Yucatan, Central and South America, the Pacific, etc. The greater part of this collection was formed by Don Antonio de Uguina, of Madrid. It comprises almost everything of any interest that was collected by his friend Muñoz for the "Historia del Nuevo Mundo," of which only the first volume was published. Uguina was also the intimate friend of Navarrete, and furnished him with many of the materials for his "Coleccion de Viages de los Españoles." After his death the manuscripts were purchased by Ternaux Compans, of Paris, who translated and published some of them, and made some important additions to the collection. They passed next into the hands of Obadiah Rich, one of the most indefatigable, intelligent, and successful of bibliographers, who added several manuscripts from the Kingsborough collection, and sold the entire lot to Mr. Lenox.

To the historian a valuable field for research is offered in the Chalmers papers, comprising nearly 2000 documents, original letters, extracts from state records, etc., bound in twenty-one folio volumes. This collection was formed by George Chalmers, the author of "Political Annals of the United Colonies." It is classified as follows: Canada, 1692–1792, 1 vol.; Connecticut, 1630–1757, 3 vols.; West Florida, 1763–82, 1 vol.; Indians, 1750–75, 1 vol.; Maryland, 1619–1812, 2 vols.; New-York, 1608–1792, 4 vols.; Nova Scotia, 1745–1817, 1 vol.; Pennsylvania, 1620–1779, 2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1760–89, 2 vols.; Virginia, 1606–1775, 4 vols.

Turning to the manuscripts for a moment, one finds a complete unpublished play, dated, and signed Lope de Vega, 1625; valuable letters signed by the son of Columbus; others written by William Cowper, Samuel Johnson, Robert Burns, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Sir Walter Scott, and Washington's farewell address, acquired by Mr. Lenox for the trifling sum of $200! Looking at these manuscript remains of illustrious men, read from the same paper, now perhaps yellow and faded, on which the writer's hand rested, we seem to be all but in contact with the great heirs of fame. There is such a story in every blot; so much of character in every flourish of the pen; such meaning in every word traced or interlined—that such a holograph answers most of the purposes of a personal intimacy, and we should not, perhaps, wonder at the almost fabulous prices paid for a signature, a few verses from a poet's pen, or several sheets of paper containing the original farewell address of a good and great man like George Washington.

Six "Contributions to a Catalogue of the Lenox Library," compiled by Dr. S. Austin Allibone, for many years librarian of the institution, have been printed, covering the following special subjects: "Voyages of Hulsius," 1877; "The Jesuit Relations," 1879; "The Voyages of Thévenot," 1879; Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," 1879; "Works of Shakespeare," 1880; "Works of Milton," 1881; and in 1892, by order of the trustees, there was printed, under the careful editorship of the librarian, Wilberforce Eames, "The Letter of Columbus on the Discovery of America, a Fac-simile of the Pictorial Edition, with a new and literal Translation, and a complete Reprint of the Oldest Four Editions in Latin."

The art-gallery of the Lenox Library is a valuable addition to the esthetic attractions of New-York, and will prove to be a permanent benefit and source of profit to art students. The corridor of the picture-gallery contains a number of statues and busts by Crawford, Gibson, Powers, Pampeloni, Rauch, Pozzi, Spence, and Sir John Steel (who is represented by two noble busts of Chalmers and Sir Walter Scott). Crawford's "Children in the Wood" and Spence's "Highland Mary," both executed to order for Mr. Lenox in Rome, are interesting and attractive examples of those artists. The pictures are well hung in the finest apartmeut as yet dedicated to art in this city. Among the foreign artists represented are Constable, Calcott, Delaroche, Gainsborough, Escosura, Landseer, Morland, Mulready, Nasmyth, Newton, Ruysdael, Reynolds, Turner, Vernet, Webster, and Sir David Wilkie. American art is also well represented by Bierstadt, Church, Copley, Durand, Inman, Leslie, Huntington, Jarvis, Peale, Stuart, Vanderlyn, and others. The most important of the one hundred and forty-three pictures painted by the above-mentioned masters are the three Reynoldses. The full-length of Mrs. Billington as Saint Cecilia is a noble example of Sir Joshua. The same may be said of the portrait of Miss Kitty Fisher, but unfortunately it is somewhat faded. Of equal importance are the two Turners. No. 86, representing a scene on the French coast, with an English man-of-war stranded, is a superb picture, while Fingal's Cave is still finer; it is fully described and highly praised in the memoirs of the artist Leslie, who purchased it for Mr. Lenox from Turner. The examples of Constable and Gainsborough, and of Delaroche and Vernet, are the best we have seen in this country—possibly we should except the nohle figure of Napoleon by Delaroche, in the collection of the late Marshall O. Roberts of New-York. Both the Copleys are good, particularly the portrait of Lady Wentworth; and there are several valuable Stuarts, including one of his four full-length pictures of Washington and a characteristic unfinished portrait of Mrs. Rohert Morris. There are two well-executed pictures of

Robert Lenox — father of the founder of the gallery — by Turnbull and Jarvis; also two portraits of James Lenox by Sir Francis Grant and G. P. A. Healy. The "Dull Lecture" of Stuart Newton is an admirable picture, and we could wish that Leslie's "Master Slender and Anne Page" or his "Widow Watman" were hanging by its side, rather than the sacred subjects by which he is misrepresented. Leslie's strength lay in "genteel comedy." The Morland is a fine picture, and the sketches by Sir David Wilkie and Sir Edwin Land-

New York 18 March 1870

Dear Sir,

I received your note of the 7th instant several days ago and have been so much engaged that I have not been able to reply to it until now. The Trustees of the Lenox Library have not yet prepared a certificate of acknowledgment, but it shall be sent to you as soon as practicable. In the mean while I beg you to accept our thanks for the curious and rare books you have presented, and to believe me, Yours very truly

J. Lenox
President

seer, although slight affairs, are interesting as souvenirs of those masters. "Milton Dictating 'Paradise Lost' to his Daughters" is a large and fine example of the Hungarian Munkácsy's best work. The painting was presented to the institution by the founder's nephew, Robert Lenox Kennedy, its second president. If we were disposed to criticize the collection as a whole, we should say that there were a number of small and unimportant pictures that should be excluded, and their places filled with larger and better examples of many of the artists, which could easily be obtained with the means at the disposal of the trustees of this noble institution.

By the will of Mrs. Robert L. Stuart, who died in 1892, her gallery of two hundred and fifty paintings was, together with the Stuart collection of books, bequeathed to the Lenox Library, forming with

the Lenox pictures a choice collection of about four hundred paintings. In the north gallery of the second story all the Stuart books and paintings are displayed in what is designated as the Stuart Gallery, forming a beautiful and enduring memorial of Robert L. and his wife, Mary Stuart. They were first exhibited to the public on the formal reopening of the Lenox Library, February 21, 1893, after it had been closed several months for repairs to the building and for rearranging the collection of books, paintings, and statues. The Stuart Gallery contains few pictures of a historical character, but there are many admirable examples of numerous modern masters, such as Munkácsy, Schreyer, Constant, Bouguereau, and Corot. The quarto volume of 527 pages, of which a limited edition was printed by Mrs. Stuart in 1884, entitled "A Catalogue of the Library of Robert L. Stuart," shows that the collection consisted of about 10,000 volumes, mostly superbly bound, and particularly rich in missals, early Bibles, and works of art, including fine copies of Audubon's, Eliot's, and Gould's works, and a noble set of Kingsborough's "Mexico." The superintendent, from its opening in 1877, was Dr. George H. Moore; and since his death, in May, 1892, the position has remained vacant. The president of the library is John S. Kennedy.

LIBRARY OF THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

No precise date can be given with regard to the founding of this library. That its importance was early recognized by those interested in the seminary will be readily seen as we proceed. At the end of the first academic year of the seminary in New Haven (July, 1821), the trustees report that "though no express provision was made by the last general convention of the church for the formation of a theological library, yet a valuable foundation for one has already been made." In other words, the institution already owned 900 volumes, upward of 300 of which were folios, and many of the books extremely rare and valuable. Two years later (the seminary having been transferred to New-York and consolidated with a diocesan school) the annual report gives a total of 2500 volumes. Having in view the delay, difficulty, and expense at this time of getting books from Europe, whence must have come most of the additions, together with the scarcity of funds and the high prices of theological works, it will be seen that this growth was remarkable. From the beginning the library committee has consisted mainly of the faculty, other members being sometimes appointed. The first com-

mittee included the professors, librarian, and John Pintard, to whom, more than to any other one man, perhaps, is the seminary library indebted. Additions were made with considerable regularity, the number of volumes reported each year showing a gratifying increase; the total in 1836 being 5000, half of which were folios and quartos. About this time an effort was made to establish a permanent fund, and the special committee on the increase of the library secured ten thousand dollars, four thousand dollars being for immediate use, and the balance for an endowment. The subscriptions to the fund were quite general, the largest being that of the corporation of Trinity Church, which also contributed a number of books. In 1851, with a total of 10,512 volumes in the collection, the librarian reported: "The library has been open daily for the consultation of books, and semi-weekly for the delivery of them." At this time the alumni of the seminary who resided within ten miles of the city were granted the same privileges as the students; this regulation was abolished in 1874, when the removal of the library disclosed the fact that nearly a thousand books were missing.

When the seminary was removed from New Haven to New-York, the books were taken to the belfry chamber of St. John's Chapel, and kept there until the new tree school should be completed. The East Building (the first erected by the General Seminary, and demolished in 1892) was occupied in 1827, and here the library remained until 1874. The steadily increasing number of books made the accommodation more and more overcrowded, and the value of the collection was so great that in 1852–53 the trustees were strongly urged to provide a fire-proof room for them. The appointment by the trustees of a committee to secure funds to erect a library building of proper size and construction followed, but subscriptions were hard to obtain, and in 1854 the committee was discharged, having accomplished nothing. In 1874, when the number of volumes was reported as 15,132, the confusion resulting from overcrowding was so great that some change was imperatively demanded, and the books were carried over to the West Building, from which they were taken, in 1885, to Hobart Hall. Here, with some alterations which can easily be made in Jarvis Hall adjoining, shelving for 100,000 volumes can be placed, so that the library seems at last to have found a permanent home. That it is a valuable and useful collection is well known to many besides those associated with the seminary; mention can only be made, however, of a few of the more important works. The four great Polyglots may be found here—the Complutensian, Le Jay's (the Paris), the Antwerp, and Walton's. The first two were given by Mr. Pintard. There are also many valuable Bibles in various languages, including a beautiful manuscript in Hebrew and Chaldaic on vellum.

Many of the early English editions are wanted, and an effort is being made to make the collection more complete in this department. The section containing patristic literature is quite full, and includes the Benedictine editions and the Abbé Migne's "Patrologia" (both Greek and Latin), 382 volumes. This latter set was the gift of the Society for Promoting Religion and Learning in the State of New-York—a corporation which has been very generous in its grants to the library, making possible the acquisition of several valuable works. This will be the more appreciated when it is stated that the original endowment of six thousand dollars in 1836 has not been increased at all! Is it too much to hope that, in these days of increasing library benefactions, some friend of the General Seminary of our church will provide, by gift or will, for the support and growth of its library?

All the standard works on the councils of the church are to be found here, the last to be secured being a tall paper copy in vellum of Mansi, formerly belonging to Bishop Jehb. There is a good collection of works on Methodism and the Methodists, including some bound volumes of valuable and scarce pamphlets, with a bibliography of the subject, both manuscript and printed. In this connection may be mentioned a copy of John Wesley's prayer-book in good preservation. The shelves devoted to the periodical literature of the church in this country are well filled, and contain complete sets, in bound volumes, of nearly all the early magazines and papers. Current publications, when removed from the reading-room, are reserved for binding, and the files kept complete to date whenever possible. Journals of general and diocesan conventions are preserved in convenient form, and this library can safely claim the most complete collection of such pamphlets in existence.

The librarian reported to the trustees, April 30, 1892, a total of 21,754 volumes, 13,235, or about 61 per cent., of which were in the department of theology, the next largest section being history, including biography. The library is the fortunate possessor of the monumental work descriptive of Egypt which was published by the French government, and also of a set of the "Antiquities" of Grævius, Gronovius, Polanus, Sallengre, and Pitiscus, in seventy-nine folio volumes. Little that is definite can now be said of the pamphlet collection, except that it is large and includes much of value. The more important of its contents are being classified for binding, and as soon as put in book form will be fully catalogued by author and subject. In 1885, when the books were moved to the new building, the Dewey system of classification and the card catalogue were adopted. The shelves are easily accessible to all who use the library; and while members of the seminary only may borrow books for the purpose of reference and consultation, the library is free to all who do not abuse

the privilege. In addition to the books, the library is gradually accumulating a valuable and interesting gallery of portraits, which already includes some of the older professors, English and American bishops, benefactors of the seminary, and a Duns Scotus by Spagnoletto (Ribera), copies of which may be seen in the refectory of Merton College, Oxford (of which he was a fellow), Hampton Court, and a few other collections. In the reading-room are many photographs and prints of eminent American and English churchmen. Rooms in the building (which is fire-proof) have been accepted by the General and New-York Diocesan Conventions as depositories for their archives.

THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY

On the morning of November 3, 1820, William Wood posted on the bulletin-board of the "Commercial Advertiser" the following

Notice to Merchants' Clerks and Apprentices.

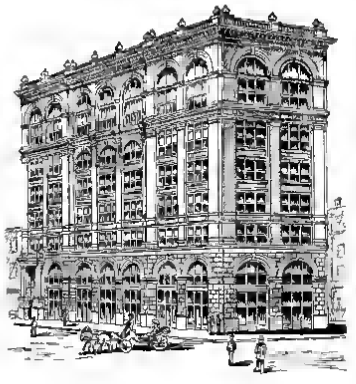
Those young gentlemen who are disposed to form a Mercantile Library and evening reading-room, are desired to attend a meeting for that purpose, at the Tontine Coffee House, on Thursday evening next at seven o'clock, when a plan of a Library and Association will be presented for their consideration. The young men of South Street, Front, Water, Pearl, Maiden Lane, and Broadway are particularly desired to attend.[1]

This meeting was held on Thursday, November 9, 1820, and thus was started the Mercantile Library Association. On November 27 a constitution was adopted, and Lucius Bull was elected the first president. By the constitution the control of the library was placed in the hands of merchants' clerks; they alone were permitted to vote and hold office. This provision has been continued up to the present time. While all persons of good character may become members of the library, merchants' clerks only have a voice in the management. The library was opened on February 12, 1821, at 49 Fulton street, with 150 members. The library quarters consisted of one room, and the opening found the association in the possession of about 700 volumes, most of which had been presented. At the end of the first year the books had increased to 1000 volumes, and the membership to 175.

In 1826 the library had 6000 volumes, and was removed to more spacious quarters in the building of Harper & Bros., in Cliff street. In the year 1827 the association gave a course of ten lectures on Com-

[1] The original of this was preserved. It was framed, and hangs on the wall in the librarian's room.

mercial Law; Seth P. Staples was selected as the lecturer. The success of these lectures induced the management to establish a lecture department, and from this time up to the year 1875, every winter, a course of from ten to twelve lectures was delivered under the library auspices. In 1828 the signs of public favor were such that the idea was conceived of soliciting subscriptions to erect a building for the rapidly accumulating library, and wherein the lectures could be given, and other educational efforts successfully carried out. A meeting of citizens was called, and met in the library room in Cliff street. A separate organization was effected among the merchants for the purpose of building and holding a suitable structure for the use of the Mercantile Library. This organization was named the Clinton Hall Association. In the course of the year $33,500 was raised. The new building was erected on the corner of Nassau and Beekman streets (now the site of Temple Court and the Nassau Bank), and was dedicated, under the name of Clinton Hall, on November 2, 1830. The cost of building and land was about $55,000.



MERCANTILE LIBRARY.

The Clinton Hall Association acts as trustees for the library, and all surplus revenues derived from this estate go to the library for the purchase of books, etc. The money for the erection of the building was obtained by issuing stock at the par value of $100. The Clinton Hall stockholders are entitled to all the privileges of membership of the Mercantile Library. In 1838 a class department was organized, and for many years instruction was given in bookkeeping, drawing, mathematics, penmanship, and the various languages. For years the association was the possessor of four free scholarships—two conferred by the University of New-York and two by Columbia College. By these scholarships the library was enabled to be the means of educating many worthy young men who otherwise would not have been able to obtain the advantages bestowed. These scholarships continued until the University of New-York became free to all and Columbia College abolished all unendowed free scholarships.

Twenty years after the dedication of the building on the corner of Beekman and Nassau streets, the library had outgrown the accommodation, and the site was considered too far down town by the migration of the people northward. Agitation for a new building further up town was now commenced. After a long and bitter contest between

two factions, one favoring removal up town and the other opposing, the Astor Place Opera House (which had been the scene in 1849 of the conflict between the friends of the rival actors Edwin Forrest and William Charles Macready) was purchased. The cost of this building was $140,000. About $115,000 more was expended in adapting it for the purpose of the library. The association took possession and moved the books into the building in April, 1854. At this time the library possessed 43,000 volumes, and the capacity of the building was estimated at 120,000 volumes.

After an occupancy of thirty-six years, and when the allotted room for books had for many years been crowded and every available spot utilized, and the development of the library greatly retarded for want of room, this building was vacated in April, 1890, in order that it might be demolished, and the new building which now occupies the site erected. For one year the library occupied temporary quarters at 67 Fifth Avenue, and returned to its new home in April, 1891. The first load of books was taken into the new building on the morning of April 16, 1891. This building is a fire-proof structure of buff brick and red sandstone, seven stories high. It has a frontage on three streets as follows, 159 feet on Eighth street, 149 feet on Astor Place, and 52 feet on Lafayette Place. The width of the building on the end overlooking Broadway is 98 feet. The library quarters are on the seventh floor, and are reached by two steam elevators. The circulating department for home use is on the seventh floor. On this floor are also the catalogue department, work-rooms, the directors' room, and the librarian's office. The apartment for the storage of books is considered one of the finest, if not the best, for its purpose in the country.

In addition to having light on all sides, it has a skylight occupying two thirds of the roof space. The height from the floor to the skylight is 25 feet. The full storage capacity is 475,000 volumes. At present it has a book-stack two tiers high, each tier being seven feet in height and so arranged that a third tier of seven can be added when required. This book-stack is fitted with adjustable shelves, the supports being the latest and most improved pattern. The bookcases are double, and the width from face to face is 18 inches. The distance between the cases is three feet. No book is beyond the reach of the attendant standing on the floor or on the gallery. The stairs and flooring of the stack are made of iron. In this room is also the principal card catalogue, a model of perfection and simplicity. The cards of this catalogue are contained in two cases of beautiful polished oak, each case having thirty-three drawers. The arrangement or plan is in three divisions. The first division contains the author and title cards arranged alphabetically in one alphabet. The second division

consists of the subject entries arranged alphahetically by suhjects and classes. The third division is entirely fiction, arranged under the name of the author and the title of the book in one alphabet. Here also may he found the printed catalogues, which can be consulted with ease and comfort sitting at tables arranged for this pnrpose, with order hlanks on either end and within easy reach. On January 1, 1893, the total number of hooks in the lihrary was 241,548.

On the sixth floor is the reading-room and the department for reference and study. This room is on the east end of the building, overlooking the square bounded hy Lafayette Place, Fourth Avenue, Astor Place, and Eighth street. It is open to light and air on three sides. Its length is 64 feet, its width at one end 64 feet, and at the other 47 feet. This room bas heen arranged specially for the convenience and comfort of readers and students. The floor is covered with a cork carpet, rendering movement across it noiseless. It is furnished with arm-chairs made of oak and upholstered in leather. In the center of the room is a case with compartments for six hundred newspapers and magazines. Each one of these compartments has the name, in gold letters, of the periodical it contains. No hand-files of any kind are in use.

The current numbers of periodicals only are kept in this case, hut the back numbers are immediately behind the superintendent's desk, aud can be had on application. At the back of the periodical-case are shelves which contain the works of ready reference, such as the various encyclopedias, dictionaries, hooks of statistics, etc., for the free use of the memhers, without heing compelled to write an order for them. The room has numerous tahles of convenient size, made specially for the library. Students and readers wishing to order books for reference, can do so without leaving their chairs, as each table is furnished with a compartment which contains blank orders. These tahles also have drawers on either side, wherein is fonnd writing-paper for use of memhers. Immediately in the rear of the reading-room is the storage-room for the hooks belonging to the reference department. The storage capacity of this room is for 140,000 volumes. At present it contains ahout 50,000 volumes, principally the documents of the National and State governments, and bound volumes of newspapers and magazines which are extremely valuahle for reference. The library is lighted throughout with electricity.

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S LIBRARY

The New-York Historical Society is one of the oldest in the city, its organization dating back to the early days of the republic. On November 20, 1804, Egbert Benson, De Witt Clinton, Rev. Drs. William Linn, Samuel Miller, John N. Abeel, John M. Mason, Dr. David Hosack, Anthony Bleecker, Samuel Bayard, Peter G. Stuyvesant, and John Pintard, eleven well-known and influential citizens, met by appointment in the picture-room of the City Hall and agreed to organize a society the principal design of which should be to collect and preserve materials relating to the natural, civil, or ecclesiastical history of the United States in general and of the State of New-York in particular. It was further agreed that this organization should be called the New-York Historical Society.

Active measures were at once taken to secure books, manuscripts, statistics, newspapers, pictures, antiquities, medals, coins, and specimens in natural history, thus commencing in a comprehensive manner the formation of a library and museum for the preservation of materials relating to American history and science. Attention was called through the press to the importance of cherishing public records and private papers, and their value to the student in elucidating the history of the State and country was impressed upon the public mind. Special committees were formed in the various departments to further the progress of this important work. All were quite successful in their efforts, and the material thus gathered formed the nucleus of the magnificent collection of which to-day the society may be justly proud.

As the popular interest in studies of this character increased, many of these special committees developed into separate societies, who charged themselves with promoting more fully their respective objects; and several of these outgrowths of this society as the parent stock are in a flourishing condition at the present time.

The chief purpose of the institution, to collect and preserve materials relating to the history of New-York, has been faithfully pursued. Previous to its organization no attempt had been made to gather or secure documents and records of the highest interest, which, chiefly through ignorance of their importance, had been neglected or cast aside as useless. But one history of New-York, that of Justice Smith, coming down only to the year 1756, had been printed. Through the exertions of the society material was gathered at home and abroad and made available to the student, so that the details of our colonial history are now familiar. The society has issued thirty volumes of its "Collections and Proceedings," besides a large number of histori-

cal papers and addresses in pamphlet form. Its example has been closely followed by county or town organizations throughout the State, and to-day a large city in the United States without its historical or antiquarian society is a rare exception.

After occupying rooms in different locations,—in the old City Hall from 1804 to 1809, the Government House from 1809 to 1816, the New-York Institution from 1816 to 1832, Remsen's building in Broadway from 1832 to 1837, the Stuyvesant Institute from 1837 to 1841, the New-York University from 1841 to 1857,—and after overcoming many serious and almost fatal obstacles to its progress, the society celebrated its fifty-third anniversary by taking possession of its present edifice.

The library now contains about one hundred thousand volumes of reference, and large collections of scarce pamphlets, maps, newspapers, and manuscripts of especial value to the historical student. Steady accessions are being received to its extensive collections of works relating to early American history, the colonial period, and that of the Revolution, and in the department of genealogy, enlarged by the generous bequest of the late Stephen Whitney Phœnix of his comprehensive library, with a munificent fund for its maintenance and increase, the society's collection seems likely to continue unrivaled in the whole country.

The manuscript-room of the society is filled with documentary treasures, the most of which constitute important material for publication. Among the principal collections are the Colden papers, extending through our colonial period from 1720 to 1776; the Gates, Steuben, Stirling, Duer, and Lamb papers, relating to the Revolutionary period, and the Gallatin papers, illustrating the early history of the republic. In the department of antiquities the larger collections consist of the celebrated Abbott collection of Egyptian antiquities, purchased for the institution in 1859; the Nineveh sculptures, presented by the late James Lenox in 1857; and a considerable collection, made through many years, of relics of the American aborigines. The department will bear comparison in interest and value with many celebrated European cabinets.

The gallery of art now embraces, in addition to the society's early collection of paintings and sculpture, the largest and most important gallery of historical portraits in the country; together with the collection, transferred to the society in 1858, of the New-York Gallery of Fine Arts, including the Reed collection; the pictures belonging to the American Art Union at its dissolution; the original water-colors, four hundred and seventy-four in number, prepared by Audubon for his great work on natural history; the famous Bryan gallery of old masters, presented to the society by the late Thomas J. Bryan in 1857; and the extensive Durr collection, selected and presented by

the executors of the late Louis Durr, in accordance with the terms of his will, in 1881.

The number of paintings is now eight hundred and thirty-five, and it has sixty-three pieces of sculpture, forming the largest and most valuable of the permanent collections yet exhibited on this continent. The New-York gallery and Reed collection contain many celebrated works of early American artists, while the noble collections of Bryan and Durr, including a great variety of subjects and artists, are especially valuable to the student of art in tracing the development and progress of painting during the long and important period from the fourteenth to the close of the seventeenth century.

Most of these extensive collections have been benefactions. The names of the public-spirited men who made them will be remembered and honored by the society while it lasts, and by an intelligent community impressed with the high purposes for which it was founded.

From the earliest days of its history, its officers and members have been among the distinguished sons of New-York. Statesmen, scholars, and merchants have been identified for three generations with its literary transactions and its endeavors to accumulate material for the instruction and cultivation of the people. Its list of presidents from its foundation to the present time, representing many honored names in the social and political annals of the city, is here given, and includes Egbert Benson, Gouverneur Morris, De Witt Clinton, Dr. David Hosack, James Kent, Morgan Lewis, Peter G. Stuyvesant, Peter A. Jay, Albert Gallatin, Luther Bradish, Thomas De Witt, D. D., Frederic De Peyster, Hamilton Fish, Augustus Schell, Benjamin H. Field, and John A. King.

The irresistible tendency to move up town affected the Historical Society in the same ratio as it influenced other societies, churches, and private residences, and through the liberality of the friends of the society funds were raised, and in June, 1891, a site costing $286,500 was purchased on Eighth Avenue (Central Park, west), consisting of ten city lots, with a frontage of 204 feet on the avenue and a depth of 125 feet on Seventy-sixth and Seventy-seventh streets respectively. The site selected for the future home of the society is an admirable one; facing Central Park on the east, and Manhattan Square on the north, the position of the proposed building will guarantee safety from fire and abundance of air and light. The transverse roads through Central Park and the new methods of rapid transit will insure its convenience of access, while its proximity to the Museum of Natural History will ere long make it a center of attraction to members, students, and visitors generally.

THE NEW-YORK SOCIETY LIBRARY

THE history of the New-York Society Library begins in the year 1700. At that time "The Public Library" of New-York was founded during the administration of the Earl of Bellomont (Grahame's "History of the United States," Vol. II, p. 256). The library thus organized appears to have gone on increasing, and to have acquired considerable importance. Several folio volumes—now in the possession of the Society Library—were presented by friends in London in 1712; and in 1729 the Rev. Dr. Millington, rector of Newington, England, bequeathed his library to the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," and by this society it was presented to the Public Library of New-York. The whole collection of books was placed in charge of the corporation of the city, and seems to have suffered from want of proper attention and management until the year 1754, when an association of individuals was formed for the purpose of carrying on such an institution more efficiently. On the application of these gentlemen (John Watts, William Smith, Robert R. Livingston, Whitehead Hicks, William Livingston, Goldsbrow Banyer, Samuel Jones, Peter Van Brugh Livingston, Peter Keteltas, Walter Rutherfurd, and others), the books they had collected were incorporated with the Public Library, and the whole placed under the care of trustees chosen by them.

The institution was known at that time as "The City Library," a name by which it was popularly designated up to about the year 1750. The collection appears, from the minutes of the trustees, to have been largely and constantly increased by purchases of books from 1754 down to the breaking out of the Revolution. A charter was obtained from George III. in 1772, and the official style of "The New-York Society Library" formally adopted. The events of the war not only prevented any meeting of the trustees for many years, but nearly destroyed the library. In December, 1788, a meeting of the proprietors was summoned, an election of trustees held, and the society resumed its operations. In 1789, an act of the legislature of the State of New-York was passed confirming its charter. Until 1795 the library was deposited in the City Hall. The early sessions of Congress were held in New-York, and the City Library formed the library of Congress.

The growing importance of the institution now demanded more extensive accommodations. Accordingly, additional subscribers were obtained, land was purchased in Nassau street, opposite the Middle Dutch Church, and a building erected expressly for the use of the

At a Meeting of the Trustees of the New York Library, at the City Arms on Tuesday the 7th of May 1754

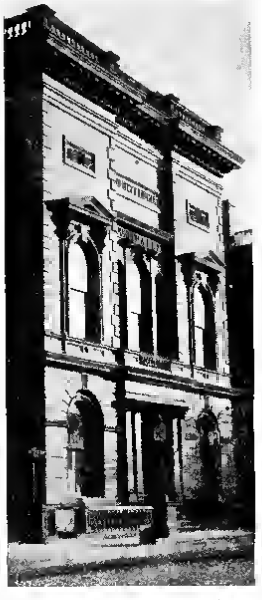
Present. His Honor J. D. Lancey Lt. Govr.
Mr Murray
Mr Chambers
Mr Barclay
Mr Walton
Mr Watts
Mr Benj. Nicolls
Mr Wm Livingston
Mr Wm Alexander
Mr Wm P. Smith

Resolved. That Mr Watts, Mr Smith Mr Wm Alexander & Mr John Livingston do receive the Subscription Money from the several Subscribers, in order to be laid out in Books for the Library. Which Service they have

agreed

FAC-SIMILE OF FIRST PAGE OF PROCEEDINGS

library. To this building, which was of considerable size and one of the most conspicuous public edifices of that day, the library was removed in 1795, and here it continued until 1836, when the increasing commerce of the city compelled the trustees to seek another situation, and the property in Nassau street was sold for $44,000, and a lot purchased on the corner of Broadway and Leonard street for $47,000. In 1840, the building on Broadway was completed, at a cost of about $74,000, and the library removed from Chambers street, where it had been since the sale of the Nassau-street property in 1836. In 1853, the property in Broadway was sold for $110,000, from which the net amount, after paying off all mortgages and debts, was about $55,000. In the same year the library was removed to the Bible House, and the property in University Place was bought, on which the present building was erected in 1855–6. Thither the library was removed in May, 1856, from its temporary location in the Bible House.



THE SOCIETY LIBRARY.

We have no record of the number of volumes in the library when it was dispersed by the Revolution, but it must have contained several thousand volumes. The total number of volumes in the library January 1, 1893, was about 90,000. The earliest printed catalogue of the library appears to have been printed in 1758, and the only copy known to be in existence was found among some old papers and presented to the library by Governor Horatio Seymour in 1855. This and a similar catalogue printed in 1761 contain lists of the members of the society. Since the Revolutionary War catalogues have been issued in 1793, 1800, 1813, 1838, and 1850.

Special collections of books, valuable and quite unique in character, have been presented to the society by Robert Lenox Kennedy, Francis B. Winthrop, General J. Watts de Peyster, and James Benkard. The Art Department, founded by the munificence of Mrs. Sarah H. Green, and contained in the "John C. Green Alcove" and its extension, possesses one of the most select, costly, and complete collections of the kind in the United States. The library possesses a rare collection of old New-York newspapers from 1727 down to the present day (perhaps the most valuable in this country), Bradford's edition of the Laws of the Province of New-York of 1691, and many other works long since out of print.

In 1877, the society received a bequest of five thousand dollars from the late George B. Dorr, of Boston, and in 1878, three thousand dollars from the executor of the late George J. Foster. In 1880, twelve thousand dollars were received from the estate of Mrs. Mary M. Keese. The largest and most munificent gift the library has ever received was that of Mrs. Sarah H. Green, of fifty thousand dollars from the estate of her late husband, John C. Green, of which the income alone is to be used for the purchase of books (one half for illustrated works on art for the "John C. Green Alcove," and one half for books for circulation).

Since the Revolution the librarians have been Isaac L. Kipp, 1793–4; John Forbes, 1794–1824; Burtis Skidmore, 1824–1828; and Philip J. Forbes (son of John Forbes, the former librarian), from 1828 to 1855; John MacMullen, 1855–6, was succeeded by Wentworth S. Butler, the present librarian, in 1856. The members of the New-York Society Library have been, from its foundation, among the most prominent, wealthy, and respectable citizens of New-York. Many of the original shares of 1754–58 have been handed down in the same families to the present day—notably those of the Anchmuty, Banyer, Beekman, Clarkson, Cruger, De Peyster, De Lancey, Harison, Jones, Keteltas, Lawrence, Livingston, Ludlow, McEvers, Morris, Ogden, Robinson, Rutherfurd, Smith, Stuyvesant, Van Horne, and Watts families; and from 1790–96, those of the Astor, Bailey, Barclay, Bowne, Coles, Delafield, Fish, Gelston, Greenleaf, Jay, Kemble, Kingsland, Lenox, Low, Lee, LeRoy, Osthout, Peters, Prime, Ray, Remsen, Roosevelt, Sackett, Schermerhorn, Schieffelin, Swords, Titus, Townsend, Van Zandt, Van Wagenen, Van Rensselaer, Verplanck, Waddington, Watts, Winthrop, and Woolsey families.

OTHER PUBLIC LIBRARIES

The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, founded in 1785, and chartered March 14, 1792, for the relief of destitute widows and orphans, and which gave free instruction to apprentices previous to the establishing of the public schools, collected in 1820 a library which was made accessible to the public the following year in its building in Chambers street. In 1832 the society removed to 472 Broadway, where it remained until its present quarters at 18 East Sixteenth street were obtained. It has now about 95,000 volumes on its shelves, and its circulation is free. The Young Men's Christian Association

has a library of 40,000 books in its fine building at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third street. It includes 176 volumes containing 17,000 portraits, also the collection of the Earl of Egmont, continued by John T. Graves, which numbers 8000, and is bound in thirty-five folio scrap-books. It possesses also 523 volumes of engravings, embracing 26,000 prints or plates, reproductious of Rembrandt, Hogarth, and Turner. In the antiquities of Egypt, Greece, and Peru, it has 310 volumes; in ornithology, 132 volumes; and polar expeditions are represented by 102 volumes, extending over the period from 1817 to 1885. A rich collection is devoted to the fine arts, including 137 works ou painting, 450 volumes on architecture, 84 on sculpture, and 118 on decoration. It also owns some valuable complete files of the New-York dailies. A collection of similar numerical size is that of the Maimonides Library at Third Avenue and Fifty-seventh street, which is general in character, but has special departments devoted to Jewish literature, to education, and to social and political science. The Free Circulating Library was incorporated in 1880, and reincorporated in 1884 under a special charter. Its books are deposited in four library buildings, situated respectively at 49 Bond street, 135 Second Avenue, 226 West Forty-second street, and 251 West Thirteenth street, with a distributing-station in Lexington Avenue near One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street. Wealthy citizens have contributed generously to this admirable free library, and its benefit to the community at large is evident from its circulation of nearly half a million of volumes in 1892. In addition to the library of the General Theological Seminary, uoticed previously, the Union Theological Seminary at Park Avenue and Sixty-ninth street has an extensive and valuable library, numbering 67,000 volumes. The Association of the Bar of the City of New-York has a library of 38,000 volumes at its building in Twenty-ninth street near Fifth Avenue; and the Law Institute possesses an excellent collection of 39,000 volumes in its rooms in the Post-office building. There is also a collection of 13,000 books in the Law Library of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, for the use of members of the Lawyers' Club and tenants of the Equitable building.

The American Geographical Society possesses a library of 23,000 volumes, collected since 1855, consisting of voyages, travels, geographical works, and transactions and bulletins of geographical societies. It has a collection of atlases of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and of United States government charts. A yearly appropriation supplies constant additions, aside from the contributions made to its shelves by its members and others. The American Institute in West Thirty-eighth street has 14,000 volumes, and the American Numismatic and Archæological Society owns a valuable

collection of works of special interest to antiquarians. The New-York Academy of Medicine at No. 17 West Forty-third street possesses a medical library of 40,000 books and 15,000 pamphlets, to which about 1500 volumes are added yearly. Its files of medical journals are the most complete in the country, with the exception of those of the surgeon-general's office in Washington. The academy has published a catalogue, in two parts, of American and foreign medical periodicals, transactions, and reports. Not so large, but of a similar nature, is the library of the New-York Hospital at No. 6 West Sixteenth street, where 20,000 volumes on medicine, surgery, and collateral branches are open free to students. There is also a large collection of medical works in Mott Memorial Hall in Madison Avenue,—a son's tribute to Valentine Mott, the most eminent surgeon this country has yet produced. The Genealogical and Biographical Society in the Berkeley Lyceum has several thousand volumes relating to biography and genealogy, also local town and county histories, many of which are out of print and exceedingly rare. Several of the social clubs of the city have good collections of books. Perhaps the largest and most valuable of these is the library of the Century Club. The City Library, comprising about seven thousand volumes, is situated on the first floor of the City Hall, and consists chiefly of city, State, and government publications, and includes a collection of French governmental and municipal volumes. It originated in the attempt of Alexander Vattemare, in 1842, to establish a foreign literary bureau or exchange which should be controlled by the Common Council, and should be the headquarters for literary men of all nations in visiting the city. The plan proved a failure and was abandoned after two years' trial,—Vattemare's books, now valued at about $40,000, remaining in the possession of the Board of Aldermen. The library has been shamefully neglected, and is discreditable to the city. Richard Henry Stoddard was at one time librarian, but soon resigned. The Catholic Club at No. 120 West Fifty-ninth street has the best Catholic library in the country. It contains 20,000 volumes, of which a large share is devoted to theology; it is especially rich in books on Ireland and in the Irish language, as well as in works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with fine and rare engravings on copper. It has also a number of illustrated works on the fine and ornamental arts, and a collection of books on the numismatics of the crusaders.

The nucleus of what will some day form one of our largest libraries is to be found in the spacious residence of the late Samuel J. Tilden. A sum aggregating between two and two and a half millions of dollars has been placed at the disposition of the trustees of the Tilden Library, after much vexatious litigation. Although Mr. Tilden's apparent purpose was to leave more than double the above amount

for founding a great library, there is still sufficient in what has been secured to gather a collection of books rivaling any other in the city. An effort has been made to obtain the use of a part of Bryant Park for the erection of a suitable building by the city, the plans for which make provision for a million and a half of volumes; hut nothing has yet been definitely settled upon. In the event of the proposed removal of the City Hall to make way for a larger municipal building commensurate with the requirements of the metropolis of 1893, it has been suggested that the reservoir on the Fifth Avenue between Fortieth and Forty-second streets be removed, and that the present City Hall be erected, for the use of the library, in the center of Bryant Park. The first important gift received by the trustees of the Tilden Library was made in January, 1893, by Miss Bryant, who presented a thousand volumes from her father's library.

PRIVATE LIBRARIES

THERE was never a period in the annals of Manhattan Island, even during the first decade or two after the foundation of New Amsterdam until the present time, when the private collecting of books hy New-Yorkers of culture and means can be truthfully considered to have been dormant. Before the year 1700 the hetter educated and more wealthy of the adventurous Knickerbocker stock had their family Bibles in old Dutch, or the "Articles of the West Indische Companie," reposing on their sidehoards and in their cabinets by the side of the tomes written or compiled by Van Der Donck, De Bry, De Laet, Linschoten, Hulsius, or Schouten van Hoorn, and of other volumes, bearing the imprints of Brant, Waechler, Cloppenburgh, or Saegman of Amsterdam, or of the more famous Elzevirs of Leyden, and their contemporary typographers. The taste had not then developed in this country for the formation of large private libraries, or, as in our Grolierite renaissance, for collections, worth tens of thousands of dollars, in which unique copies or rare editions, incased in the finest examples of the binder's art, fill the shelves of the bibliophile whose hobby is to gather "many a quaint and curious volume of forgotten lore." Besides this, it must be remembered that William Bradford did not set up the first printing-press in New-York city until 1693, and that even long after that time the man of studious miud was almost entirely dependent for his general helles-lettres on books puhlished in Europe, as the productions of the colonial printers, being both of a local character and few and far be-

tween, did not include the works of such authors as Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, Addison, Pope, Steele, and the other fathers of modern English classic literature. And these, there is no doubt, were imported from London in large quantities for private collectors during the eighteenth century, as a glance through the advertising columns of the "New-York Gazette," Hugh Gaine's "Mercury," and other early metropolitan newspapers will easily attest.

The first private library in New-York of which we have any certain knowledge is that belonging to the Earl of Bellomont's chaplain, the Rev. John Sharp, who in 1700 presented it to the city. This collection formed the nucleus of our first city library, which was founded in 1728 in consequence of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts donating to Governor Montgomerie the library of the Rev. John Millington. These combined were placed in the City Hall for public use, Mr. Sharp being made city librarian. In 1754 the remnants of this collection, which were as shamefully neglected and badly treated as has been our present miserable city library,—a disgrace to a metropolis of over a million and a half of people,—were handed over for safe-keeping to the Society Library, then just brought into existence. Many of the descendants of the early Dutch, English, and French settlers who were residents either on Manhattan Island or in its immediate vicinity in the eighteenth century, were not only book-lovers, but had private libraries of their own. This is positively known, not only from volumes, familiar to book-experts and collectors, in which are autograph signatures, but from the heraldic book-plates that were placed on the inside covers thereof, fully a century to one hundred and fifty years ago. Frederick Philipse, the second lord of the manor of Philipsburg,—who died in 1751, and whose daughter, Mary Philipse, married Colonel Roger Morris,—had a fair private library, as had also his son-in-law. Both of these libraries, along with the rest of the Philipse and Morris property, were confiscated by the United States on account of the alleged treason of their loyalist owners. General Philip Schuyler also had a fine collection of books, many of which were inherited from his ancestors, as had likewise the De Lancey and Remsen families, a large portion of that of the last named coming under the auctioneer's hammer in New-York some ten years ago. An "ex libris" is extant, dated 1725, of "Robert Elliston, Gent. Comptroller of His Majesty's Customs of New York in America," with a manuscript memorandum below the name as follows: "His Gift to the Library of St. George's Ch. in Hempsted,

Queen's County, province of New York, 1738," showing where some of his books went. Daniel Horsmanden, recorder, chief justice, and president of the Provincial Council of New-York, and author of the "History of the Negro Plot" of 1741, was the owner of a library of which he made good use; as did another book-collector of his time, David Clarkson, a native of Manhattan Island, and member of the General Assembly of the province of New-York, who died in 1751. The dated heraldic book-plate, showing the ownership of a library at that time, is in existence, of John Burnet, son of Governor William Burnet of the province of New-York, and descended maternally from the Provoosts and Van Hornes.

Some of these collections of literature were heirlooms, and their ownership can be traced by the diligent Dryasdust from century to century. This is the case with the distinguished Livingston family's libraries, one of which was not dispersed until 1885, after remaining almost intact for nearly two hundred years. Its bibliographical tale is partly told by armorial book-plates bearing the names of "William Livingston of the Middle Temple"; "Peter R. Livingston, N. Hurd scp."; "Robert R. Livingston Esqr. of Clermont" (senior and junior); "Brockholst Livingston Esqr."; "William Smith Livingston, Maverick sculpt."; "Robert L. Livingston"; and "Edward Livingston, Maverick sculpt.,"—among those specified being men who held such official positions as that of secretary of state, United States senator, judge of the New-York Supreme Court, recorder of New-York, and mayor of New-York, at a time when it did not reflect upon a person's integrity to participate in active political life. There was a patriotic public spirit manifested in the direction of disseminating culture through books in the eighteenth century, and this was particularly shown in 1754, when six friends and owners of private libraries in New-York city—Philip, Robert R., and William Livingston, John Morin Scott, William Smith, and William Alexander—came together and raised some six hundred pounds sterling "towards promoting a spirit of inquiry among the people by a loan of books to non-subscribers," and out of which grew the present Society Library. Every physician and clergyman had his private library in those days, as necessarily had the legal fraternity, two of whose book-plates are well known to collectors—namely, of Peter Wynkoop and Benjamin Kissam, the last named a lawyer of repute. Richard C. Lichtenstein, an authority on this subject, says that "out of a club formed by twenty of the principal lawyers of New-York in 1770, calling itself the 'Moot,' more than one-half of its members were possessors of book-plates"; and elsewhere in this connection the same writer urges: "When we consider the difficulties and expenses which the possession of books entailed during the first colonial periods, one

must admit that anything that points out what the tastes of our ancestors were in that direction, is to be accepted as of general interest." But few, if any, of the pre-Revolutionary private libraries remain in New-York city, whether they were mainly composed of belles-lettres, or were volumes of Americana, voyages, history, ancient classics, science, theology, medicine, or law. And it is not surprising, for quite a number of loyalists sent their collections to England, Canada, and the West Indies; or some owners had their books stolen and bartered by British soldiers for drink, as John Pintard states he saw those of Columbia College; or were treated like the whole edition of the Rev. Gilbert Tennant's sermon on "Defensive War," printed by Benjamin Franklin, which was utilized by the revolted colonists for the manufacture of musket cartridges to aid in driving King George's Hessian mercenaries off the soil, and to establish American liberty in place of foreign tyranny.

With the end of the colonial period, a new literary spirit was developed, which within half a century after the conclusion of the American Revolution brought about the formation of many a private library in New-York city; and few families that claimed culture, and therefore had social position, were without the works of native American authors, as well as of European. The writings of Paulding, Irving, Cooper, Hamilton, Jefferson, Freneau, Bryant, Halleck, Drake, Verplanck, and their associates, and still later of Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, Motley, Prescott, Bancroft, Curtis, Holmes, Lowell, Channing, and others of international reputation, were collected in the spirit so beautifully suggested five hundred years ago in the "Philobiblon," by Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham: "In books we find the dead as if alive; in books we foresee things to come; in books, warlike affairs are methodized; in books, the rights of justice proceed. To books how easily, how safely may we expose the nakedness of human ignorance without putting it to shame. These are the masters who instruct us without rods, without anger, without reward. If you approach them, they are not asleep; if you interrogate them, they do not conceal; if you mistake them, they do not murder; if you are ignorant, they do not laugh. Ah! books alone liberal and making liberal, who give to all who ask, and who enfranchise all who serve you."

Many were the private libraries of Manhattan Island also that were

collected up to the time of the Southern rebellion, and fortunately we have preserved for us by the careful labors of a painstaking student their condition and components some thirty-three years ago. James Wynne, a physician, came forward in 1860 as the author of a thick royal-octavo volume of about four hundred and eighty pages, entitled "Private Libraries of New-York," which, in his preface thereto, he tells us consists of articles published in the "Evening Post" about two years previous, but which had been either carefully revised or almost entirely rewritten. Dr. Wynne, who "did not pretend to nice bibliographical knowledge," and put down on paper simply the "reflections of a scholar," gives us separate descriptions of thirty-one private libraries, and unitedly in one chapter the account of nineteen miscellaneous collections. The following were the owners, in alphabetical order, of what he considered the important libraries: "John Allan, Henry J. Anderson, Prof. Charles Anthon, George Bancroft, Thomas P. Barton, Dr. George W. Bethune, J. Carson Brevoort, Joshua Brookes, William E. Burton, Dr. Edwin H. Chapin, Alexander I. Cotheal, William J. Davis, Daniel Embury, Daniel W. Fiske, George Folsom, Rev. Dr. Forbes, Dr. John W. Francis, A. W. Griswold, Archbishop Hughes, Richard M. Hunt, Judge James Kent, Daniel N. Lord, Rev. Dr. Elias L. Magoon, William Menzies, Henry C. Murphy, William Curtis Noyes, George T. Strong, Robert L. Stuart, Charles M. Wheatley, Richard Grant White, Dr. William R. Williams." The nineteen "miscellaneous" libraries were, in Dr. Wynne's opinion, those of "William B. Astor, J. W. Ashmead, John R. Brodhead, Charles L. Bushnell, Frederick W. Cozzens, Alexander J. Davis, William Butler Duncan, Charles W. Frederickson, James L. Graham, Jr., Campbell Morfit, John B. Moreau, A. J. Odell, Dr. Samuel S. Purple, Dr. Martyn Paine, Anson G. Phelps, Jr., John Austin Stevens, Benjamin M. Stilwell, Samuel J. Tilden, and John Van Buren."

The amenities of literature could hardly be better illustrated than by the fate of these fifty libraries, had one the time or inclination to trace their vicissitudes. There are probably not more than ten—such as those, for instance, of William B. Astor, George Bancroft, Dr. Purple, and John Van Buren—still in the possession of their owners or their heirs. Those of Robert L. Stuart and Samuel J. Tilden are in the keeping of the trustees of the Lenox and Tilden libraries, for the benefit of the public. That of John Austin Stevens was hypothecated piecemeal, and peddled among the booksellers by a bibliokleptic domestic during its owner's absence from the city; and the majority have been sold at auction, either in consequence of death or other causes, like the Allan, Burton, Griswold, Strong, Odell, Menzies, and Murphy libraries, the two last named bringing over fifty thousand dollars each. The same doom as of those just specified also overtook

in 1891 the library of Brayton Ives, which realized about one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, as well as within the last twenty years it did those of Samuel L. M. Barlow, Hamilton Cole, Ephraim G. Squier, Robert L. Kennedy, Charles O'Conor, Peter Hastie, Edward H. Tracy, Bartholomew Skaats, Porter C. Bliss, Ellen Tasker, Louis Del Monte, Daniel Godwin, Charles Devlin, John A. Riston, Rufus G. Beardslee, William H. Post, Richard Hoe, Dr. O'Callahan, Leon Hyneman, David L. Snydam, Father Lake, Rabbi Gottheil, Rev. Sidney A. Corey, Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, and many other ardent book-collectors of Manhattan, who believed with good old Thomas Fuller that "to divert at any time a troublesome fancy, run to thy books; they presently fix thee to them and drive the other out of thy thoughts; they always receive thee with the same kindness."

The private libraries of the Manhattan Island of to-day are in a great measure altogether different in character from those of their predecessors, to which allusion has been made, although there are a few collectors still remaining who love books for their printed contents rather than for their uniqueness and rarity, such gems and treasures of typography, illustration, and *reliure* now being principally collected on the lines of what Thomas Frognall Dibdin very properly designated as "Bibliomania." The Grolier Club, organized in 1884, and which has a membership of some three hundred and fifty, and a pleasant home on East Thirty-second street, near Madison Avenue, is in the main responsible for this, it having interested the rich men of New-York in the history of the making of books, of which King Solomon thought there was no end. The practical and interesting lectures before the club by such authorities and connoisseurs as Theodore L. De Vinne, William Matthews, Robert Hoe, and others, as well as the periodical exhibitions of the handsomest and rarest illuminated manuscripts, incunabula, early printed books, historic and artistic bindings, and other *curiosa* in the world of books, from the libraries of local amateurs, have brought about a new condition of affairs in book-collecting.

The finest private library in New-York, if not in America,—for it has been estimated by experts as worth about half a million of dollars,—is that of Robert Hoe. It covers every school of collecting that has had its rage among the dilettantes, in which generally superficial class Mr. Hoe most certainly should not be placed, his knowledge as a bibliophile being superior to that of most bibliopolists. He is, in fact, a bibliognost with a bibliopegistic trend. His collection of medieval, Oriental, and other illuminated manuscripts on vellum is unrivaled in this country. He has over two hundred missals, comprising examples of every period and of every style, including the remarkable "Pembroke Missal," which he purchased at the Ives sale.

His early printed books, by Caxton and other masters of the types, are marvels in their way, the initial letters and border decorations of many being in metals and colors. Among them is a unique copy of the original black-letter "Romaunt de la Rose," bound in mosaic; also a Monstrelet from the press of Verard, *circa* 1500, entirely on vellum, with six page illuminations and one hundred and fifty-nine smaller miniatures in the text. It is bound by Lortic in mosaic, with a "doublée semée des fleurs de lys," and cost Mr. Hoe thirty-two thousand francs. His historic bindings are the choicest of the choice, the rarest of the rare. He has three genuine Groliers: two came from the Techener sale, costing fourteen thousand and twelve thousand francs respectively; and the third, for which he paid six thousand francs, has been etched by Jacquemart. His silver "repoussé" bindings are unequaled, as is a folio volume that formerly belonged to Diane de Poitiers. Three out of the twenty-two Trautz-Bauzonnet mosaic bindings in existence are his, the last obtained being purchased in 1892 for him by Morgand at the Hôtel Drouot for eight thousand five hundred francs, as against sixteen thousand and fourteen thousand francs previously paid. Mr. Hoe has many French eighteenth-century books with the etchings of Eisen, Cochin, and their school. He has the real first editions of Dorat's "Baisers" and "Fables," as well as of "Manon Lescaut," all bound by Marius-Michel. He has many of the modern French classics, with proofs before all letters of the etchings; most of the modern English belles-lettres on large paper and uncut; and, sad to say, although a book-lover almost to the degree of fanaticism, Mr. Hoe has a number of unique volumes that are extra-illustrated, or rather "Grangerized," to complete each of which hundreds of other books were ruined or destroyed.

Intrinsically valuable as undoubtedly is the library of Mr. Hoe, it cannot be considered as important historically as that of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, which is a collection of even a national character, most of its departments being very rich, more particularly in original manuscripts relative to the Revolutionary and constitution-making periods of our country. Dr. Emmet has been gathering his literary treasures for half a century. This is recorded in his "History of the Declaration of Independence, with Biographical Sketches of the Signers, by Thomas Addis Emmet, M. D., LL. D., with Autographs, Letters, Portraits, and other Illustrations," which is one of a hundred unique volumes, the equal of which it will be difficult to find in any other private library in this country, and aggregating, with the rest of his books, an estimated value of two hundred thousand dollars, and which should be preserved in some public collection, or in the prefatory words of their owner: "In the same spirit that Shakespeare wished his bones might remain at rest, I would ask that these relics of mine may be kept to-

gether." He has between five and six complete sets of original letters or autograph signatures of all the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and two or three sets of the signers of the Constitution. In his choicest set is the first and only existing "clean copy" of the Declaration of Independence in the handwriting of Jefferson; Colonel William Polk's account of the Mecklenburg Convention; and, among other original manuscripts relating to the great charter of American liberty, letters to General Washington from Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Lynch, the last named of which, dated "Charles Town, July 5, 1777," cost its owner five thousand dollars. In his extended Lossing's "Field Book of the Revolution" are not only some six thousand portraits of rarity, but the majority of the James Wilkinson and Benjamin Lincoln papers, intercepted letters of General Burgoyne, the original Gates and Burgoyne correspondence, the first draft of Burgoyne's surrender, the only known autograph of Enoch Crosby, letters of Washington and the fathers of the republic, official broadsides, and numerous documents in autograph. Among the folio books of which Dr. Emmet has had but one copy printed by Bradstreet are the following, mostly bound in saddle-leather, and illustrated with valuable portraits, views, and head and tail vignettes in extension of the original contemporary manuscripts: "Proceedings in the Commission of Indian Affairs Meeting at Albany, 1754"; "The Stamp Act Congress held at New-York, 1765"; "Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress of 1774"; Barbé-Marbois's "Complot d'Arnold et de Henry Clinton"; "The Gates Confidential Correspondence"; "Letters of Paul Jones in Relation to Prize Moneys"; the manuscript diary of the Hessian lieutenant Biel; also the letters of General Lincoln to Washington, of Comte d'Estaing, and of the British generals Leslie and Balfour anent the sieges of Charleston and Savannah. These are nearly all volumes of original manuscripts, the same as his "Orderly Books" of Dearborn, Gates, and other generals; the "Private Intelligence of Sir Henry Clinton," and "Deserters' Depositions during the War"; Sanderson's "Lives of the Signers," extended to twenty folio volumes; "Presidents of Congress, 1774–89, with the Presidents and Vice-Presidents 1789–1861"; "Generals of the American Revolution," eight folio volumes; "Household Expenses of Elias Boudinot while President of Congress"; "Franklin's Correspondence on Smoky Chimneys, 1762–85," with the patriot philosopher's own drawings; also the "Boundary Line Controversy between Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia." Most profusely extra-illustrated, and described by Tredwell in his bibliographical work, are Dr. Emmet's copies of Philip Freneau's "Poems Relating to the American Revolution"; "Old New-York," by Dr. John W. Francis, extended to six volumes, one of which is the author's manuscript; Duer's "Reminiscences of an Old New-Yorker";

Colden's "Life of Robert Fulton," with many of Fulton's own drawings, and other manuscripts; and Howe's "Historical Collections of Virginia," enlarged to three volumes. Many rarities in Americana are among Dr. Emmet's books, which number about ten thousand volumes, and include Van Der Donck, Popple's American maps, Franklin's edition of "Cato Major," and Louis the Sixteenth's copy of the "United States Constitution" in French, with that monarch's arms on the sides. There are over one hundred and thirty separate eulogies on Washington; books on the Indians; State historical collections; reprints of colonial works, privately printed or in limited number; as well as State and local histories, and printed Revolutionary annals and authorities. The colonial newspapers constitute a remarkable gathering, among the several hundred folio volumes of them being the "Pennsylvania Gazette" from September 25, 1729, as well as many other Philadelphia journals; the New-York "Gazette," "Mercury," and others published in New-York during the eighteenth century, including the very rare Rivington's "Royal Gazette"; likewise the "Columbia Centinel," "Providence Gazette," "Virginia Gazette," "Connecticut Gazette," "Boston Chronicle" of 1768, with index, and a unique example of the "South Carolina Gazette" from January to December, 1744. These are all either sets or separate volumes, but there are many single volumes in which are bound up specimens of all the early newspaper presses of this country referred to by Isaiah Thomas and similar authorities.

During Dr. Emmet's half century of collecting, he has not neglected those other rarities that the bibliophiles from the Duke of Roxburghe and Earl Spencer downward considered the most desirable of the book-hunter's "finds"—namely, illuminated missals and early printed books. He has a fifteenth-century "Biblia Sancta" in microscopic script, 16mo in size, and of the thinnest "aborted" vellum. He has "Horæ" of French, Flemish, and Anglo-Norman origin; an example of the last named with a hymn beginning "Mary Modir welze be," and miniatures showing costumery of the thirteenth century. Also printed "Heures," on vellum, of Vostre and Hardouin, illuminated; as well as a beautiful fifteenth-century "Missale Romanum," with initial letters in colors and heavily burnished gold. Silvestre, Westwood, and modern illuminated books are in the library, as well as the Emperor Maximilian's "Hours of Anne of Brittany." Dr. Emmet's "Nuremberg Chronicle" is one of the tallest copies known, and his "Gesta Romanorum," from the types of Ulric Zell, and other imprints of the fifteenth and sixteenth century "Typothetæ," are many of them fine examples. His belles-lettres and modern literature have been well selected. He has an extra-illustrated "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," extended to three volumes; an original "Boydell

Shakespeare Gallery"; Dibdin's "Bibliographical Decameron," and other works of the famous bibliomaniac on large paper, with good impressions of the plates; and many another tome both rare and curious. Dr. Emmet has considerable Shakespeariana, art-galleries, bibliographical works, early Irish books, ancient classics, and medical literature: but the largest part of what he had of the last named was presented by him several years ago to the surgeon-general's library at Washington, D. C.

The Drexel Library occupies a high rank among the collections of Manhattan Island, as a glance through the manuscript catalogue of the choicer works entitled "Bibliotheca Rarissima et Curiosa, Joseph W. Drexel, 1883, with Additions by Lucy W. Drexel, 1889," and compiled by its owners, will easily show. A more extended examination of the books and manuscripts themselves conclusively proves this, notwithstanding the fact that the "Humboldt Documents," at one time the property of General Frémont, were presented to the Royal Library of Berlin, and the finer missals to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, together with the Drexel collection of musical instruments. There are in Mrs. Drexel's library about five thousand volumes, noticeable among which is a fifteenth-century vellum missal with miniatures, borders, and initial letters that came from the treasures of the Bourbons before the French Revolution, and belonged to Charles X. when Comte d'Artois. Two printed vellum "Heures" from the presses of Hardouin and Plantin, with illuminations by hand, are fine examples; as is a black-letter quarto, "Festivals and Fasts," from the types of Gutenberg's former partners, Fust and Schoeffer. The finest, however, among the early printed books in the library is Higden's "Polychronicon," printed by William Caxton in the year 1482. It is a tall copy in the binding of Francis Bedford. There are also among the early printed books in the library—the first folio "Plutarch," printed by Vindelin de Spira in 1471; a Koburger "Virgil," dated 1492, mentioned neither by Dibdin nor Brunet; the *editio princeps* of the "Nuremberg Chronicle" in the original hog skin *reliure;* Whityuton's translation of Cicero's "Offices," of excessive rarity, printed by Caxton's son-in-law, Wynkyn de Worde, in 1534. There are several original volumes by Albrecht Dürer, including the "Little Passion," and a very scarce tract of Luther of 1521, with manuscript notes by Melanchthon. Among the other early printed books are examples of Sweynheym and Pannartz, the Aldi, the Elzevirs, and other famous typographers. The Drexel set of Dibdin's bibliographical works is the finest in America, consisting of fifty-nine volumes, mostly large paper, with all the plates in the finest condition. The English belles-lettres are remarkable, including the four folio "Shakespeares," the first folio of 1623 being an exceptionally

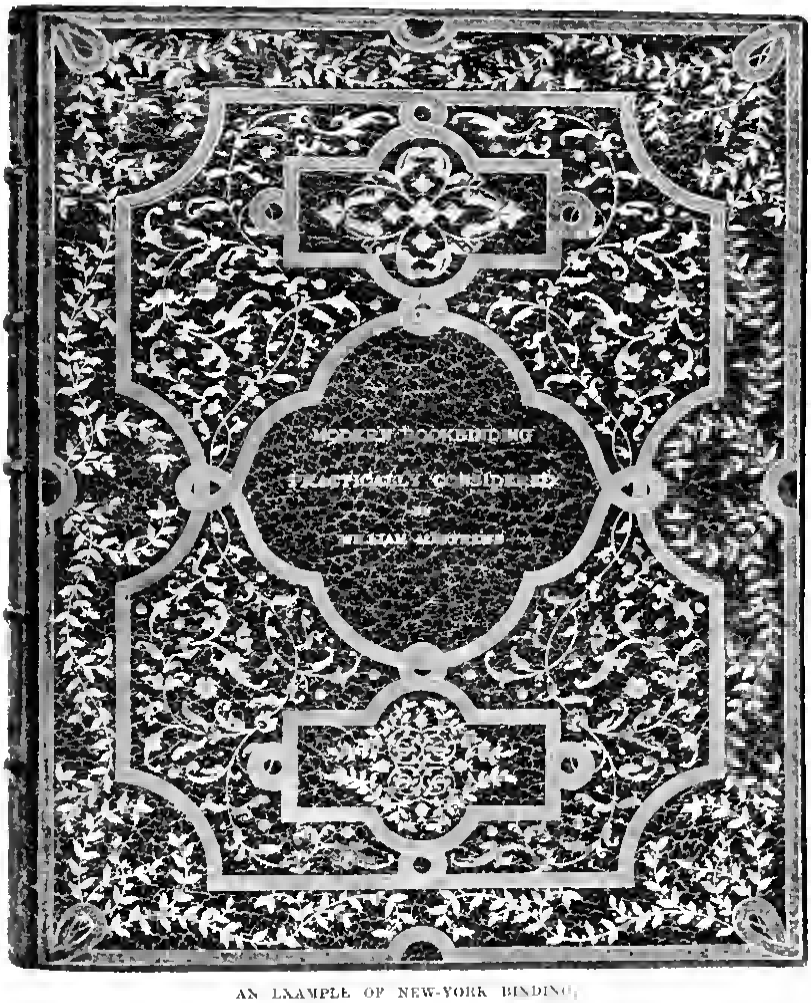
tall copy; also the "Sonnets" of 1632, which is bound in wood from both the birthplace and mulberry-tree of Avon's bard. There are also the first folio "Ben Jonson," of 1616; the *editio princeps* of the "Paradise Lost," with the seventh title-page; the black-letter "Sir Thomas More" of 1557; and the first folio "Montaigne," of 1685. Five original manuscripts of the highest interest in this library are: Thomas Moore's own notes for the composition of "Lalla Rookh," to which is conjoined an unpublished prose story; Charles Dickens's "Nicholas Nickleby at the Yorkshire School, a Reading in Four Chapters," full of annotations, emendations, and alterations in the great novelist's own handwriting, with some of the pages entirely re-written for his personal use on the platform; Tennyson's autograph manuscript of "The Daisy"; the autograph manuscript of Sir Walter Scott's "Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk," with illustrations added; and the original manuscript of Washington Irving's "Sketch Book," with the exception of a chapter which the author gave to Prescott, the historian. Two of the best extra-illustrated books in the library are Bryan's "Painters and Engravers," extended to sixteen volumes in folio, and Cunningham's "Nell Gwynn," enlarged to two volumes folio by the finest portraits, views, contemporary letters and documents, including the original manuscripts of her household expenses. Mrs. Drexel's art books comprise all the folio collections of engravings of the paintings and statuary in the public and private galleries of Europe, as well as volumes smaller in size, such as Ruskin's works, of which there is a complete set of either the original or best editions, with the plates in the finest states. There is a collection of Americana, commencing with the Basle edition, printed by Bergmann de Olpe, of the "Columbus Letter," and which in this imprint is preceded by a drama, "Acta Ludis," on the capture of Granada, the description of the discovery of America only taking up seven and a half pages of this Latin brochure of 1494. Among the noteworthy Americana may be specified—Reisch's "Margarita Philosophica," Strasburg, 1503; Münster's "Cosmographia," 1528; De Brys' "Voyages," nine volumes; "Purchas Hys Pilgrimes," six volumes folio; Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations and Voiages," three volumes, superbly bound by Bedford; Bishop Hobart's copy of Eliot's "Indian Bible"; Nathaniel Ward's "Simple Cobler of Agawam," the first edition of 1647; Roger Williams's "Experiments of Spiritual Life," 1652; "The Great Case of Liberty," a presentation copy, with the original autograph of William Penn, its author; as well as several Bradford and Franklin imprints. Of the last named, relative to the Stamp Act, one bears the fictitious place of issue "Paris, 1766," and has a number of original manuscript notes by Franklin, in one of which he writes: "I have some little property in America. I will freely spend nineteen shillings in the

pound to defend my right of giving or refusing the other shilling." There is also a number of books that belonged to George Washington, one of them being the "Memoirs of Sully," with the President's autograph and book-plate in each of the six volumes. This library also includes an extra-illustrated copy of Francis's "Old New-York," extended to nine volumes imperial folio by the insertion of twenty-five hundred autographs, portraits, and views, the ninth volume containing the autographs of all the mayors of New-York, and specimens of the presses of Bradford, Zenger, Gaine, and other early printers of the Empire City. The library contains a unique volume, bound by Bedford, of "The Signers of the Constitution of the United States," and which is full of original autograph letters, notes, or signatures of all the signers, also circulars and documents connected therewith, and many portraits. There is a similar set, of great value, of "The Signers of the Declaration of Independence," which, although it does not include the autograph of Thomas Lynch, has the only known original letter of Button Gwinnett, which is dated "Sunbury, March 21, 1777." The grandest book, however, in the whole collection, in the owner's estimation, is a magnificent copy of Irving's "Life of George Washington" and "Battle of Guilford Court-house," with Tuckerman's "Character and Portraits of Washington," the whole extra-illustrated, extended to ten volumes. This set, in addition to the genuine unlettered first proofs issued with the above, contains "one thousand seven hundred inserted illustrations of the most choice description, comprising two hundred and twenty-two portraits of Washington; eight hundred and sixty-one portraits of his compeers and associates; two hundred and eighty-two views; one hundred and fifty-nine subjects; ninety-eight autograph letters, notes, etc., including ten of Washington; seventeen maps; fifteen fac-similes; and eighteen sheets of Snowden's 'Coins and Medals of Washington';—of which nearly four hundred and fifty are proofs, India proofs, and proofs before letters in the finest condition; seventy-one are beautifully colored photographs, and sixty-two are water-color drawings." For this work the late Mr. Drexel paid over four thousand dollars.

The Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix, rector of Old Trinity, long before the so-called Grolierite revival in New-York was a book-collector of repute. His library is a noteworthy one on account of its mediæval manuscripts, incunabula, and other early printed books. It numbers somewhat over five thousand volumes. One of his best manuscripts, of which he has about fifty, is a "Missale Romanum" of the fifteenth century, on vellum, with twelve full-page miniatures, and many borders and initial letters brilliantly illuminated in gold and colors. The binding is, however, of the sixteenth century, and is a fine example of mosaic colored leathers in the Maioli style, and bearing the name of its former

possessor, Dame Anne de Vornay. Another fine specimen is a Dutch "Book of Hours" of the fourteenth century that formerly belonged to Frater Johannes de Wesalia, with seven full-page miniatures and numerous initials in gold and colors. He also has four printed "Heures" from the presses of Pigouchet, Kerver, Vostre, and Hardouin, all illuminated in gold and colors. A folio vellum "Graduale," dated 1471, is likewise a fine specimen of manuscript; so, too, is the "Historia Scholastica" of Peter Comestor, as are also the "Soliloquies" of St. Augustine and a folio fourteenth-century example of Albertano of Brescia. Somewhat similar, although modern, is the copy in the library of "Jehan Foucquet," bound by Matthews, and a collection of devotional treatises by the Port-Royalists written in the last century. Dr. Dix's collection of incunabula and early printed volumes includes among others: "The Decretals of Gregory IX.," from the press of Peter Schoeffer; "St. Hieronymus" and the "Consolationes" of John Nider, both printed in 1470 at Cologne by Ulric Zell; "Albucasis," printed by Jensen at Venice in 1471; a black-letter "Golden Legend" of 1481; the "Nuremberg Chronicle," 1493, from the types of Koburger; Higden's "Polychronicon"; a Wynkyn de Worde imprint of 1495; an Aldine *editio princeps* of "Urbanus," 1497; Brandt's "Ship of Fools," by Gruninger of Strasburg, 1497; and an *editio princeps* of "Horace," by the same printer in the following year. In addition to the foregoing, Dr. Dix has good examples of the following famous printers: Giunta, Froben, Le Noir, Badius, Roce, Estienne, and Elzevir. The extra-illustrated books have among them considerably extended copies of Irving's "Knickerbocker's New-York"; Maberly's "Print Collector"; Péréfixe's "Henri Quatre"; and Weber's "Marie Autoinette"; also the "Fourth of July Celebration in New-York, A. D. 1876," and a volume of Washingtoniana with many extra portraits of the Father of his Country. The library is strong in ecclesiastical history, theology, and liturgical literature, including a seventeenth-century volume from the collection of Pope Gregory XVI., with his arms on the sides; a handsome set in eight volumes folio of the "Acts of the Œcumenical Council of 1869"; "Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Luther," by Henry VIII., printed at Paris in 1562; Le Petit Bernard's "Scriptural Illustrations," on wood, 1681; and Bishop Latimer's "Frvtefvll Sermons," printed by John Day at London in 1575, from the library of Robert Southey. There are quite a number of Bibles in English, Latin, and Dutch, the earliest of which was printed in 1549; the writings of the Fathers of the Church, many in black-letter; and numerous editions of the "Book of Common Prayer," including the very rare "proposed book" printed in 1786 at Philadelphia. The Americana in this library not only comprise imprints of Bradford and Franklin, as well as State and local histories,

but early editions of Acosta, De Bry, Cortes, Esquemeling, Hennepin, Herrera, Lahontan, Linschoten, and Montanus. The belles-lettres consist of the finest editions of most of the best English and American authors, particularly noticeable being sets of Dibdin and Ruskin, and volumes from the libraries of Samuel Rogers and Charles Dickens.



AN EXAMPLE OF NEW-YORK BINDING.

The library of the art connoisseur Samuel P. Avery is one of the famous American collections of books. Broadly described, this library illustrates the art of bookbinding and its early patrons, although it is far from limited to that. Mr. Avery has volumes that belonged to Grolier, one with notes in the handwriting of that patron saint of

bibliopegists. There are others from the libraries of Maioli, Canevari, Diane de Poitiers, De Thou, Marie de Medicis, Doge Foscarini, Charles I., Madame de Pompadour, and other historic personages, and having their coats of arms or devices stamped on the sides in evidence of their former ownership. Some of these which are valuable as rare early printed books alone, and aside from their former possessors, are even much more so as the finest examples known, in some cases, of the bindings of Clovis and Nicholas Eve, Le Gascon, Padeloup, Dérome, Dusenil, Niedrée, Roger Payne, Trautz-Bauzonnet, Bozerian, and other famous *relieurs*. Mr. Avery has books on bookbinding, written by the bookbinders who bound them—as, for instance, those of Zaehnsdorf and Marius-Michel, and "Modern Bookbinding Practically Considered," by William Matthews of New-York, issued by the Grolier Club. His copy of the last named is one of three vellum copies, and is bound by the author in a composite design of the Grolier, Eve, Le Gascon, and Payne styles. Other strong features of Mr. Avery's library are his copies of works with manuscript inscriptions and poems indited to him by their authors, and with extra drawings or water-colors by the illustrators—such artists as Leloir, and Giacomelli; also his French Romanticists, his "fairy" books (some a fraction of a square inch in size), and his Linton presentation copies. Two of his noticeable books are Washington's copy of Tyler's "Contrast," with the autograph of "Pater Patriæ" on the frontispiece; and a unique copy of the Grolier Club's edition of "Knickerbocker's History of New-York," bound by Zaehnsdorf in Dutch orange morocco, and illustrated with original drawings by George W. Boughton, some even on the edges of the leaves. It also contains original poems, in autograph, addressed to Mr. Avery by Robert Browning, Andrew Lang, William Black, and Austin Dobson.

The collection of books made by William Loring Andrews is somewhat of the same character as that of Mr. Hoe, but not so extensive. Mr. Andrews has twelve of the finest vellum illuminated missals in the United States, as well as a remarkable cabinet of early printed books and bindings, gathered for the purpose of exhibiting by them the evolution of book-making from the earliest period. He has three other fancies—Roger Payne bindings, Franklin almanacs, and volumes relating to the early history of New-York city. General Rush C. Hawkins, who, like Mr. Andrews, was one of the founders of the Grolier Club, has made a specialty for many years past of collecting, as far as possible, the first books issued from the earliest presses established in the different cities, towns, and monasteries of Europe before the end of the fifteenth century. On this subject he is an authority, and some ten years ago published a quarto volume which he dedicated to Father Antonio Ceriani, director of the Ambrosian

Library at Milan. His library has been built up exclusively on this idea, and to show how entirely he is devoted to it, one can be pardoned in noting the fact that some six years ago he cast from his book-shelves many thousands of volumes of Americana, vellum manuscripts, early printed books, and miscellaneous literature,—making in all a catalogue of nearly four hundred pages,—because they interfered with his one bibliophilistic object. But he kept all his incunabula, which were in unquestionably perfect condition, and which, with numerous treasures obtained since, constitute indisputably the best private collection of fifteenth-century printed books on Manhattan Island. The choicest accumulation of early English Americana in private hands in New-York is found in the bookcases of Marshall C. Lefferts. Many of the rarest volumes of the Barlow and Ives libraries were obtained by him. He has also a very excellent selection of early and modern English belles-lettres, nothing satisfying him but the best editions in the finest condition.

The library of the late Jay Gould, which will be kept intact in its two divisions in his city residence and at Lyndhurst, Irvington-on-the-Hudson, is in many respects one of the best in New-York. The city portion consists almost entirely of the writings of the best modern American and English authors, principally limited editions, uncut, and in very fine bindings. It was considered as Mrs. Gould's library, and was personally selected for her use. The Lyndhurst division, which comprises some five thousand volumes, is described in a handsome large quarto of over two hundred and eighty pages, of which only a hundred copies were printed for private distribution. In this library are many fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts with illuminations. Among them are several "Horæ," a "Privilegia Juris" in folio, and Higden's "Polychronicon," of which Mr. Gould also had a black-letter edition. He had also many incunabula, the earliest of which, a "St. Thomas Aquinas," is dated 1470. He had twenty-two Aldine imprints of rarity that saw the light between 1531 and 1581, some fifteen Elzevirs, and nine Plantin issues, the first dated 1567. His folio "European Art Galleries" have splendid impressions of the plates, and among other folios the library includes sets of Napoleon's "Egypt," Lord Kingsborough's "Mexico," and magnificent copies of John Gould's many volumes of natural history, with the plates beautifully colored by hand. The balance of the Jay Gould library consists of belles-lettres, early English chronicles, Americana, history, science, ancient classics, metaphysics, and theology, as well as an extraordinary assemblage of books on orientalism, magic, witchcraft, and astrology.

Mr. William Waldorf Astor has amassed at his residence a complete collection of books, mostly of reference, many of which were ob-

tained to be of service during the time he was engaged on his novels, "Valentino" and "Sforza." To his own library has been added that of his father, John Jacob Astor, which was most judiciously chosen by that very cultured scholar. One of the most valuable volumes is the celebrated folio Sforza missal, acquired in 1886, which contains hundreds of illuminated capitals, both large and small, in metals and colors, and five full-page illuminations, with historic medieval miniature portraits of the Sforzas by Filippo Lippi. Mr. Astor has recently purchased in Paris one hundred and twenty thousand francs' worth of rare volumes, to be added to his valuable library. For some years past three of the sons of the late William H. Vanderbilt have been gathering choice collections of books. That of Cornelius Vanderbilt has been noteworthy for its grand copies of John Eliot's "Indian Bible," the "Bay Psalm Book," and Audubon's "Birds and Quadrupeds"; while that of his brother William K. Vanderbilt, although containing some rarities, is modern in character. The literary member of the family, George W. Vanderbilt, has shelf upon shelf in the Vanderbilt mansion, on Fifth Avenue, filled with every genus of literary nuggets and bibelots, principally, however, eighteenth and nineteenth century French bindings, and, chief of all, modern English classical literature. First and rare editions of Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, and Rossetti constitute his bibliomaniacal hobby.

There is no private library in New-York that can be compared in the domain of English and American poetry and the drama with that of Thomas J. McKee. It is particularly rich in editions of the Elizabethan and Restoration dramatists, there being in the numerous bookcases nearly a thousand quarto plays, comprising the first and early editions of Shakespeare, Jonson, the Heywoods, Dekker, Beaumont, Fletcher, Greene, Marlowe, and in fact almost every playwright who wrote in English. It includes all the early acted or unacted plays published in the United States, from the "Prince of Parthia" down to the present time, whether of Royall Tyler, Mercy Warren, William Dunlap, Andrew Barton, or of John Howard Payne, unpublished and in manuscript. He not only has the four folio Shakespeares, but Robert Burns's own copy of the bard of Avon's works, with his autograph signature and notes therein. Mr. McKee has every history of the stage extant, and nearly every volume that relates directly or indirectly to the drama, some very greatly extended—as, for instance, Doran's "Annals of the Stage" to twenty volumes, and Ireland's "Records of the New-York Stage" to the same number of volumes, by the insertion of six thousand portraits, views, playbills, drawings, and manuscripts. His lives of Kean, Forrest, and Garrick have been similarly made unique. He has the early editions of the sixteenth-century poets, as well as of the nineteenth, whether English or Ameri-

can. He has the Kilmarnock Burns, the first American Burns, and all of Shelley in first editions, including the "Adonais" with the signed presentation autograph inscription to Leigh Hunt, who later added his signature when giving it to Thomas Love Peacock. The first editions of the various prose works of Walton and Bacon are in amiable rivalry, so to say, in Mr. McKee's library, with those of Hawthorne and Poe. But he also has incunabula and other early printed books, Aldines, Elzevirs, and some with bindings of Trautz-Bauzonnet, Bedford, Capé, Lortic, and other famous binders, as well as some historic *reliures*. As a book-collector he has forgotten nothing, while in the matter of playbills, views, portraits, manuscripts, and autographs relating to both the drama and the opera, his is perhaps unequaled by any other collection in the United States.

Many of the volumes in the McKee library once belonged to Charles W. Frederickson, who, having winnowed his shelves of thousands of volumes that impeded his book-hunting, is now making his Shelleyana the most complete in the world. He is also gathering new stores of poetic literature to put beside his famous volumes filled with annotations in the handwriting of Charles Lamb; and he of all New-York's book-lovers is the most worthy to say in the sixteenth-century words of old Pynson: "Styll am I besy bookes assemblynge, For to have plenty it is a pleasaunt thynge." So with two other collectors, Augustin Daly and John H. V. Arnold, both of whom years ago disposed of large portions of their dramatic libraries, only to recommence the search for "books, more books." Mr. Daly's library includes one of the most profusely illustrated Bibles in the world. Among his other unique extra-illustrated copies are Winter's "Edwin Booth," Cibber's "Apology," Keese's "William E. Burton," and Cunningham's "Nell Gwynn." He prefers, however,—loyal American that he is,—the bindings of Matthews, Smith, and Bradstreet to those of the modern Parisian school. Judge Joseph F. Daly should be named in this connection as having many of the extra-illustrated books formerly belonging to his brother—the dramatist—in his possession, as well as a number of volumes extended by himself, such as the historical works of Thiers and Guizot. He has also a fine collection of classic English literature, as also has Judge Charles P. Daly, but whose library is more devoted to voyages and Americana,—those subjects naturally interesting him as president of the American Geographical Society. Mr. Arnold, alluded to above, has in his library some astonishingly fine extra-illustrated books relating to the stage, among them being Galt's "Lives of the Players," and unique memoirs of Charles Mathews, David Garrick, Mrs. Jordan, the Keans, the Kembles, Mrs. Siddons, and Edwin Forrest, as well as a copy of Ireland's "Records of the New York Stage," extended to twenty volumes, upon which he

has expended over ten thousand dollars. William B. Dick is also the possessor of a dramatic library, his fancy running to extra-illustrating. His most valuable books in this direction are Doran's "Annals of the Stage," extended to nineteen folio volumes, and Fitzgerald's "Life of David Garrick," to ten volumes, including no less than eighty-five portraits of the eighteenth-century tragedian. Laurence Hutton and Professor Brander Matthews have also famous libraries on the Stage, that of the latter being more devoted to French dramatic matters, on which he is an authority; but he has many remarkable American and British theatrical works.

Beverly Chew, the president of the Grolier Club, has a valuable collection of books. He is the deadly enemy of the Grangerite bibliomaniacs, whom he has scored in a recent poem ending: "Ah! ruthless wight, think of the books you 've turned to waste with patient skill!" Mr. Chew's many volumes comprise first editions, in tall and uncut condition, of American works printed since the Revolution, and of early English poetry and the drama. He does not care so much for bindings as do most of those bibliophiles over whom he is the chosen chief. In his library are a number of original Wallers, Goldsmiths, and Lockers, the last named a book-lover to his own heart, and who holds: "It is a good thing to read books, and it need not be a bad thing to write them; but it is a pious thing to preserve those that have been some time written; the collecting, and mending, and binding, and cataloguing of books are all means to such an end." Charles B. Foote has modeled his library much on the same lines as Mr. Chew, and his shelves are consequently filled to repletion with eighteenth and nineteenth century American poetry, mostly first editions, uncut. His English belles-lettres comprise the best and earliest editions of Shelley, Keats, Lamb, Dobson, Lang, Locker, Gosse, Stevenson, and Meredith. He has also copies of the best imprints of Spenser's "Faery Queene," Gray's "Elegy," Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe," and Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield."

George T. Maxwell has gathered in his bookcases a fine array of first editions from the year 1800 to the present time. Dickens, Thackeray, Shelley, Lamb, Keats, the two Brownings, George Meredith, and George Eliot are especially well represented. Edwin B. Holden has a fine library, much of the same character. He collects belles-lettres, particularly first editions of modern American, English, and French poetry, in choice bindings of Bedford, Hayday, Rivière, and Bradstreet, many of his volumes being enhanced by the insertion of original water-colors by eminent artists. J. Pierpont Morgan is the possessor of a superb collection of English belles-lettres, Strawberry Hill imprints, Virgils, and Horaces. Edward H. Bierstadt has many of the first and best editions in his library of modern English

and French literature. He has a fine group of works illustrating and chronicling the history of printing, and an unrivaled collection of "ex libris" or book-plates. Judge Charles H. Truax also has some fine examples of modern belles-lettres. He has, however, many early printed books, and is the owner of the gem of the celebrated collection of vellum manuscripts once belonging to the great house of Trivulzio of Milan, and a number of which were sold a few years ago in New-York. This is the magnificent fifteenth-century missal known as the "Trivulzio Breviary," which formerly belonged to Francis the First's marshal, "the great Trivulzio." It consists of eight hundred pages of the purest and thinnest vellum, covered with splendid illuminations in metals and colors by an Italian artist of the Renaissance, whose work has been aptly described as having much of the iridescent effect of Venetian glass.

There are, in addition to the New-York book-collectors already mentioned, a small group of wealthy bibliophiles who devote themselves to the gathering of the rarest and most recherché French literature. The foremost of those who make this a special object is George Beach De Forest, who has a wonderful library. Among his book treasures are volumes emanating from the eighteenth-century vignettists of the period of the Regency and Louis Quinze, with etchings by Eisen, Moreau, Gravelot, Marillier, and Choffart, mostly in the Watteau or Boucher style, and of which the most famous example is the La Fontaine of the farmers-general. Mr. De Forest has nearly the whole of this school of literature and illustration, in the rarest of editions, in the finest of fine bindings; as well as later works like "Liaisons Dangereuses," "Mademoiselle de Maupin," "Madame Bovary," "Salammbo," and "Les Filles du Feu," overflowing with original water-colors by celebrated artists. In Elzeviriana, and in this category, he has the rarest and most famous of the Elzevir imprints, with types designed by Van Dyck, and including the suppressed "Aimable Mère de Jesus" and "Le Pastissier François" of 1605. His other fancy, having French books, is naturally French bindings, and it has placed him in the front rank of American collectors of that class; for, like Mr. Hoe, he has three of the twenty-two mosaic Trautz-Bauzonnets, the finest example of which is his copy of "Les Satyres" of Regnier, the Elzevir edition of 1652, and which furnishes the frontispiece to the recently published volume, "Four Private Libraries of New-York." Valentine A. Blacque has the seventh mosaic Trautz-Banzonnet in New-York, of which the ten other examples "are beyond the reach of book-collectors," as duly recorded in Duprat's "Book-Lovers' Almanac." There is yet another book-collection which should be spoken of in these pages, and that belongs to C. Jolly-Bavoillot, whose penchant is the modern French Roman-

ticist school,—Hugo, Lamartine, Sainte-Beuve, Gautier, Janin, Karr, and Musset,—and which he has gratified on the shelves of his book-cases. Nearly all of his examples are first editions, uncut, with fine impressions of the illustrations of Devéria, Johannot, and the other Romanticist artists, and have heen hound by Romanticist *relieurs* with their original covers, along with many inserted manuscripts of unpublished poetry, and other autographic mementos of their authors and disciples.

All the private libraries of New-York will not he found in the mansions of the very wealthy; for into whatever home you enter, there will geuerally be seen a small library, though it he contained in a single hookcase of a hundred volumes. The people of New-York do not, as too frequently urged, entirely seek their literature in the columns of the newspapers, for the world's great authors are to them household words, and are utilized by them as mental recreation and spiritual solace; for, in the words of Washington Irving, "When all that is worldly turns to dross around us, hooks only retain their steady value. When friends grow cold, and the converse of intimates languishes with vapid civility and common-place, these only continue the unaltered countenance of hetter days, and cheer us with that true friendship which never deceived hope or deserted sorrow."

CHAPTER IV

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

TWENTY-ONE years elapsed from the establishment of a newspaper in Boston before William Bradford began the "New-York Gazette" in October, 1725. It was the fifth newspaper then in existence in the American colonies, three having already been established in Massachusetts and one in Philadelphia. It was said at the time that Bradford had fled from Philadelphia to New-York, having, it would appear, given great offense to the Quakers of the former city by printing an address written by George Keith. Keith had been condemned at a city meeting of Friends for a doctrine which he maintained, and had afterward appealed to a general meeting of that persuasion, publishing at the same time an address concerning the merits of the controversy. The paper was denounced as seditious in the highest degree, and Bradford was arrested and imprisoned for printing it. The trial of Bradford is a curious and not uninstructive illustration of the spirit of the age, and of the imperfect notions of the liberty of the press which prevailed at that day. Keith was adjudged guilty, both in the civil and ecclesiastical courts, without a hearing; and one of the judges — who may well be termed a "colonial Judge Jeffries" — having declared that the court could judge of the matter of fact without testimony, directed the common crier to "proclaim, in the market-place, the accused to be a seditious person and an enemy to the King and Queen's government." Bradford and Macomb, an associate, were charged with printing and circulating the offensive pamphlet, and they at once demanded a speedy trial as a right secured them by Magna Charta. Being Quakers, they appeared in court covered. Justice Cooke, before whom they were arraigned, inquired: "What bold, impudent and confident men are these to stand thus confidently before the court?" Bradford replied: "We are here only to desire that which is the right of every free-born English subject, which is speedy justice; and it is strange that that should be accounted impudence." Justice Cooke answered: "If thou hadst been in England, thou wouldst have had thy

back lashed before now." The prisoners, however, continued to press for a speedy trial. To this seemingly reasonable request Justice Cooke replied: "A trial thou shalt have, and that to your cost, it may be." Finally, when the trial came on, Bradford asked that he might have a copy of the presentment, and be informed under what law he was prosecuted; but this request was denied. Notwithstanding, however, a most one-sided and insolent charge by Justice Cooke, full of personalities against the prisoners at the bar, the jury, after remaining out sixty hours, resisted all the efforts of the court, disagreed, and were discharged.[1]

On his arrival in New-York, Bradford was appointed printer to the government, which position he held for many years; but, as William H. Seward has well said, "such is the infirmity of our nature, that, at a later period, when the only rival press in the colony of New-York had assumed an attitude unfriendly to the local government, and it was sought to crush it by prosecution and imprisonment, he was found on the side of power and privilege, and against the enfranchisement of speech, for which he had previously contended in Philadelphia." Bradford's "Gazette" was printed on a half sheet of foolscap, with large and almost worn-out type. There is a large volume of these papers in the New-York Society Library,[2] in good preservation, and a few numbers also in the New-York Historical Society. The advertisements do not average more than three or four a week, and are mostly of runaway negroes. The ship news is diminutive enough—now and then a ship and some half a dozen sloops arriving and leaving in the course of a week. Such was the daily paper published in the metropolis of America one hundred and sixty-eight years ago![3]

Eight years after the establishment of Bradford's "Gazette," the New-York "Weekly Journal" was begun by John Peter Zenger, and was distinguished for the raciness of its advertisements. One of these advertisements is as follows: "*Whereas*, the wife of Peter Smith has left his bed and board, the public are cautioned against trusting her, as he will pay no debts of her contracting. N. B.—The best of Garden Seeds sold by the said Peter Smith, at the Sign of the *Golden Hammer*." This newspaper was established for the purpose of opposing the colonial administration of Governor Cosby, under the patronage, as was supposed, of Rip Van Dam, who had previously discharged the duties of the executive office as president of the council.

The first great libel suit tried in New-York city was instituted by the government against Zenger in 1734. He was imprisoned by

[1] The sedition of the publication consisted in the inquiry whether the Quakers, in sending out armed commissions against piracy, did not act inconsistently with their religious professions.

[2] The fac-simile in Vol. I, page 598, is taken from the file in the New-York Society Library.

[3] Bradford, who was about seventy years old when he began the publication of the "Gazette," established the first paper-mill in New Jersey, and the first, perhaps, in America. A Bradford celebration took place in New-York in April, 1893.

THE

New-York Weekly JOURNAL.

Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign, and Domestick.

MUNDAY January 27th, 1734.

Justum et tenacem propositi Virum,
Non civium Ardor prava jubentium,
Non Vultus instantis Tyranni,
Mente quatit solida.

Hor.

THE first essential Ingredient Necessary to form a Patriot, is Impartiality; for if a Person shall think himself bound by any other Rules but those of his own Reason and Judgment, or obliged to follow the Dictates of others, who shall appear the Heads of the Party he is ingaged in, he sinks below the Dignity of a Humane Creature, and voluntarily resigns those Guides which Nature has given him, to direct him in all Spheres of Life.

The Coldness, and sometimes Disdain, which a Man governed thus by the Principles of Honour generally meets with on such Occasions from the Friends he has ever acted in Concert with, for the former Part of his Life, are Considerations which but too often subdue the best inclined Spirits, and prevail with them to be passive and obedient, rather than active and resolute: But if such Persons could but once feel the Comfort and Pleasure of having done their Duty, they would meet with a sufficient Reward within themselves, to over ballance the Loss of their Friends, or the Malice of their Enemies.

Ambition and Avarice are two Vices, which are directly opposite to the Character of a Patriot, for tho' an Increase of Power, or of Riches, may be the proper Reward of Honour and Merit, and the most honest Statesman may, with Justice accept of either; yet when the Mind is infected with a Thirst after them, all Notions of Truth, Principle and Independency are Lost in such Minds, and, by growing Slaves to their own Passions, they become Naturally subservient to those who can indulge and gratify them.

In public Affairs it is the Duty of every Man to be free from personal Prejudices; neither ought we to oppose any Step that is taking for the Good of our Country, purely because those that are the Contrivers and Advisers of it, are Obnoxious to us. There are but too many Precedents of this Nature, when Men have cast the most black Colours on the Wisest of Administrations, because those that had the Direction of Affairs were their Enemies in private Life; and this ill Way of Judging may be attended with dangerous Consequences to the common Weal.

Intrepidity and Firmness are two Virtues which every Patriot must be Master of, or else all the other Talents he is possess'd of are useless and barren.

Whoever, therefore, when he has formed a Judgment on any Subject relating

no Peter Zenger Wm Coleman M M Noah

lating to the Government, yet dreads to declare it by his Actions in that Station of Life, which he is naturaly called upon to do it, becomes by his Inactivity a Party to the very Meaſures, bis Reaſon blames, and bis Conſcience condemns.

It is incumbent on every Perſon who lives in a common Wealth, to promote the Wellfare of it, as much as his Scituation of Life will permit him; and therefore, thoſe who act in a little Sphere ought to exert their Zeal with as much Sincerity, as thoſe of greater Figure or Power, ſuch as can have no other Opportunities of Publiſhing their Thoughts but by Communicating of them to the World in Print would be wanting in their Duty, ſhould they neglect that Method of Informing their fellow Subjects of Matters which perhaps otherwiſe might eſcape their Knowledge tho' neceſſary for them to be acquainted with.

The Liberty of Speech is the greateſt Jewel that adorns our Government, and frequently has put a Stop to the Deſigns of bad Men, when they were attempting the Subverſion of the Conſtitution: It has indeed frequently been dangerous, and often diſtructive, to Patriots who have made the beſt Uſe of it; but yet there have always been, and I hope ever will be, Men of Honour Honeſty, & Intrepidity, to employ the Talents God hads endowed them with, in the Service of their Country; and whom neither Hopes can Tempt or Fear deter from purſuing the public Good.

The Freedom of the Preſs is another Bulwark of our Liberty, and there needs no greater Argument to prove it, than the frequent Attempts that have been made to deſtroy it, under the Pretence of Reſtraining of it. Wicked Men muſt naturally labour to have their Actions conceal'd, or, at leaſt, ſo publiſhed, that every Perſon ſhould credit the Gloſſes which they themſelves throw upon them: But the judicious Part of Mankind will be informed of every Circumſtance before they preremptorily give an Opinion on any Matter whatſoever. In civil Caſes, no Man's Word ought to be taken in his own Cauſe, nor when he attempts to juſtify an Action he is accuſed of; but all Parties muſt be heard before the Court can proceed to give Sentence: And therefore the People will, in public Matters expect the ſame Uſages, before they determine to blame or applaud any Action whatſoever in which they are concerned.

A Perſon who writes on Political Subjects ought to be free from Partiallity, and every other Vice which may ſway his Sentiments or induce him to repreſent Matters in a falſe Light; and I hope as long as I continue an Author to convince the World, that my Deſign is, to ſay Truth open, and in ſuch Manner as becomes one who determines to live and dye a PATRIOT.

Charlſtown, (in South Carolina)
November 2.

Yeſterday Morning his Excellency being acquainted with the arrival of 70 of the lower Cherokee Indains, near this Town, directed Col. *Parris*, publick Treaſurer of this Province, to meet them, who accordingly went about a Mile out of the Town, and underſtanding that they were come down to ſue for Peace, the Trade with them having been ſtopt for ſome Time, they were permitted to come into this Town.

On Wedneſday laſt a Warrent was taken out of the Office of the Regiſter of the Court of Vice Admirality againſt Capt. *Gordon*, at the Suit of *Martha Deane*, for a Debt of about 56 *l.* which being obtained, the Marſhal

virtue of a warrant from the governor and council; and a concurrence of the House of Representatives in the prosecution was requested. The House, however, declined. The governor and council then ordered the libelous papers to be burned by the common hangman or "whipper" near the pillory. But both the common whipper and the common hangman were officers of the corporation, and not of the crown, and consequently they declined officiating at the illumination. The papers were therefore burned by the sheriff's deputy, by order of the governor. An ineffectual attempt was next made to procure an indictment against Zenger, but the Grand Jury refused to find a bill. The attorney-general was then directed to file no information against him for printing the libels, and he was kept in prison until another term. His counsel offered exceptions to the commissions of the judges, which the latter not only refused to hear, but excluded his counsel, Smith and Alexander, from the bar. Zenger then obtained other counsel, John Chambers and Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia. The trial at length came on, and excited great interest. The truth, under the old English law of libel, could never be given in evidence, and was of course excluded on the present trial. Hamilton, nevertheless, argued the case with consummate ability. He showed the jury that they were the judges as well of the law as of the fact, and Zenger was immediately and triumphantly acquitted. The verdict was received with cheers by the delighted audience, and the corporation voted the freedom of the city, in a magnificent gold box, to Andrew Hamilton "for the remarkable service done to the inhabitants of this city and colony by his defence of the rights of mankind, and the liberty of the press." Thus ever has power—emphasized more particularly by Sir Robert Walpole—been arrayed against the liberty of the press; and thus ever have the people been ready to sustain it!

Soon after the relinquishment of his paper by Bradford, it was resumed by James Parker under the double title of the "New-York Gazette and Weekly Post-Boy." In 1753, ten years afterward, Parker took a partner, by the name of William Weyman; but neither of the partners, nor both of them together, possessed the indomitable spirit of John Philip Zenger. Having in March, 1750, published an article reflecting upon the people of Ulster and Orange counties, the Assembly, entertaining a high regard for the majesty of the people, took offense thereat, and both the editors were taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms. What the precise nature of the insult upon the sovereign people of those counties was, does not appear; but the editors behaved in the most craven manner. They acknowledged their fault; begged pardon of the House; paid the costs of the proceedings, and, in addition, gave up the name of the author. He

proved to be none other than the celebrated Rev. Hezekiah Watkins, a missionary to the county of Ulster, residing at Newburgh. The reverend gentleman was accordingly arrested, brought to New-York, and voted guilty of a high misdemeanor and contempt of the authority of the House. Of what persuasion this Rev. Mr. Watkins was—although in the early annals of the town he seems to have been of great prominence[1]—is not stated. But neither Luther nor Calvin nor Hugh Latimer would have betrayed the right of free discussion as he did—by begging the pardon of the House; standing to receive a reprimand; paying the fees; and promising to be more circumspect in future—for the purpose of obtaining his discharge. This case, in fact, affords the most singular instance on record of the exercise of the doubtful power of punishing for what are called contempts. A court has unquestionably a right to protect itself from indignity while in session; and so has a legislative body, although the power of punishing for such an offense without trial by jury is now gravely questioned. But for a legislative body to extend the mantle of its protection over its constituency in such a matter is an exercise of power of which, even in the annals of the Star Chamber when presided over by Archbishop Laud, it is difficult to find a parallel. Sure it is that a people, then or now, who would elect such members to the legislature deserves nothing else than contempt. From the establishment, however, of the independence of the country until the present day, there has been no attempt to fetter the press by censors or by law, while the old English law of libel, which prevailed until the beginning of the present century, has been so modified as to allow the truth in all cases to be given in evidence. For the attainment of this great end the country is indebted, more than to all other men, to the early and bosom friend of the late venerable Dr. Nott, Alexander Hamilton.

The fourth paper, published in New-York, was called the "Evening Post." It was begun by Henry De Forest in 1746; was remarkable chiefly for stupidity, looseness of grammar, and worse orthography; and died before it was able to walk alone. In 1752 the "New-York Mercury" was begun; and in 1763 its title was changed to the "New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury." This paper was established by Hugh Gaine, at the sign of the "Bible and Crown," Hanover Square; was conducted with taste and ability; and became by far the best newspaper in the colonies. In 1763 Gaine was arraigned by the New-York Assembly for publishing a part of its proceedings without permission, and, withal, incorrectly. He was a gentleman of a kind spirit, and never had the power to withhold an apology when it was asked; he accordingly apologized, was reprimanded and discharged. As the storm of war approached in 1775, the "Mercury"

[1] See N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. V.

contained a series of patriotic papers, under the signature of "Watch-Tower"; but as the British drew near to New-York, the patriotism of Gaine began to cool; and during the whole course of the Revolutionary War his "Mercury" afforded very accurate indications of the state of the contest. When with the Whigs, Hugh Gaine was a Whig; when with the Royalists, he was loyal; when the contest was doubtful, equally doubtful were the politics of Hugh Gaine. In short, he was the most perfect pattern of the genuine "non-committal," and would at the present day have made a most excellent custom-house official. On the arrival of the British army in New-York, he removed to Newark, N. J., but soon returned to the city, and published a paper devoted to the cause of the crown.[1] His zigzag course was a fruitful theme for the wags of the day; and at the peace, a poetical petition from Gaine to the Senate of the State, setting forth his life and conduct, was written with a good deal of humor. His paper closed with the war. Another paper, called the "New-York Gazette," was begun by Wayman, the former associate of Parker. In 1766 Wayman was arrested and imprisoned for a contempt of the Assembly, upon no other charge than that of two typographical errors in printing the speech of Sir Henry Moore, at that time the governor of the colony. One of these errors consisted in printing the word *more* for *ever*, by reason of which the meaning of the sentence was reversed. The Assembly was more rigid in this case, from the suspicion entertained that this error was intentional; but such was clearly not the case.

A paper called the "New-York Chronicle" was published during the years 1751–2, and then died. The "New-York Packet and American Advertiser" was next established, in 1763, and published by Samuel London. Soon after its publication it was changed from a weekly to a daily, and was continued for several years. How long it lived is not precisely known, although it was in existence as late as 1793, under the name of "The Diary, or London's Register." Another paper, called the "New-York Gazetteer," published and edited by Shepard Kollock, was also started just previous to the Revolution, lived until 1784, and then died. In 1766 Holt established the "New-York Journal, or General Advertiser," which in the course of the same year was united with "Parker's Gazette," the "Journal" being printed as a separate paper. John Holt edited the first Whig newspaper published in New-York city; not, as in the case of Hugh Gaine, did his patriotism come and go as danger approached or receded from the city. In 1774 Holt discarded the king's arms from the title of his paper, substituting in place of it a serpent cut in pieces, with the expressive motto "Unite or die." In January, 1775, the snake was united, and coiled with the tail in its mouth, forming a double

[1] See Vol. II. pp. 552, 573, for fac-similes of the "New-York Gazette."

ring. On the body of the snake, beginning at the head, were the following lines:

United now, alive and free—
Firm on this basis Liberty shall stand:
And thus snpported, ever bless our land,
Till Time becomes Eternity.

The designs both of 1774 and 1775 were excellent—the first by a visible illustration showing the disjointed state of the colonies, and the second presenting an emblem of their strength when united. Holt maintained his integrity to the last. When the British took possession of New-York, he removed to Esopus (now Kingston, N. Y.) and revived his newspaper. On the burning of that village, in 1777, by General John Vaughan, under the orders of Sir Henry Clinton, he removed to Poughkeepsie, and published his "Journal" there until the Peace of 1783, when he returned to New-York and resumed his paper under the title of the "Independent Gazette, or the New-York Journal Revived." Holt was an unflinching patriot, but he did not long survive the achievement of his country's freedom—a result for which he had so long and so unselfishly labored. He fell a victim to the yellow fever in 1784. The paper was continued by his widow, Elizabeth Holt, for a short time. Soon after his death she printed a memorial of him on cards, for distribution among her personal friends. It read as follows:

A due tribute to the memory of JOHN HOLT, printer to this State; a native of Virginia; who patiently obeyed Death's awful summons, on the 30th of January, 1784, in the 64th year of his age. To say that his family lament him, is needless; that his friends bewail him, useless; that all regret him, unnecessary, for that he merited every esteem is certain. The tongue of slander cannot say less, though justice might say more. In token of sincere affection, his disconsolate widow hath caused this memorial to be erected.

Mrs. Holt continued her husband's paper until 1785, publishing it, however, only once a week. Eleazar Oswald, her kinsman, who had been a colonel in the American army, took charge of the paper for her from 1785 to 1786, after which he printed it in his own name—Mrs. Holt receiving a proportion of the profits. In January, 1787, Mrs. Holt and Oswald sold the paper, together with their printing-office, to Thomas Greenleaf, who soon after this change of proprietorship established two papers. The one intended for city circulation was called "The New-York Journal and Daily Patriotic Register"; the other, with the same title, was published weekly, on Thursday, for the country. The titles of these papers were afterward changed—the daily being called the "Argus," or "Greenleaf's New Daily Advertiser"; and "Greenleaf's New-York Journal and Patriotic

Register," which was published twice a week. "When," says Hudson, in his "Journalism in the United States," "the two great political parties were forming, the measures of Washington's administration were attacked with virulence in Greenleaf's paper." It was, in fact, the first Democratic organ in the country.

Mrs. Greenleaf after her husband's death published both the daily and semi-weekly papers for some time, but finally disposed of them and of her entire printing establishment to that celebrated political gladiator James Cheetham, an Englishman, who at once altered the titles of both papers—the daily to the "American Citizen," and the semi-weekly to the "American Watchman." These papers flourished from 1801 to 1810. They were edited with marked ability by Cheetham, who acted with that portion of the Democratic party of which George Clinton, De Witt Clinton, and Judge Ambrose Spencer were leaders, in opposition to Colonel Aaron Burr. Cheetham[1] was not a professional printer, but he was an able editor, and acquired great distinction as a writer. Occasionally the vigor and pungency of his style caused his productions to be compared with the letters of Junius. But Junius was not alone his model. Dr. Francis, who was with him when he died, thus described his death-bed scene:

> He had removed with his family to a country residence, some three miles from the city, in the summer of 1809. Within a few days after he exposed himself to malaria, by walking uncovered through the fields under a burning September sun. He was struck with a complication of ills: fever and congestion of the brain. The malignancy of his case soon foretold to his physician the impossibility of his recovery. Being at that time a student of medicine, I was requested to watch him. . . . On the night of the third day raving mania set in. Incoherently he called his family around him, addressed his sons as to their peculiar avocations in life—giving advice to one ever to be temperate in all things; upon another urging the importance of knowledge. At midnight, with herculean strength he raised himself from his pillow, with eyes of unusual fierceness he grasped his bed-covering, and in a most vehement but rapid articulation exclaimed to his sons: "Boys, study Bolingbroke for style, and Locke for sentiment." He spoke no more. In a moment life had departed.

In his personal appearance Cheetham was tall and athletic. He was often involved in political disputes, one of these leading him in 1804 to challenge William Coleman, then editor of the "Evening Post."

James Rivington began his newspaper in 1773, under the rather formidable title of "Rivington's New-York Gazetteer, or the Connec-

[1] "Violent quarrels took place between Matthew L. Davis and other friends of Colonel Burr on one side, and Cheetham, Richard Riker (afterward Recorder of New-York), De Witt Clinton, and Judge Spencer on the other. Several duels took place. On one occasion Davis sallied forth in Wall street with pistol in hand, expecting to shoot Cheetham at sight. The latter, however, kept out of the way, and the affair ended without bloodshed. In 1805 Colonel Burr instituted a suit against Cheetham for libel growing out of the presidential election in the House of Representatives in 1801, which created considerable excitement. There were some able writers for Cheetham's paper, and he always stood high with his section of the Democratic party as a ready writer and skilful tactician."—Hudson.

ticut, New Jersey, Hudson's River and Quebec Weekly Advertiser." The imprint read as follows: "Printed at his *ever open* and uninfluenced press, fronting Hanover Square." It is well known that Rivington was the royal printer during the whole of the Revolutionary War; and it is amusing to trace the degrees by which his Toryism manifested itself as the storm-clouds of war gathered over the country. The title of the paper originally contained the cut of a large ship under full sail. In 1774 the ship sailed out of sight, and the king's arms appeared in its place; and in 1775 the words "ever open and uninfluenced" were withdrawn from the imprint. These symptoms were greatly disliked by the patriots of the country; and in November, 1775, a party of armed men from Connecticut entered the city on horseback, attacked his dwelling, broke into his printing-office, destroyed his presses, and, carrying away his type, melted and cast it into bullets. Rivington's paper was thus effectually stopped, and its publication was discontinued until the British army took possession of the city. Rivington himself, meantime, had been to England, where he procured a new printing outfit, and, returning, established the "New-York Royal Gazette," "published by James Rivington, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty." During the remaining five years of the war, Rivington's paper was the most distinguished for its lies and its disloyalty of all the journals in the colonies. It was published twice a week, and four other newspapers were also published in the city at the same time (under the sanction of the British officers) — one arranged for each day, thus affording the advantage of a daily newspaper. It has been said and believed that Rivington, after all, was a secret traitor to the crown, and in fact the secret spy for General Washington. Be this, however, as it may: as the war drew to a close, and the prospect of the king's arms began to darken, Rivington's loyalty began to cool down; and by 1787 the king's arms had disappeared, the ship again sailed into sight, and the title of the paper was simply "Rivington's New-York Gazette and Universal Advertiser." But although he labored to play the Republican, he was distrusted by the people; and his paper, no longer supported by the merchants and individual subscribers, was relinquished in the course of that year. Rivington previous to his coming to America had been a printer and bookseller in London, where he made fifty thousand dollars, which was lost in over-generous living, and he came to New-York with the hope of making up his losses. Major André was a contributor to Rivington's journal, and some of his poetry was printed in it on the very day of his capture. The wit of "Rivington's Gazette" was very offensive to some of the Americans, and they were often free with threats of what they would do with its editor whenever an opportunity was afforded. Rivington tells most graphically a

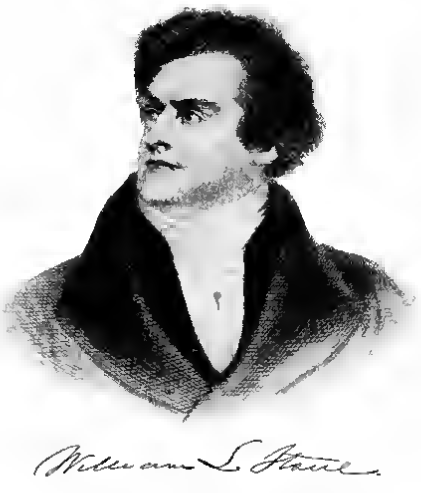
story of an interview he once had with General Ethan Allen, the hero of Ticonderoga, who paid him a visit for the purpose of administering a "licking." He says:

I was sitting alone after a good dinner, with a bottle of Madeira before me, when I heard an unusual noise in the street and a huzza from the boys. I was in the second story, and, stepping to the window, I saw a tall figure in tarnished regimentals, with a large cocked hat and an enormous long sword, followed by a crowd of boys, who occasionally cheered him with huzzas of which he seemed insensible. He came up to my door and stopped. I could see no more: my heart told me it was ETHAN ALLEN! I shut my window and retired behind my table and my bottle. I was certain that the hour of reckoning had come. There was no retreat. Mr. Staples, my clerk, came in paler than ever, and clasping his hands, said: "Master, he has come." "I know it." "He entered the store and asked if James Rivington lived there. I answered, 'Yes, sir.' 'Is he at home?' 'I will go and see, sir,' I said; and now, Master, what is to be done? There he is at this very moment in the store, and the boys are peeping at him from the street." I had made up my mind. I looked at the Madeira — possibly took a glass. "Show him up," said I, "and if such Madeira cannot mollify him, he must be harder than adamant." There was a fearful moment of suspense. I heard him on the stairs, his long sword clanking at every step. In he stalked. "Is your name James Rivington?" "It is, sir, and no man can be more happy to see Colonel Ethan Allen." "Sir, I have come ——" "Not another word, Colonel, until you have taken a seat and a glass of old Madeira." "But, sir, I don't think it proper ——" "Not another word, Colonel; taste this wine. I have had it in glass ten years. Old wine, you know, unless it is originally sound, never improves by age." He took the glass, swallowed the wine, smacked his lips and shook his head approvingly. "Sir, I come ——" "Not another word, until you have taken another glass, and then, my dear colonel, we will talk of the old affairs; and I have some queer events to detail." In short, says Rivington, we finished two bottles of Madeira, and parted as good friends as if we never had cause to be otherwise.

The last paper to start just previous to the Revolutionary War, was the "New-York Independent Journal, or the General Advertiser." This paper, which had bitterly opposed the administration of President Washington, changed its title in 1788 to the "New-York Gazette." It was first published by McLean and Webster, but was afterward bought out by John Lang, Turner & Co. It lived as late as 1840, having been edited in turn by John Lang and subsequently by his son, John Lang, Jr. In 1840 its subscription list was purchased by the "New-York Journal of Commerce," in which year the "Gazette" ceased to exist. John Lang, Jr., however, had died in March, 1836, in New-York city.

The first daily newspaper to be established in New-York city after the Revolution, and which still maintains a vigorous life, though under a different name, was the "Minerva," first issued on December 9, 1793. Its founder was Noah Webster, afterward the eminent lexicographer, who, in entering upon his career as a journalist, announced that his paper was to be "the friend of Government, of freedom, of virtue, and every species of improvement." A weekly edition of the paper, published for circulation in the country, was

called the "Herald." It was not long, however, before the names "Minerva" and "Herald" were changed to those of the "Commercial Advertiser" and "New-York Spectator," which names they still bear. The publishers were George Bunce & Co. until May, 1796, when they gave place to Hopkins, Webster & Co. On July 1, 1799, Webster separated from Hopkins & Co., and published the paper in the name of his nephew, Ebenezer Belden, until 1803, when he sold out to Zachariah Lewis. Mr. Lewis continued to be the chief editor until April, 1820, when he sold out the paper to Colonel William L. Stone and Francis Hall — the former assuming the editorship, and the latter becoming the publisher. Colonel Stone at this time was an associate editor of the "New-York Evening Post," having previously been successively the editor and part owner of the "Herkimer American," the "Northern Whig," at Hudson, N. Y., the Albany "Daily Advertiser," and the Hartford "Mirror." Associated with Colonel Stone for many years as his assistant editor was John Inman, the brother of the artist, the first president of the Academy of Design. During the earlier years of Colonel Stone's connection with the "Commercial," that paper was enriched with many poetical gems from the pens of those talented sisters Lucretia and Margaret Davidson, and of Percival and Sands, the latter being for some years a regular contributor to the paper, though not, as Hudson has asserted, holding the position of associate editor. Indeed, the last finished composition of the lamented Sands was a poem in the "Commercial," entitled "The Dead of 1832," which appeared but a few days before his death. "By a singular coincidence," says Gulian C. Verplanck, in his elegantly written sketch of the poet, "he chose for his theme the triumphs of death and time over the illustrious men who had died in the year just closing — Goethe, Cuvier, Spurzheim, Bentham, and Walter Scott; Champollion, who read the mystic lore of the Pharaohs; Crabbe, the poet of poverty; Adam Clarke, the learned Methodist — a goodly company, whom he himself was destined to join before the year had passed away."



The "Commercial Advertiser," which under Webster and Lewis had always been a prominent organ of the Federalists, became under Stone's management a stanch upholder of the principles of the

Clintonians in advocating the building of the Erie Canal. With the completion of that project — a stupendous undertaking for that day — the chief element of cohesion which had held the Clintonians together was dissolved, and the party, as a strong political organization, ceased to exist, most of its members, including the editor of the "Commercial," becoming the warm supporters of Mr. Adams in his contest with General Jackson for the presidency in 1828. The latter, as is well known, was elected; but this result did not diminish the "Commercial's" opposition, nor blunt the keenness of the shafts that it aimed unsparingly at the administration till its close. It was just at this period that the Morgan tragedy, enacted on the northwestern border of New-York State, tore asunder the threads of domestic society and gave birth to a new political party, composed chiefly of the old followers of De Witt Clinton and a considerable portion of the Bucktails. At this point the editor of the "Commercial," who was a "high mason," stepped forth as a mediator, and addressed through his paper a series of letters on "Masonry and Anti-Masonry" to John Quincy Adams, who, in his retirement at Quincy, Mass., had taken considerable interest in the anti-masonic movement, carrying, indeed, his antipathy to secret societies so far as actually to exert himself to procure the abolition of certain passwords which formed a part of the ceremonies of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. Upon the removal of the government deposits from the United States Bank by President Jackson, in 1834, the Adams party, which had taken the name of National Republicans, became Whigs, and henceforth until the death of its editor the "Commercial Advertiser" gave an unqualified and a consistent support to the measures of that party. It took an especially active part in the great presidential campaign of 1840, a fact which was not unappreciated by the successful candidate, who, on entering upon the duties of office, tendered its editor, as a mark both of his political and personal friendship, the appointment of minister to The Hague. While the matter was in abeyance, President Harrison died, and Tyler succeeding, the offer, of course, was never repeated. Indeed, the "Commercial Advertiser" was always regarded as a kind of political barometer, and its signs were eagerly looked for alike by friend and foe.[1] While under Stone's editorship it was brought into particular prominence by the fact that — together with the "Tribune," "The American," edited by Dr. King, and "The Albany Evening Journal," controlled by Thurlow Weed — it was made the defendant in the celebrated libel suits brought by Fenimore Cooper. The particular grievance against the "Commercial" on the

[1] "I am suffering," writes Daniel Webster to Colonel Stone in one of the playful letters that frequently passed between them, "for want of the 'Commercial.' I am, as you know, a good deal given to wandering about, but always hope the 'Commercial' will hit me flying."

part of that distinguished novelist was a review of the latter's "Home as Found" and the "History of the Navy of the United States." The review in question was not written by Colonel Stone, but by another better versed in naval affairs than himself; but as he believed that a great and cruel injustice had been done the gallant Commodore Perry, he allowed the article to be published, and of course assumed the responsibility for its publication. As this case involved the then unsettled question of the extent to which a reviewer might lawfully go in literary criticism, and as it was a case of the "first impression" in the courts, it excited a public interest. The case was tried in 1840, at Utica, by Marshall S. Bidwell, Charles P. Kirkland, and Judge William W. Campbell of Cherry Valley, for Colouel Stone; and for Mr. Cooper, by himself and his nephew. The court gave judgment for Mr. Cooper—a decision which occasioned much animadversion, on the ground of its alleged interference with the just liberty of the press in the matter of reviewing and criticizing literary works. It was then taken up by writ of error to the Court for the Correction of Errors (which at that time was the State Senate); and in 1845, a year after Colonel Stone's decease, that court reversed the judgment of the Supreme Court, Chancellor Walworth and other eminent jurists pronouncing opinions very broadly in favor of a reversal, and the court deciding four to one. Thus ended this famous libel suit.

Colonel Stone, as well as Mr. Bryant of the "New-York Evening Post," was always very particular in the use of words—so much so as to cause him to be looked up to by the newspaper press of the United States as *the* authority in this regard. Indeed, some of his brother editors were wont to say that he was hypercritical.[1] In the autumn of 1843 Colonel Stone began to experience symptoms which indicated the necessity of repose. The long and painful illness that followed was caused by excessive devotion to the toils of the study, and to unremitted labor of the mind. Accordingly, in the early spring of 1844, he left the "Commercial" in charge of Inman, who had been his assistant for several years, and, in expectation of relief from its waters, repaired to Saratoga Springs, where he died, at the residence of his father-in-law, Rev. Francis Wayland.

On the death of Colonel Stone, his half interest was purchased

[1] The following anecdote, therefore, deserves relating, as showing that occasionally the editor of the "Commercial" was "caught napping." It was related by John R. Bartlett, in a paper on "American Provincialisms," read before the New-York Historical Society, in 1844, shortly after Colonel Stone's death. On this occasion Mr. Bartlett, in speaking of the term "cocked hat," said: "About two years ago there was a severe storm in this section of country; the mails were all stopped; and the New-York 'Commercial Advertiser,' on the day of the departure of the steamer for England, apologized for the paucity of its news by saying that 'the storm had been so heavy as to knock all the mails into a cocked hat.' Upon this the London 'Spectator' remarked that the news from America, by that arrival, was very light, which was accounted for by the New-York 'Commercial Advertiser' in a very strange way. That paper stated that there had been a heavy storm there, and that all the mails were knocked into a cocked hat, a singular position of things, which it was impossible to define."

by John B. Hall, the son of his old partner; and John Inman, and afterward a Mr. West, an Englishman, were successively employed by the Halls to edit the paper, until it passed out of the latter's hands. On the dissolution of the Whig party in 1856, the "Commercial" became a Republican organ—a position which it could not do otherwise than assume, if it would be consistent with its former principles,—its editor having always advocated the abolition of slavery by congressional action as soon as practicable, and having at the great antislavery convention at Baltimore, in 1825, originated and drawn up the able plan of slave emancipation at that time recommended to Congress for adoption.[1] Colonel Stone advocated at this time the nomination of Mr. Clay; and although two other candidates were unexpectedly nominated, thus defeating the election of Clay by Jackson, yet the editor of the "Commercial" was saved the disagreeable alternative either of supporting a proslavery candidate, or giving his vote to one whose political principles he detested.

Upon the retirement of the Halls, father and son, on January 1, 1863, the "Commercial" passed into the hands of William Henry Hurlbert, who for a short period was its editor. That veteran politician and journalist, Thurlow Weed, next became its owner and editor; but going soon after to Europe for his health, he left the paper in charge of Hugh Hastings, a former editor of the "Albany Knickerbocker," who had purchased a part interest in the concern. After many changes of proprietorship since the death of Mr. Hastings, on September 12, 1883, it is at present carried on by Colonel John Eckerill, formerly the managing editor of the New-York "World." A morning edition of the paper is issued under the name of "The Morning Advertiser." It enjoys the distinction of being the oldest newspaper in the metropolis of America.[2]

The next New-York daily newspaper to come into existence was the "New-York Evening Post," which was started as an organ of the Federalists, under the immediate patronage of Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and their political associates. The first number of the paper was issued on November 16, 1801, with William Coleman as its editor. Coleman was a native of Massachusetts, and had practised law in Greenfield in that State. He had written occasionally for the

[1] Judge Story, writing to Colonel Stone, under date of April 15, 1830, says: "The friends of Van Buren and Calhoun are exceedingly hostile, and each party is playing a double and desperate game. It is understood here [Washington] that Mr. Calhoun means to put down both Van Buren and the President, and that Van Buren is laboring to put down Calhoun, and President Jackson too, provided there shall be any chance of his own success." John Quincy Adams also shared in this feeling of uncertainty. "The present aspect of the approaching presidential election," he writes at this time to Colonel Stone, "differs little from that which I had expected. I very sincerely share in your anxiety for free institutions, and the union of this country. But the welfare of the people is in their own hands. There seems to me to be, after all but one very imminent danger impending over us, and that is the issue of the conflict between slave labor and free labor. The rottenness at the heart of our Union is slavery."

[2] A fac-simile of a page of the first number appears in Vol. III. p. 149.

"Gazette" in that town, and came into local prominence during Shays's rebellion, having been one of the leaders against the insurgents. He also was for two years a member of the legislature from that place. About 1794 he removed to New-York, and for a little while was a law partner of Aaron Burr. He was also for a short time reporter of the New-York Superior Court, but lost that position on the defeat of the Federalists in 1800, his personal loyalty to Hamilton making him a conspicuous mark for the shafts of the opposition. It was not long, however, after his removal before Hamilton, moved by private friendship and perhaps by a pardonable desire to have a personal organ, established, with the help of some friends, the "Evening Post," and installed Coleman as its editor. Coleman began with the intention — as he says in his first editorial, upon assuming the editorship — of keeping the "Post" clear of "personal virulence, low sarcasm, and verbal contentions with printers and editors," and with the desire of "inculcating just principles in religion and politics as well as in morals." That he was sincere in this statement is evident from his letters and other expressions to friends given in the privacy of social intercourse. The maelstrom of politics, however, soon drew him into its vortex, and he was forced into becoming one of the most pungent, caustic, and bitterly partizan writers of the day in the advocacy of the principles of the Federalists. Nor was it long before he became involved in an exceedingly acrimonious political and personal dispute with two Republican editors, viz., Cheetham of the "American Citizen," and Duane of the "Aurora." Forgetting his public announcement of his determination not to allow himself to be drawn into "personal virulence and low sarcasm," he printed in one of the numbers of his paper the following:

WILLIAM COLEMAN.

Lie on, Duane, lie on for pay,
And Cheetham, lie thou too:
More against truth you cannot say
Than truth can say 'gainst you.

Shortly after he was challenged by Cheetham; but the encounter was prevented by Judge Brockholst Livingston, who, at the request of

common friends, arrested the principals and bound them over to keep the peace. The after consequences, however, of this affair were more serious; for, upon its becoming known, Captain Thompson, at that time harbor-master of the port of New-York, declared publicly that Coleman lacked personal courage. A challenge from Coleman to Thompson thereupon followed. The parties met in the summer of 1803 at the Potter's Field (now Washington Parade-ground, or more recently Washington Square), and Thompson fell mortally wounded at the second fire. The affair at the time was involved in mystery,

NEW-YORK EVENING POST.

MONDAY NOVEMBER 16 1801

PROSPECTUS

and neither the surviving principal nor Thompson's second, Cheetham, was ever arrested. Coleman (says Hudson) attended to his business as usual, and thus ended this extraordinary affair. The year following this duel (1804) Coleman associated with himself as a partner Michael Burnham, who became the publisher of the paper, though not one of its proprietors. Burnham was possessed of fine business ability, and under his management the paper became a success. A weekly edition was also issued under the title of the "New-York Herald."

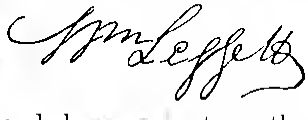
It has been said, and with truth, that there was no lack of intellectual activity in the beginning of the nineteenth century; but it was a long time before the editors of even political and partizan newspapers determined just what stand to take on the all-absorbing questions of the day. This, too, was the more remarkable since, with

the long-continued and bitter discussions attending the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the people of the United States separated quickly into groups upon political issues, and the public mind soon became engrossed in heated controversies, "which everywhere demanded methods of expression and intercommunication." The newspaper was the most natural channel through which such intercommunication could be realized; and to this cause is to be ascribed almost solely the wonderful multiplication of newspapers throughout the country immediately subsequent to the American Revolution.[1] The "Evening Post" was among the chief supporters of De Witt Clinton in 1812; and, together with the "Commercial Advertiser," was friendly to him politically during the last years of that illustrious man's career. Coleman also advocated the election of William H. Crawford, of Georgia, as against John Quincy Adams, whose candidacy he strenuously opposed. It was while the "Post" was under the editorial supervision of Coleman that the celebrated satirical odes from the pens of Joseph Rodman Drake and Fitz-Greene Halleck appeared in that paper. This was in the spring of 1819, and their publication added greatly to the reputation of the paper. Coleman remained the editor of the "Post" until the summer of 1829, in which year he was carried off by a stroke of apoplexy. He was always a most ardent advocate of the principles of the Federalists, continuing, indeed, their warm defender even after they had ceased to be the nucleus of a political party. "He was able, honest, and fearless, and was brought into intimate relations with some of the most prominent men of his time."[2] The death of Coleman left William Cullen Bryant the sole editor (the latter, a year previous to the former's decease, having become its editor-in-chief). Associated with Mr. Bryant as assistant editor was William Leggett, an ex-officer of the navy and a poet, who had come into some literary prominence from having written "Leisure Hours at Sea" while yet a midshipman. The latter retired from the "Post" in 1836, establishing the same year a weekly political sheet, called the "Plaindealer." It was while Mr. Leggett was associated with Mr. Bryant that the latter's memorable and unfortunate collision with Colonel Stone, of the

[1] "In the 'New-York Evening Post,' during the first twenty years of its existence, there was much less discussion of public questions by the editors than is now common in all classes of newspapers. The editorial articles were mostly brief, with but occasional exceptions; nor does it seem to have been regarded, as it now is, necessary for a daily paper to pronounce a prompt judgment on every question of a public nature the moment it arises. The annual message sent by Mr. Jefferson to Congress in 1801 was published in the 'Evening Post' of December 12, without a word of remark. On the 17th a writer, who takes the name of Lucius Cassius, begins to examine it. The examination is continued throughout the whole winter, and finally, after having extended to eighteen numbers, is concluded on April 8. The resolutions of General Smith for the abrogation of all discriminating duties, laid before Congress in the same winter, was published without comment; but a few days afterward they were made the subject of a carefully written animadversion, continued through several numbers of the paper." "Reminiscences of the First Half Century of the 'New-York Evening Post,'" by William Cullen Bryant. New-York, 1851.

[2] Appletons' "Cyclopædia of American Biography."

"Commercial," occurred. For this encounter Mr. Leggett was solely responsible. The facts in the case were these: An article having appeared in the "Commercial," which referred to Mr. Bryant by name as the holder of certain Democratic principles to which the editor of the "Commercial" was opposed, the former took umbrage at it. Mr. Bryant would most probably have overlooked the matter, had he not been encouraged by Mr. Leggett. Accordingly, Mr. Bryant, in company with the latter, met Colonel Stone on Broadway, opposite St. Paul's, and an attempt was made by the editor of the "Post" to use a horsewhip. The editor of the "Commercial," who was a stalwart man, resisted the attack, and snatching the whip from his assailant's hand, became in turn the attacker. Bystanders separated the two combatants.[1] Leggett the following day challenged Stone to a duel, on the ground of some offense which he held against that editor growing out of this affair. On this occasion Robert C. Sands was Stone's friend, and Prosper M. Wetmore acted for Leggett. But after a correspondence carried on between the seconds regarding their respective principals for some two weeks, the affair was by mutual consent dropped.



Under the able editorship of Bryant, the "Evening Post" became a great power in the councils of the Democratic party, whose chief and distinctive principle at that time was free trade. This principle Mr. Bryant advocated with consummate ability. Nor while making the advocacy of Democratic policy a distinctive feature of his paper did he neglect its poetical, literary, and esthetic characteristics. Belles-lettres were given a prominent space in its columns, and while Bryant lived his paper was enriched by contributions from the pens of Cooper, Irving, Halleck, Verplanck, Paulding, and Willis, all of whom were warm personal friends of the distinguished editor. Although a strong and (having stern convictions of duty) perhaps a bitter Democrat, Mr. Bryant's patriotism at the time of the secession heresy rose nobly far above party; and throughout the Civil War the "Post" was an able

[1] "A few years since, shortly before Mr. Bryant's death, the writer discovered among his father's (Colonel Stone's) papers the true circumstances under which the objectionable article which led to the encounter was written. Not wishing that Colonel Stone — though long dead — should be unjustly blamed for what he did not write, he wrote to Mr. Bryant the true state of the case, showing that his (Bryant's) friend Sands was the author of the article in question at the same time submitting his proofs. To this letter Mr. Bryant replied in a very kind and generous manner, closing his letter as follows: 'Although the length of time that has elapsed since the occurrence of which you speak had led me to suppose I had forgotten it, yet the gratification I have received on reading your explanation shows me that the feeling it roused at the moment was not quite obliterated.' These reminiscences are not altogether pleasant for the reason that these prominent editors, whom the world has been taught to look up to as among the most conspicuous figures of that time in American literature and journalism, are made to appear as having the weakness of men who are considered low in the scale of civilization. It is, however, only another instance showing that the wisest people at times do very foolish things. Nor is it irrelevant to speak of this occurrence in an article on the newspaper press of New York, for it is by such illustrations that one has means of comparison between the press of the past and present.

and unflinching advocate of the principles of the Republican organization. At the same time it was a favorite and highly influential paper with the old merchants of New-York, and was enabled to render most valiant service to the United States Government by persuading many of the most conservative of the wealthy classes to take its bonds, and thus aid in sustaining its credit. Mr. Bryant's literary labors were by no means confined exclusively to his paper. Besides his numerous works, both in prose and verse, he was an admirable speaker,—perhaps it would be more nearly correct to say orator,—and his addresses on the several occasions of the dedication of the statues of Morse, Shakespeare, Scott, and Halleck, in Central Park, were models of justice, of appreciation, and of felicity of expression. His last public appearance was at the unveiling of the bust of Mazzini in the Central Park, May 29, 1878. It was an unusually hot day; and after delivering his oration, he accompanied General James Grant Wilson to his residence. General Wilson reached his door with Mr. Bryant leaning on his arm, and while his back was for a moment turned to use his pass-key, the poet fell back, his head striking on the platform step. He lingered until the morning of June 12, when he died. "The last thirty years of Mr. Bryant's life," writes General Wilson, his warm personal friend and admirer, "were devoid of incident. He devoted himself to journalism as conscientiously as if he still had his spurs to win, discussing all public questions with independence and fearlessness; and from time to time, as the spirit moved him, he added to our treasures of song, contributing to the popular magazines of the period, and occasionally issuing these contributions in separate volumes." After Bryant's death the "Post" passed into the hands of his son-in-law, Parke Godwin, who had been previously connected with the paper. Edwin L. Godkin is now its part owner and editor, conducting it in connection with the literary weekly called the "Nation."

At about this period there came upon the stage of New-York journalism two persons, whom to omit would render incomplete a correct history of the newspaper press of New-York city. These were Charles King and Mordecai M. Noah. The former was an accomplished man in every respect, one who compelled the admiration even of those who were his political enemies, by his sterling integrity and ingenuous honesty. He started the "New-York American" as a conservative paper. He edited it with great ability from 1827 to 1845, when he associated himself with General James Watson Webb in the editorship of the New-York "Courier and Enquirer." This place he held until 1849, in which year he was chosen president of Columbia College. Under his management the "American" was not so much a controversial newspaper as a literary one, although on several occasions—

notably when it was drawn into becoming a Tammany or Bucktail organ, and acted with Van Buren against De Witt Clinton — Dr. King became for the nonce an active political partizan. On another occasion, also, he took sides with Colonel Stone, of the "Commercial," against the Presbyterian clergy of the city, thus making for himself many enemies among the ultra-Protestant party. Mordecai M. Noah was also a man of mark. He was born in Philadelphia in 1785, and from his boyhood showed a great predilection for newspaper work; and when his paper, the "New-York Enquirer," which he had taken great pride in establishing, was merged into the "Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer," he became associated with General Webb in its management until 1832. He afterward founded "Noah's Sunday Times and Weekly Messenger," which he edited with much literary ability until his death in 1851. This paper of Major Noah's, together with the "Albion," edited by William Young (who published in 1850 "Two Hundred Lyrical Poems of Béranger, done into English Verse," and several other works), the "Mirror," edited by Nathaniel P. Willis and Morris, and the "World," by Park Benjamin, were the first attempts to establish purely literary newspapers in New-York city. All these papers, however, met with little financial support, and after a more or less lingering existence, eventually died. Noah in 1834 established the New-York "Evening Star." It supported William Henry Harrison during his campaign for the presidency in 1840; but languishing for lack of support, it was finally merged in the "Commercial Advertiser" in 1841.

James Watson Webb

The next daily morning paper of any permanence to be established in New-York was the New-York "Journal of Commerce," and the date of its first issue was September 1, 1827. Founded under the auspices of Arthur Tappan, its first editor was William Maxwell of Norfolk, Va., who had been brought to New-York by Mr. Tappan. The latter, with his brother Lewis, was at this time engaged in the importation of dry-goods on a very extensive scale at their store in Pearl street. It is said that Arthur Tappan was so sure of the justice of his cause, that he invested thirty thousand dollars in the paper — a very handsome sum in those days. Both of the brothers were strong abolitionists; and the paper was designed in a measure to favor the cause

of the slave.[1] Arthur Tappan eventually sold his interest to his brother Lewis, David Hale, and Horace Bushnell, the last of whom in later years acquired a national reputation as a writer on theology. At length, in 1828, David Hale and Gerard Hallock, citizens of Boston, Mass., became the proprietors — the former assuming the duties of publisher, and the latter of editor. It was not long, however, before the "Journal of Commerce," from a strong abolitionist paper, began to veer over to the opposite side, becoming at first conservative and finally a proslavery organ. The "Journal of Commerce" is deserving of great credit and of more than usual mention from the fact that it was the first to employ the famous news-schooners in 1829–30.[2] In fact, this idea of obtaining the earliest news by such means is really the origin of the Associated Press, though the latter finally employed electricity. Previous to this time, only row-boats had been used by any of the New-York papers, and, of course, none were capable of going out to sea for news. The enterprise of the "Journal," in sending a schooner into the broad Atlantic to intercept vessels for news, was ridiculed by its contemporaries as in the highest degree chimerical. The result, however, of the first venture proved the sagacity of the proprietors of the "Journal," who had, against the greatest satirical opposition, successfully established the new system; and, accordingly, as a next step, another schooner of ninety tons was procured, both of which were constantly cruising about either in the harbor or out at sea for news from the first vessel sighted. At length the other New-York papers were forced to combine and secure a small vessel to compete with their more enterprising rival. Nor was this the only method used by the "Journal of Commerce" to outstrip its neighbors.[3] In 1833 the same paper established a "horse express" from Philadelphia to New-York, with eight relays, and was thus enabled to publish the Southern news and the proceedings of Congress one day in advance of the other papers, which were com-

MORDECAI M. NOAH.

[1] In view of the stand subsequently taken by the "Journal of Commerce," its origin is quite remarkable.

[2] It must, in justice, however, be said that the credit of originating the collection of shipping news by boats in New York harbor is generally given to the elder Long of the "New-York Gazette." He was fond, it is said, of boating, and on returning home on one occasion he passed a ship just arrived. Hailing her, he obtained her name and where she was from, and these facts appeared in the next morning's "Gazette." Tradition gives this as the origin of the news-boat service.

[3] The late Thurlow Weed once told the writer that in order to have the President's message

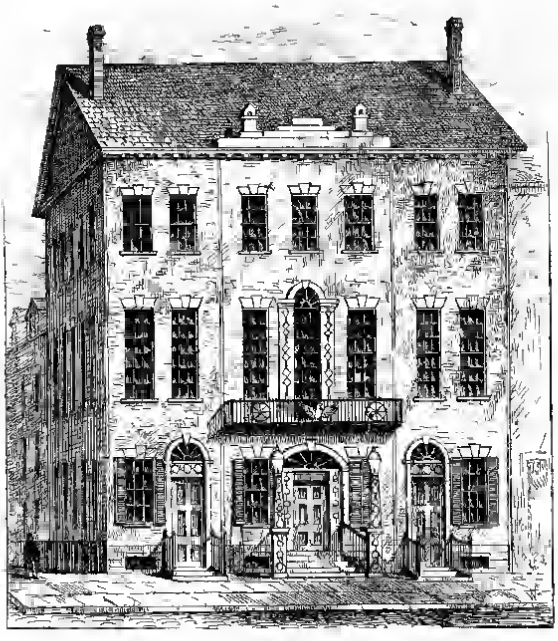
pelled to establish an opposition express. The "Journal of Commerce" then extended its relays to Washington, and always had the news twenty-four hours in advance of even the government express. This "Journal Express" employed twenty-four horses, and frequently made the two hundred and twenty-seven miles between Washington and New-York in twenty hours.

The "Journal of Commerce" was always bitterly antagonistic to the "Courier and Enquirer." Gerard Hallock punctured that paper with his incisive sarcasm; while, on the other hand, the "Courier" denounced the "Journal" as the "principal organ of fanaticism and hypocrisy," and "the advocate of every measure calculated directly or indirectly to cast a stigma on the character of our country and its people,"—all of which now seems quite amusing. The "Courier" was a Whig paper, and the "Journal" Democratic; and they belabored each other with literary cudgels incessantly with all the vituperation of the journalism of old times, when, as it has been truly said, "a spade was invariably pronounced a spade." The excitement of the slavery question at this time (1832) ran high. A reward, even, of $50,000 was offered in New Orleans for the body of Arthur Tappan, the abolitionist and former owner of the "Journal of Commerce"; while another reward, also, was offered at the same time for the body of his brother, Lewis Tappan, "formerly one of the 'Journal's' proprietors." As an outcome of this, the latter's house in New-York was, in 1834, sacked by a mob. David Hale, who died in 1849, was in person tall and slim, in character honest, and in manner brusque. Gerard Hallock was the chief editor until September 1, 1861, when he retired to New Haven, Conn., where he died in January, 1863. He established the Boston "Telegraph" in 1824, and was at one time a part proprietor of the New-York "Observer." In the early days of the "Journal," although its editorial head, he reported fires for its news columns. Running through a dark, narrow street one night to report a fire, he almost fell into a cellar. He might have lost his life. He clambered out, however, and sat down on the curbstone to rub himself a little; and then seeing the light of the fire illuminating the midnight sky, he sped on his reportorial errand, and had a full report in the "Journal" the next morning.

When Mr. Hallock retired in 1861, it was arranged that the paper should be published by David M. Stone, who had for twelve years previously been its business manager, beginning in 1849 as its commercial editor. In that year (1861), in conjunction with William C. Prime,

(Van Buren's, I think it was) conveyed to his paper the Albany "Evening Journal." In time he procured a case of type and some compositors, and while the steamboat was on its way to Albany, the whole of the message was set up, ready to be printed at once on the arrival of the boat at Albany. As telegraphs were at that time unknown, the enterprise of that veteran editor and the prestige which this feat gave him will be at once apparent.

he purchased the interest of the paper, succeeding the latter in 1866 as editor-in-chief — an office he still (1893) retains. Mr. Stone, for twenty-five years president of the New-York Associated Press, has been identified with the "Journal of Commerce" for over forty years. An interesting event in the history of the paper was its suppression by the government in 1864 for publishing the bogus proclamation purporting to have been issued by President Lincoln.[1] It appeared in the "Journal of Commerce" May 18, 1864. The "Tribune," by an accident, did not receive a copy. The "Times" received it, but on inquiring at the office of the Associated Press, found it to be a forgery. The "Herald" printed twenty-five thousand copies without discovering the fraud, but finding at four in the morning that neither the "Times" nor the "Tribune" had published it, struck it out from subsequent editions. What, however, perhaps, gives the "Journal of Commerce," more than any other one thing, its high character, is the fact that its "money article" has the reputation — and deservedly so — of being, perhaps, the only one into the composition of which selfish and pecuniary interests do not enter. The "Journal of Commerce," in fine, was founded by men who had a high moral purpose in view, and it has never ceased to be controlled by men who feared God and kept his commandments, particularly that one which enjoins rest from labor on the Lord's Day. The office is closed late on Saturday, and is not opened until Sunday is over. David M. Stone is a man of great intellectual ability, and of varied, profound, and useful knowledge. His department of "Questions and Answers" requires much labor and research, but he gives so much attention to it that it has become, among all merchants of

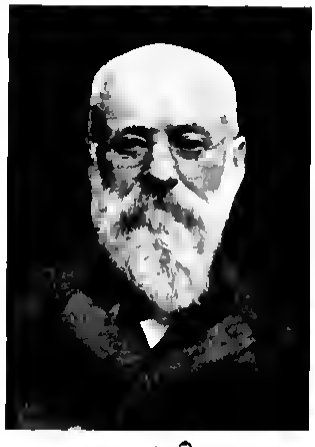


TAMMANY HALL, NOW THE "SUN" OFFICE.

[1] See Vol. III, p. 507.

New-York city and the United States, an acknowledged authority. Through it many lawsuits have been avoided, disputes settled, and a vast amount of information gratuitously given.

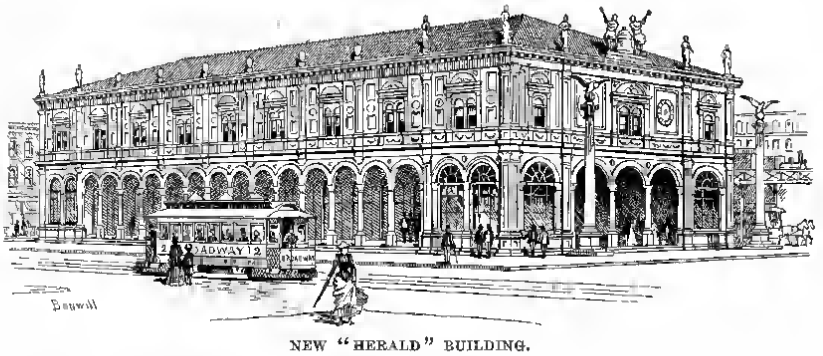
The first newspaper to be sold in New-York at the price of one cent was the "New-Yorker," which was established in 1833 by Horatio David Shepherd, with Horace Greeley and Francis V. Stoney as partners, printers, and publishers. This was the pioneer newspaper of the penny press. It lasted, however, but a month. The "Sun" was next established, on the 3d of September of the same year, by Benjamin H. Day, who, in his prospectus, promised to publish all the news of the day at the price of one penny per copy, or three dollars a year—a promise which was most faithfully carried out. The first number was a folio of twelve columns, with about ten inches to the column,—its contents being largely confined to brief accounts of local events. The success of the "Sun," which has continued up to the present day, though under a change of proprietors, and at an increase of price to two cents, led to the establishment of a number of other penny newspapers, so that by 1835 the dailies of New-York city "consisted," says North, who has made a special study of this subject, "of seven sixpenny evening papers, and five penny morning papers, twelve in all."



C. A. Dana

The first number of the "New-York Morning Herald," which for many years was a rival of the "Sun" for the support of the masses, was issued May 6, 1835. It was originally started as a penny sheet, by its editor and projector, James Gordon Bennett. It was at first a four-page paper, twenty-four by thirty inches, and therefore not much larger than the newspapers issued before the Revolution. It contained four columns to the page, four of its sixteen columns being devoted to advertisements, at the rate of thirty dollars per year per square of sixteen lines, or fifty cents for one insertion per square. In the editorial of the first number, in which was defined the future policy of the paper, Mr. Bennett announced his intention of printing an independent paper for the masses, quoting at the same time the following passage from Ophelia, in "Hamlet" (Act IV), "We know what we are, but know not what we may be." He closed by saying that "there are in this city at least 150,000 persons who glance over one or more newspapers every day: only 42,000 daily

sheets are issued to supply them. We have plenty of room, therefore, without jostling neighbors, rivals, or friends, to pick up at least 30,000 or 40,000 for the 'Herald,' and leave something for others who come after us. By furnishing a daily paper for the low price of three dollars per year, which may be taken for any shorter period for the same rate, and making it at the same time equal to any of the high-priced papers for intelligence, good taste, sagacity, and industry, we expect to reach this end." A notice of a directory just published at that time says that "the best large morning daily is the 'Courier and Enquirer,' and the best small one, the 'Herald,' to say nothing of the good old wine of the 'Star.'[1]" The first number of this diminu-



NEW "HERALD" BUILDING.

tive "Herald" contained, also, a column of European news from the steamer St. Andrew, just arrived the evening previous from Cork, and which "brought dates to April 8, nearly a month previous to the date of the publication of the 'Herald'"— a most wonderful feat for that day! There were, also, two or three columns of city intelligence; and the first and last pages were embellished with sketches, three poems, and other miscellaneous reading-matter. The "Herald" is still enjoying an apparently unabated prosperity, and is under the management and control of the son of its founder.

The first number of the "New-York Express"—afterward the "New-York Evening Express"—appeared on June 20, 1836, as a stanch supporter of the Whig party; and on December 1 of the same year it absorbed the "Daily Advertiser," long an organ of the Federalists and an ardent supporter of the proceedings of the Hartford Convention. It was founded and edited by two brothers, James and Erastus Brooks, at that time young men, who had wandered from Portland, Me., to New-York to better their fortunes,—James, however, having had previously some experience as editor of the "Portland

[1] The "Star" was afterward incorporated with the New-York "Commercial Advertiser."

Advertiser." Upon the appearance of the "Know-nothing" organization, the "Express" became a strong advocate of the principles of that party; and it was upon that issue that Erastus, the younger brother, was elected to the New-York State Senate. Upon the dissolution of the Know-nothings, the "Express" became a Democratic organ, and James Brooks, its senior editor, was elected to Congress as a Democrat from one of the congressional districts of New-York city. Subsequently, the brothers Brooks having died, the good-will of the "Express" was purchased by Colonel Elliott F. Shepard, who merged it into his paper, the "Evening Mail," the latter paper changing at the same time its name to the New-York "Evening Mail and Express," under which title it is still carried on.

JAMES PARTON [1]

The "New-York Daily Tribune" was established on April 10, 1841, by Horace Greeley. It was really the outgrowth of the "Log Cabin," a weekly Whig organ with abolition tendencies, which had been started by Greeley in 1840, in the interest of the Whig candidate for the presidency, General Harrison. At first it was uphill work for the young Vermont apprentice. The total cost of its production during the first week of the "Tribune's" publication was but $525, and even the raising of that comparatively small sum required the most herculean efforts on the part of its proprietor. Through his persistent energy, however, it was not long before the paper was on a paying basis; so much so, that although in 1871 its average cost was $20,000 per week, no difficulty was experienced in meeting that sum; and when the "Tribune" was finally turned into a stock company and its shares placed at $1000 each, the latter a few days after their issue commanded $3500 apiece. In other words, the "Tribune" had invested from its earnings $382,000 in real estate, and had divided among its owners a sum equal to an annual average of $50,000. In fact, at present, notwithstanding a large outlay for its fine building, its shares, like those of the "Times," organized on a similar basis, are not for sale in the market at any price. The amazing strides which the "Tribune," since its organization as an able but obscure print, has made toward its present high and influential position are of too

[1] James Parton (1822-91) a writer on the New York press, was the author of an admirable life of Horace Greeley. EDITOR

recent date to need a special recounting. The same may be said in general terms of the "New-York Times," established in 1851 by Henry J. Raymond, an attaché of the "Tribune"; and also of the New-York "World," each of which has experienced a phenomenal success. In addition to these great morning and evening newspapers of New-York city, now in the full career of prosperous operation, many others have been started, only, however, like the "Evening Republic" (1869) and the "Standard" (1870), to survive for a few weeks and then die. Enough, however, has perhaps been written to give the reader an idea of the amazing resources of New-York city to sustain on a paying basis such a newspaper press.

The New-York "Gazetteer" for 1860 contains the names of seven hundred and seventy-one newspapers and journals, of all classes and periods of issue, which up to that year had been established subsequent to the Revolution[1] and had disappeared in the city of New-York. There were in 1880 five hundred and eighty-two printed. The "Journal of Commerce" is the only survivor of the morning newspapers in existence at that time; while the New-York "Commercial Advertiser" and the "New-York Evening Post" are the only remaining evening newspapers which have a date of establishment equally remote. The religious press of New-York deserves a passing mention. It dates from 1820, when the New-York "Observer" was founded by Sidney E. Morse, in connection with his brother, Richard C., sons of Rev. Dr. Jedediah Morse, the geographer. Few journals of this character, however, proved successful before 1840. The "Christian Intelligencer," the organ of the Dutch Reformed Church, was established in 1830, and has ever since held a prominent place among the religious publications of the United States; and the "New-York Evangelist," founded in 1833, "to promote revivals, missions, temperance and other reforms," and ably conducted by Rev. Joshua Leavitt, subsequently of the "Independent," began as an organ of the Congregationalists. The "Christian Union" has also attained a front rank among that body. From this brief sketch of the history of newspapers from their first introduction into New-York city previous to the Revolution down to the present day, an idea may be formed of the germ of the newspaper press, which is now, and justly, one of the chief glories of the United States. The public press of no other country equals that of New-York city or of the United States, either on the score of its moral or its intellectual power, or for the exertion of that manly independence of thought and action which should ever characterize the press of a free people.

What a prophet would the great wizard-novelist of Scotland have

[1] For this list of papers, the curious reader is referred to North's "History of the Newspaper Press of the United States."

been, had the prediction which he put into the mouth of Galeotti Martivalle, the astrologer of Louis the Eleventh, in the romance of "Quentin Durward," been written at the period of its date! Louis, who had justly been held as the Tiberius of France, is represented as paying a visit to the mystic workshop of the astrologer, whom his Majesty discovered to be engaged in the then newly invented art of multiplying manuscripts by the intervention of machinery—in other words, the apparatus of printing.

"Can things of such mechanical and terrestrial import," inquired the king, "interest the thoughts of one before whom heaven has unrolled her own celestial volumes?"

"My brother," replied the astrologer, "believe me that, in considering the consequences of this invention, I read with a certain anguish, as by any contemplation of the heavenly bodies, the most awful and portentous changes. When I reflect with what slow and limited supplies the stream of science hath hitherto descended to us; how difficult to be obtained by those most ardent in its search; how certain to be neglected by all who love their ease; how liable to be diverted or altogether dried up by the invasions of barbarism—can I look forward without wonder and astonishment to the lot of a succeeding generation, on whom knowledge will descend like the first and second rain, – *uninterrupted, unabated, unbounded*; fertilizing some grounds and overflowing others; changing the whole form of social life; establishing and overthrowing religions; erecting and destroying kingdoms——"

"Hold, hold, Galeotti!" cried the king; "shall these changes come in our time?"

"No, my royal brother," replied Martivalle; "this invention may be likened to a young tree which is now newly planted, but shall, in succeeding generations, bear fruit as fatal, yet as precious, as that of the Garden of Eden—the knowledge, namely, of good and of evil."

It is a fact that before the mother country had any magazines or periodicals worthy of mention, with the exception, perhaps, of the "Gentleman's Magazine" and the "Annual Register,"[1] there were a number of such publications both in Boston and Philadelphia, all of which received a generous and hearty support. "Franklin's Magazine" and the old "Portfolio" (Philadelphia) and the "Weekly Museum" (Boston) will be by many of even this late day recalled. In 1752 the elder Aaron Burr and Governor Livingston began the publication, in New-York city, of the "Independent Reflector." Notwithstanding the efforts of these illustrious editors, the magazine was short-lived. In 1815 the old "North American Review" sprang into existence. This periodical was intended to be a rival of the "Edinburgh," which had been established thirteen years previously, and of the "Quarterly," founded six years before, and was intensely virile from the start. In it appeared, from time to time, most able and well-digested papers and reviews from the litterateurs and statesmen of the day—Caleb Cushing, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Aaron Burr, John

[1] The "Spectator" and "Tatler" of Addison and Steele, as well as the "Rambler" by Dr. Johnson, do not properly come under the head of magazines as we of the present day understand the term.

C. Calhoun, Justice Story, Fenimore Cooper, William C. Bryant, and many other writers of prominence and ability, contributing regularly to its pages. In the quality of its reviews it was particularly excellent; and in this feature it was not only considered as *the* authority on all literary questions, but in its own special field it was without a rival either in the United States or in Great Britain. The zenith of its popularity was from 1832 to 1840, after which period its reputation began to wane—a decadence which, however, within the last few years, under the able editorship of the late Allen Thorndike Rice, has been fully recovered from, until now it has attained its old-time prestige. The elder Richard Henry Dana was one of the founders of the "North American Review"; and it was he who had the discernment to accept Bryant's "Thanatopsis" as a contribution to its pages. With Dana were associated, as assistant editors, Tudor and Channing, men who are now almost forgotten; but the memory of Everett and Sparks, who successively followed Dana in the editorship of the "Quarterly," although now both dead, is still fresh in the minds of the present generation. And yet the "North American," though at that day coming under the head of a magazine, differed most widely from what is now so known. As has been well and justly said by a writer on this subject, "When the modern magazine came at last, it was of a type utterly distinct from its stilted and decorous predecessors, which, in their most hilarious moments, never forgot the canons which bound their writers to imitations of Addison and Steele, and made it treason for them to write according to their own unregenerate instincts, naturally, and in the spirit of their time."[1]

In 1820 the "Lady's Weekly Miscellany" was begun, but it lived only a year; the "Literary Scientific Repository" flourished from 1821 to 1823. In the latter year the "New-York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette" was begun as a weekly, and, under the management of its founder, George P. Morris, maintained for many years the first rank among similar periodicals. It is true that it has been the habit of late years for very jejune writers to sneer at the literary essays which, in the early period of its existence, appeared in its columns. Measured, however, by the literary standards of the day, and by the taste of the reading public of the time, such criticism is most unfair; for it should be remembered that that taste had not then been educated to such a high degree of analysis of character and motives as is seen in the writings of George Eliot, Howells, and James, an analysis so subtle that many persons of culture even at the present day are totally unable either to follow or to appreciate it. Nor, indeed, can any one of true literary taste think otherwise, when it is remembered that, among many others, such exquisite poetical gems as "Woodman, Spare that

1 E. L. Burlingame, in "Appletons' Journal," November, 1877.

Tree" and "The Old Oaken Bucket" first saw the light in the columns of the "New-York Mirror." Afterward, Morris associated with himself, as partners, Theodore S. Fay and Nathaniel P. Willis. Willis subsequently going to Europe, the columns of the "Mirror" were enriched by his letters from abroad, entitled, "Pencillings by the Way" (afterward published in book form); and the paper or magazine continued valuable to all lovers of American literature by contributions from the pens of Halleck, Bryant, Poe, Fanny Kemble, and Kennedy.

Between the years 1823 and 1832 a number of magazines appeared, only, however, to live for a short time and then die. Among them were Sands's "Atlantic Magazine"; the "New-York Review"; the "New-York Review and Athenæum Magazine," begun by Mr. Bryant; the "United States Review and Literary Gazette"; and three or four quarterlies — whose names even are forgotten, save in some catalogue of book-sales — of which one, the "American Quarterly" survived twelve years. It was not, however, until 1833 that the real magazine — in the present acceptation of the term — came into existence. This was the "Knickerbocker," whose blue cover, representing an old Knickerbocker (supposed to be Peter Schuyler) smoking a long clay pipe, was for many years so familiar to all old Gothamites. It was founded and edited by Charles Fenno Hoffman, and was in fact *the* magazine of that day, and the one which, in great part, furnished the model to many of its successors. For years it easily held the field against its more pretentious rivals. The prospectus, or rather the introductory address, of its first number purported to report an interview with the rubicund ghost of Diedrich Knickerbocker, which appears to the editor as he sits meditating in his study over the plan of the new magazine. The two hold wise converse on the tendencies of the day; on the wants and shortcomings of Americans as writers, and the need of a new stimulus, and on the follies of the current fashions and beliefs of the day.

"Sir," pronounces the editor, with sound good sense (as any one may satisfy himself by a course of reading in some utterly forgotten books), "in literature, young, fresh, and unhackneyed as we are, we are already, by some strange fatuity, grievously given to twaddle. . . . Our writings and our approval of writings are both second-hand. We imitate the most flimsy productions which appear abroad, and then approve of these imitations as 'American'; while critics, afraid to be accused of a want of patriotism, sanction where they despise, and approve where they ought to condemn. . . . Now, sir, dangerous as the attempt may be, and difficult as its execution necessarily is, we design in this publication to assume and sustain a system of rigid and uncompromising criticism, unbiased by any feeling of national prejudice, any consideration of personal popularity, by the partiality of private circles, or the favor of general society. It shall also be our aim when recommending works of merit, to exercise as much discrimination as possible, in so relatively estimating and classing them that injustice may not be done to those of rare merit by sharing the praise which is only their due with

writings that have a feebler claim to favor; — and this in defiance of the economical custom of having but one standard of praise among us, and dubbing every clever writer 'a Bryant' or 'an Irving.'"

Hoffman occupied the editorial chair for only a few months, being forced to resign through ill health, when it passed into the hands of Lewis Gaylord Clark, the twin brother of the distinguished poet, Willis Gaylord. The writer, who knew Lewis Gaylord Clark well, distinctly remembers the sketch which that gentleman gave him of the great undertaking it was to establish the magazine on a paying basis, and of the hard struggles he experienced before that was finally accomplished. "Your father," said he, "greatly aided me in this; and his story entitled 'The Spectre Fire-Ship,' a tale founded on old Puritan and New England traditions, did much toward placing the 'Knickerbocker' on a popular basis." Under Clark's management the "Knickerbocker," which prior to his advent had been by no means a financial success, made great headway. On assuming the editorship, he at once secured as contributors Longfellow, Bryant, Halleck, Irving, Tuckerman, and Paulding; and during his connection with it until his death in November, 1873, the magazine was a most welcome guest in nearly all of the cultivated families of our land — so much so, that there is at the present time many an old library containing a complete set of the "Knickerbocker Magazine."

Clark was an editor *sui generis*. In fact, the old saying that "poets are born, not made," applies with equal — if, indeed, not more — force to an editor. Anticipating by more than twenty-five years the "Editor's Chair" in "Harper's Magazine," he wrote every month the "Editor's Table" and the "Gossip," both of which were not only a source of perpetual delight to his readers, but to which he never failed to bring freshness, purpose, and vivacity, thus indicating his possession of what it is hardly an exaggeration to call the rarest ability in the world. In fact, Clark was the first American editor to have an "Editor's Table" of any permanence, and it was excellently done. "Readers of the old monthly," writes the author whom we have before quoted, "will remember well what a feature of the magazine it used to be; how bright, and pertinent, and unwearying; and how Clark seemed to have a talent for saying what one had been thinking of. It is not as a brilliant writer that he calls for some remembrance,—many people, indeed, will tell you that his twin brother Willis more deserved the adjective,— but as an unflagging and always entertaining master of the art of conversation with the public." Lewis was also greatly aided by his twin brother, Willis, who contributed a series of papers over the signature of "Ollapod"; these were afterward collected and published under the title of "Ollopodiana." The last numbers of the magazine contained articles by Howells and Aldrich.

Nearly simultaneously with the issuing of the "Knickerbocker," William Henry Herbert founded the "American Monthly Magazine," which, although it contained many articles of interest, especially to sportsmen, yet never became popular with the community, and after several years' existence its publication ceased upon the suicide of its editor in 1858. For a long series of years the "Knickerbocker" held the field entirely to itself, and without a successful rival; but it was not long, comparatively, before Harper & Brothers, seeing the continued prosperity of that monthly, conceived the idea of publishing a magazine of their own. Accordingly, in 1847, that firm established the monthly publication now so universally known as "Harper's Magazine." At the start the magazine was not confined to original articles—in fact, it had none; and its first numbers are chiefly made up of reprints from foreign publications. At first it was exceedingly problematical whether it would succeed; and the writer vividly recalls an indigent friend who came to him and asked if it would pay for him to undertake the canvassing of that monthly throughout New-York State. Taking affirmative advice, he accepted the position of canvasser, and it is due to his efforts, in no slight degree, that the magazine was finally placed on a paying basis.[1] Finally, "Harper's Magazine," no longer relying entirely on foreign authors to fill its pages, began to walk alone, and continually growing stronger and more stalwart, it has attained its present prominence, which it shares with several monthlies of equal reputation.

"Putnam's Monthly Magazine," after considerable preparation, appeared in January, 1853, under the charge of Charles F. Briggs and his associates, George William Curtis and Parke Godwin, and it seemed from the first as if the undertaking was destined to become a success. The editors were men of high culture and literary ability, and of great experience in the editorial field. The publisher, also, Mr. Putnam, was a man of recognized power in the publishing world, the close personal friend of Cooper and Irving, and the known patron for many years of all deserving young authors. The "Knickerbocker," moreover, the only real rival, having passed its zenith, was on the wane. In fact, all the signs indicated a career of unexampled prosperity, and as it was afterward said, "For a few years it seemed as though the rising monthly was the permanent magazine at last, based on a solid and continuous support, such as had hardly existed when its predecessors taught for the first time the possibilities of an American periodical." In "Putnam's," too, appeared for the first time such remarkable stories as "The Ghost," by William O'Connor; "The Bell-Tower," by Herman Melville; "My Three Conversations with Miss

[1] This gentleman is now a distinguished member of the New-York Bar, and the above fact is only mentioned to show from what humble beginnings the present "Harper's Magazine" had its rise.

Chester," by Frederic B. Perkins; and those wonderful weird tales by Fitz James O'Brien, viz., "The Diamond Lens" and "The Hand and the Ear." In this magazine, also, originally appeared Rev. John H. Hanson's famous paper under the startling heading, "Have We a Bourbon Among Us?" the object of which was to prove that the Rev. Eleazer Williams, of Green Bay, Wisconsin, was the original ill-fated Louis XVII. of France. Notwithstanding, however, all these apparent elements of success, which augured so favorably for the continuance of the magazine, it did not succeed. The firm went into bankruptcy in 1857, and the magazine ceased publication in the midst, as it seemed, of its best days. Mr. Curtis, in the winding up of its affairs, assumed a debt which had been incurred without his agency or knowledge; and though he might have repudiated it, yet, like Sir Walter Scott under similar circumstances, he nobly shouldered the entire load, and like him labored steadfastly at literary work until he had canceled the whole debt. Scott in Great Britain, and Curtis in America, thus each stand out prominently as the soul of honor, and should ever be held in high esteem by all lovers of rectitude of character.

In 1867 the old monthly was revived again in Mr. Putnam's hands, but the history of its brief three years of existence till it was merged in "Scribner's Magazine," is too recent for a detailed statement. Undeterred, however, by the unfortunate career of "Putnam's Magazine," numerous monthlies shortly afterward sprang up in the metropolis, as it were in a night, some of which, like the "Continental Magazine,"—borne along for a little while by Edmund Kirke's serial, "Among the Pines,"—had an existence of a few years, but all sooner or later succumbed. The exceptions, however, to these are the "Forum" and the "Cosmopolitan," both of which appear to be in a highly prosperous and flourishing condition.

Upon the ruins of "Putnam's,"—as mentioned previously—arose, phœnix-like, "Scribner's," afterward sold and consolidated with "The Century Magazine," but which has again been revived. Of the reasons for the successful careers of these last two magazines, it is needless to inquire. They, as well as "Harper's," and other popular monthlies, are in the hands of every reader; and their success would seem to be too well assured to require more than a passing allusion. No pains or expense are spared to make them as nearly perfect as possible, and worthy of the support of their tens of thousands of readers; and they all greatly contribute to the credit of the literary reputation of New-York city.

CHAPTER V

NEARLY TWO CENTURIES OF MUSIC

THERE are no records of the children of Jubal in the cradle-days of the metropolis, for the burghers of New Amsterdam were too closely trammeled by the exigencies of their surroundings to give ear to Euterpe or to Erato; but one can easily imagine them raising their voices in tuneful worship in the first church in the fort, even as their fathers had done in the minsters of Holland. The style of sacred music was little changed, probably, with the English occupation, though secular music may have undergone some transformation in accordance with the tastes of the new masters; for the partizans of the Duke of York undoubtedly brought in with them the madrigals, glees, and ballads which had been familiar at home. It is possible, too, that other musical instruments may have supplemented the horn of Anthony Van Corlaer and the martial drums and fifes of Petrus Stuyvesant; but as such conclusions can be little more than matter of conjecture in the absence of proof, it is better to treat the seventeenth century as a blank in our musical history, and to begin with the opening of the eighteenth, where, at least, we are sure of solid ground.

We have evidence that at that time spinets and virginals were in use in New-York, and that persons capable of constructing musical instruments were resident in the colony. At a meeting of the vestry of Trinity Church, held in 1704, it was voted "to confer and discourse Mr. Henry Neering, organ-maker, about making and erecting an organ in Trinity Church, and if they shall think meet, agree with him, on as easy terms as possible." The conference bore no fruit, as in a letter dated 1709 we read that it is desirable to have a "set of organs," and "what we cannot afford ourselves, we shall leave to God Almighty's good Providence." Necessity evidently forced them to the latter alternative, for it was not until 1739 that contributions were actually made and "Mr. John Clemm, of Philadelphia, organ-maker," was engaged by the vestry to erect an organ; and it was "the opinion of the vestry that the pipes be gilded with gold leaf." This John Clemm

was Johann Gottlob Klemm, a native of Dresden, who had studied organ-building under Silbermann, and who came to America in 1736. The organ was finished in 1741, at a cost to the parish of £520. Trinity's second organ, built by Snetzler, maker of many excellent organs in English churches, was brought from England in 1764, and cost £850. It was destroyed in the fire of 1776. The third organ, made by Henry Holland of London, was placed in the reërected church in 1791, and was used until superseded by the present one, built in 1846 by Henry Erben.[1]

Long before Holland's organ was erected, spinet and virginal had given place to the harpsichord, of which many of London make were to be found in wealthy New-York families previous to the War of the Revolution. As early as 1759, a home-made harpsichord was played at the John Street Theater, the product of the skill of one Tremaine, who combined the trade of cabinet-making with the musical and histrionic professions, for he appeared soon after as a musical director — probably the first in the city — and later as an actor, holding a good position on the stage until after the war. In 1773, David Walhaupter, "at the upper end of Fair Street," advertised in the "New-York Journal" his readiness to "make and repair harpsichords, guitars and all sorts of musical instruments." In the same year Herman Zedwitz, "violin teacher just from Europe," gave a concert at "Hull's Assembly Rooms, at the sign of the Golden Spade," at which he was accompanied by Mr. Hulett on the "pianoforte." This is the earliest record I have found of the harpsichord's successor — the hammer-harpsichord. It was not until more than a decade afterward that the modern instrument entirely superseded the older one; indeed, as late as 1786 appear advertisements of makers and repairers of both harpsichords and pianofortes. In the year following his arrival in New-York, Zedwitz advertised to take contracts by the year or quarter for chimney-sweeping; and as no more is heard of him as a musician, the inference is justifiable that he had changed his profession. We are unfortunately left in doubt whether this action was due to his mediocrity as a violinist or to the want of culture and appreciation in our forefathers; but from other evidences of the city's advancement, even at that early day, I am inclined to ascribe it to his personal shortcomings.

Previous to the Revolution, some names since noted in other connections are found associated with music. In 1773, Peter Goelet advertises as an importer of guitars, fiddles, flutes, and other musical instruments; and in 1789 John Jacob Astor, of 81 Queen street, imported and sold pianofortes made by his brother in London. When Astor found furs more profitable than music, he turned over his

[1] I am indebted for these facts relating to Trinity's organs to the courtesy of Dr. Walter Bond Gilbert, organist of Trinity Chapel, who copied them from the records of Trinity parish.

pianofortes to Michael and John Paff, who succeeded him in 1802 in that branch of his business. The first store devoted wholly to music and musical instruments was opened about 1786 by Charles Gilfert, who also was the first to establish in this country a musical periodical—the "American Musical Magazine." This journal, first published in 1786, price one shilling, was succeeded by "Gilfert's Musical Magazine," the standard authority in musical matters for many years. In 1795 the firm became Gilfert & Aspinwall, 207 Pearl street, consignees of "patent pianofortes from London."

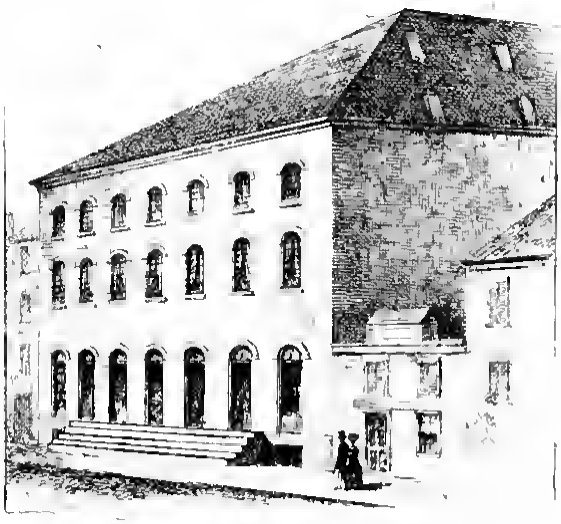
After the Revolution, when the political and commercial relations between the United States and Great Britain had become in a measure settled, musicians and musical-instrument makers began to look westward for a market, and many established themselves in New-York. Among these were Joseph Adam Fleming, George Ulshoefer, Hugh Reinagle, Charles Taws, Duplessis and Mechtler, Thomas Dodds (who in 1792 associated himself with Clements Claus of Stuttgart as Dodds & Claus, and made many improvements in pianofortes), and Morgan Davis who, in partnership with Thomas Gibson, manufactured musical instruments down to the third decade of the present century. Later came from London the Geibs, John and Adam, who were both teachers and pianoforte-makers; John Montgomery, from Dublin; the Kearsings, father and sons, from London; and George Chartres and Joseph Waites, also from London, to the former of whom was given, in 1815, the first patent ever granted to a New-Yorker for an improvement in pianofortes. John Geib was also an organ-builder; he erected, in 1802, an organ in St. George's Church in Beekman street, and in 1810 another in Grace Church, then in lower Broadway.

All these and other names connected, directly or indirectly, with music in New-York about the close of the last century, would seem to indicate a society of considerable musical culture. We have additional evidence in the records of musical associations and of concerts in the city, as early as the middle of the last century, and in the popularity of the ballad-opera, corresponding to the French vaudeville, introduced about the same time. The most successful of these operettas, Gay's "Beggar's Opera," set by Pepusch, was the precursor of many similar works which held our stage for three fourths of a century, until Italian opera came to contest their place in the popular favor. Those which seem to have best pleased our forefathers, next after the "Beggar's Opera," were Arne's "Love in a Village"; Arnold's "Maid of the Mill," "Inkle and Yarico," "Children of the Wood," and "The Mountaineer"; Shield's "Farmer," "Poor Soldier," and "Robin Hood"; Storace's "No Song, no Supper," "Haunted Tower," "The Three and the Deuce," and "Siege of Belgrade"; Dibdin's "Lionel and Clarissa," "Wedding Ring," and "The Waterman"; Reeve's "The

Purse" and "Paul and Virginia"; and Kelly's "Blue Beard" and "Hunter of the Alps." The favorite singers of the day were Miss Storer, Miss Brett, Miss Broadhurst, Mrs. Oldmixon, Mrs. Hilson, and Mrs. Holman, all from the London theaters. James Hewitt was the chief orchestral leader, if the few violins and flutes that furnished the accompaniment may be called an orchestra. He was possessed of considerable musical ability, and was a composer as well as conductor. He wrote the music for Dunlap's opera produced in 1800. This was Dunlap's second libretto, his first, "The Vintage," given in 1799, having been set by Pelissier, a French music-teacher, then living in New-York. This was probably the first opera written and composed in New-York, though Benjamin Carr, an Englishman, resident in the city, and well known afterward in Philadelphia as a teacher of music, had arranged music for "Macbeth" in the season of 1794–95.

The earliest musical entertainments were given in the so-called assembly-rooms, generally halls connected with hotels, and used for balls, concerts, banquets, and other social functions. Among the most noted of these was Burns's New Assembly Rooms, where concerts were given during the Revolution by the Royal American Band. Ballad-operas were first given, probably, in the theater in Rip Van Dam's building in Nassau street. Thence the Muses traveled to the theater on Cruger's wharf, near the present Wall street ferry, which was opened in 1758. The next move was to the Chapel Street Theater, built in 1761 on what is now Beekman street, just below Nassau street. The John Street Theater, built in 1767 a little east of Broadway, called during the British occupation the Royal, and after the war the National, Theater, was the chief home of the Muses and the scene of most of the English operas given in New-York during the thirty years of its existence. It was abandoned in 1798, on the opening of the New or Park Theater, which succeeded it as the music center, and became in 1825 the birthplace of Italian opera in New-York. The so-called gardens, where tea and sometimes stronger beverages were served to the sound of music, became fashionable at the beginning of this century, though concerts were given at the Ranelagh Gardens before the Revolution. Among the earliest of these was the Chatham Garden, on the north side of Chatham street, between Duane and Pearl, long the resort of the beaux and belles of the city. In imitation soon rose up the Columbian, the Richmond Hill, and the still more famous Vauxhall Gardens, and later Niblo's Garden, known even to the present generation. In some of these the music-platforms grew into summer theaters, where plays interspersed with songs and other music, and sometimes light operas, were given. The Chatham Garden Theater, opened in 1824, was long popular, and the Richmond Hill Theater was in 1832 for a time the home of Italian opera.

New-York possessed musical associations at an early period, but so little of their history has been preserved that it is difficult to give, in some cases, more than their names. One of the first mentioned is the Apollo Society, which is said to have existed as early as the middle of the last century. Belonging also to the same century were the St. Cecilia and the Euterpean societies, organized respectively in 1791 and 1799. The first-named seems not to have survived the decade, but the Euterpean lasted until the middle of the present century. It was a social organization as well as an amateur orchestra, and had no inconsiderable influence in shaping the musical taste of the time. Its rehearsals were held at the Shakespeare Tavern, on the corner of Nassau and Fulton streets, long the resort of literary men, musicians, and artists; and its public concerts were given at the City Hotel, Broadway, on the site of the present Trinity building. These concerts, the musical events of the day, were attended by the society leaders, and were followed by a ball and supper. The association lost its social prestige somewhat in its latter years, through the invasion of the foreign element. The Philharmonic Society, whose first concert was given in December, 1824, was a similar association, but its musical standard was higher than its social aims. It was largely composed of foreigners resident in the city, and made a practice of engaging for its concerts artists who chanced to visit it. It existed until about 1828, when it was succeeded by the Musical Fund Society. Another association, the Concordia, composed chiefly of Germans, was originally a choral organization, but soon made orchestral music a feature of its concerts. Other associations of the first half of this century were the New-York Choral Society and the Sacred Music Society, both founded in 1823. The latter had a large membership of both sexes, and gave oratorios in a very creditable manner,



PARK THEATER, BIRTHPLACE OF OPERA IN NEW-YORK.

under the leadership of U. C. Hill, in the Broadway Tabernacle, near Leonard street, long a musical center. In 1842 was organized the second Philharmonic Society, in 1843–44 the Vocal Society, and about the same time the American Musical Institute. The last-named, under Henry Meiggs and George Loder, gave oratorios at the Tabernacle on a scale never before attempted in New-York. In 1850 several of these associations were united under Theodore Eisfeld to form the New-York Harmonic Society, which also presented oratorios with great success. Its rendition of the "Messiah" in 1850, when Jenny Lind sang the soprano solos, was an event long to be remembered in our musical history.

But, important as were these amateur associations in the formation of musical taste and the education of appreciative audiences, the real beginning of New-York's musical development must be conceded to the coming among us of Italian opera. Up to the close of the first quarter of the present century, when the Garcia troupe arrived, the city had scarcely known the meaning of opera. With the exception of "Der Freischütz," which had been presented in 1823 in an English dress at the Park Theater, and a few adaptations from the French, our stage had seen none but English ballad-operas. Our musical culture, such as it was, was formed almost entirely on English models, the taste of our audiences was English, and the musical dramas and the singers who presented them were derived from London; indeed, the theaters and concert-rooms of New-York at the time were little more than a reflection of those of London. The coming of an Italian opera troupe into such a community was an important event; the appearance of so perfect a combination as Garcia presented, uniting so many excellencies, was a revelation with immediate and far-reaching consequences.

Signor Manuel del-Popolo-Vicente Garcia, father of Maria Felicita Malibran and of Pauline Viardot, who is worthy of the title of New-York's musical Columbus, was a Spanish tenor singer, conductor, and composer, author of more than thirty operas in Spanish, Italian, and French. He had sung and won reputation in his own country, and in France, Italy, and England, and had just seen his daughter Maria make her début on the London stage, when he set about the realization of a project he seems to have had in mind for some time — to establish opera in New-York. It is difficult to determine exactly what inspired him to leave a certainty for an uncertainty, and to brave the perils and discomforts of an Atlantic voyage in a sailing vessel to present this sublimated product of civilization to a semi-civilized people, as we must have seemed to Europe at the time. Dr. Francis says that he came over at the persuasion of Dominick Lynch, "the acknowledged head of the fashionable and festive board,

a gentleman of the *ton*, and a melodist of great powers and of exquisite taste," combined with the liberality of Stephen Price, manager of the Park Theater. Others have ascribed his coming to Lorenzo Da Ponte, author of the libretti of Mozart's "Don Giovanni" and "Le Nozze di Figaro," who was then resident in New-York; but Da Ponte probably knew nothing of it until Garcia's landing, and Manager Price's dollars are more likely to have been his incentive than the persuasions of the fashionable Lynch.

The Garcia troupe was a notable one: he himself and the younger Crivelli represented the tenors; his son Manuel Garcia and Angrisani, bassi cantanti; Rosich, buffo caricaturo; Mme. Barbieri and Mme. Garcia, soprani; and Maria Garcia (Malibran), contralto. They made their first appearance in "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," November 29, 1825,[1] at the Park Theater, then the best in town, which had been built in 1821 on the site of the first Park Theater, burned the year before. Though scarcely up to the modern standard of comfort, it had a well-equipped stage for its time, and its auditorium was filled with a fashionable audience that made up in enthusiasm what it lacked in critical judgment. Never before nor since, probably, has Rossini's great work been better set. Garcia, the original Almaviva in Rome in 1816 and in Paris in 1819, again represented the Count, while his son sang Figaro, and Maria Garcia Rosina. The "Signorina," as the last was called by the critics of the day, won all hearts with her beautiful face, charming manners, and wonderful voice, and Italian opera became a success from its first representation. Between the first and the last performance, September 30, 1826, seventy-nine representations were given, including, besides "Il Barbiere," Rossini's "Tancredi," "Otello," and "Il Turco in Italia"; Garcia's "Semiramide," "La Cenerentola," and "L'Amante Astuto"; Mozart's "Don Giovanni," and Zingarelli's "Romeo e Giulietta." None of these works had been ever before heard in America.

Signorina Garcia, then but seventeen years old, married within a year of her arrival M. Eugène Malibran, a French merchant resident in New-York and supposed to be wealthy, but who soon turned out to be a bankrupt. He was imprisoned for debt, and Mme. Malibran, thrown on her own resources,—her father having gone to Mexico,—returned to music for her support. She sang in the choir of Grace Church, then in Broadway below Rector street, and as Signorina Garcia filled several engagements at the New-York Theater, afterward called the Bowery,—a handsome house opened in 1826, in the then upper and fashionable part of the city. She appeared first, January 15, 1827, as Count Belino in Bishop's "The Devil's Bridge," and later as Rosina in "Love in a Village," in which she was supported by Mr.

[1] The Editor has heard this performance described with enthusiasm by the poet Halleck who was present.

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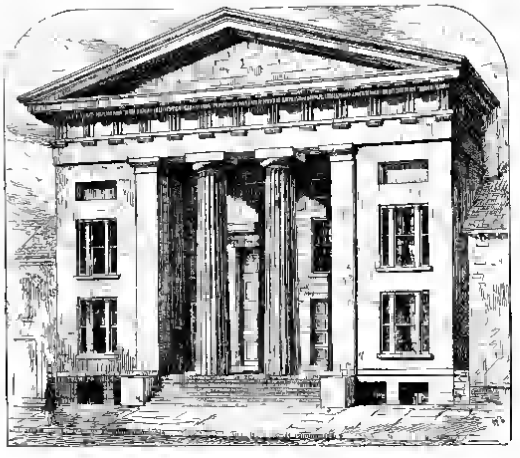

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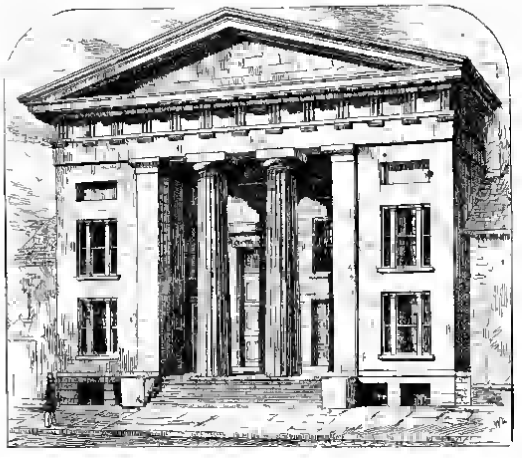

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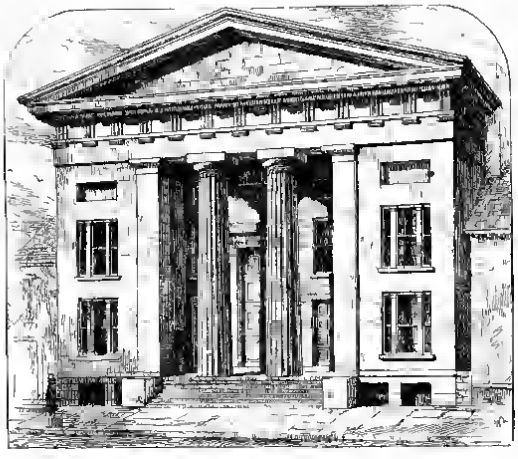

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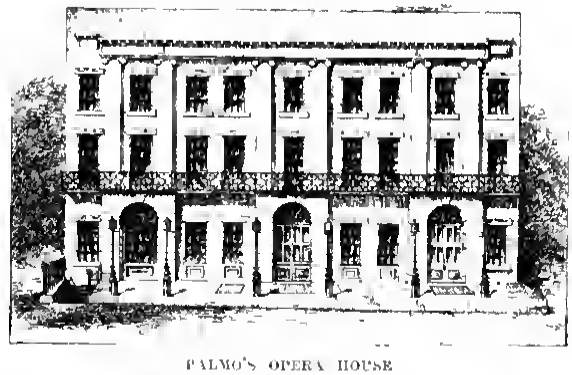
During the season of six months were produced "La Gazza Ladra," "Il Barbiere," "La Donna del Lago," "Il Turco in Italia," "La Cenerentola," "Matilda di Ciabrano," "Gli Arabi nelli Gallie," "Il Matrimonio Segreto," and "La Casa da Vendere"; but notwithstanding the combined excellencies of house, appointments, and company, the enterprise proved a failure. In 1834, the company, under the management of Porto and Sacchi, gave a few representations, and again in 1835; but New-York was not yet sufficiently metropolitan to support so costly a plaything, and in 1836 Da Ponte's beautiful opera-house became the National Theater. In 1839 the building was burned to the ground, but it was speedily rebuilt and reopened October 12, 1840, with an original opera entitled "Ahmed al Kamel, the Pilgrim of Love," music by Charles E. Horn, libretto by Henry J. Finn, founded on a story in Irving's "Tales of the Alhambra," which ran seven nights.[1] Horn, a Londoner of German parentage, resident in New-York from 1833, was a musician of considerable ability, pupil of Rauzzini, and author of many operas and adaptations, of two oratorios, and of numerous songs, ballads, glees, etc. He appeared with success in several operas, especially as Caspar in "Der Freischütz," and in 1840 kept a music-store at 367 Broadway, but returned in 1843 to London and became musical director of the Princess's Theatre. He came back in 1847, and conducted in 1847–48 the Handel and Haydn Society, Boston, where he died in 1849. New-York is greatly indebted to him both for amusement and for musical instruction.

The National Theater was again destroyed by fire, May 29, 1841, and Italian opera lay dormant until the opening of Palmo's Opera House in 1843. But the city was not without musical entertainment; for with the departure of the Italians, English opera came to the front again. In 1837 Mme. Caradori-Allan, an excellent soprano, who had won fame in Europe as Caradori before her marriage, gave a series of operas in English at the Park Theater, her repertory including, among others, the "Barber of Seville," Balfe's "Siege of Rochelle," and "The Elixir of Love." She sang also successfully in concerts at the City Hotel. She was succeeded in popular favor by the Seguin Company, an English troupe, which appeared at the National Theater, where Da Ponte had failed, in Rooke's "Amilie, or the Love Test." Miss Jane Shirreff, the original Amilie at Covent Garden in 1836, though of little repute as a singer, was young, fresh, and of captivating manners, and was the most admired of any English prima donna on our stage between the days of Mrs. Wood and Louisa Pyne. She sang also the parts of Susanna, Zerlina, and Amina, and of Madeline in the "Postillion of Lonjumeau." Edward

[1] In a letter to the "Mirror," Horn says: "A new grand opera has never been tried in this country, with the exception, I believe, of one by Micah Hawkins, called the 'Saw Mill.'"

Seguin, the bass, and John Wilson, the tenor of the troupe, were possessed of good voices and a style that conduced to the popularity of the company, which kept the stage several years. Mrs. Anne Seguin, long known in New-York as a music-teacher, appeared first at the Park Theater in 1841 as Camilla in "Zampa"; and in 1844 was very successful at the same theater as Arline in the "Bohemian Girl."

In 1839 Beethoven's "Fidelio" was given at the Park Theater, for the first time in New-York, by an English company, of which Miss Inverarity (Mrs. Martin) was the soprano, Miss Poole the contralto, Mr. Manvers the tenor, Mr. Giubilei the barytone, and Mr. Martin the bass. "Fidelio" was not sung in the original until the season of 1885–86, when it was given at the Metropolitan Opera House. In 1840 John Braham, the once famous English tenor, then in his sixty-seventh year, appeared at the Tabernacle in the "Messiah." He afterward sang in concerts at Niblo's Garden, and at the Park Theater in the "Siege of Belgrade"; but his worn voice and florid manner did not appeal to a New-York audience, and his failure was complete. In the same year Giuseppe de Begnis, the best buffo of his day, husband of the soprano Ronzi, who had deserted him, sang in concerts, and later appeared in opera in "Il Barbiere" and in "Il Fanatico per la America." In 1840, too, came a French troupe from New Orleans with Mlle. Calvé as prima donna, which gave at Niblo's Garden works of the French school, including "Le Domino Noir," "La Fille du Régiment," and "Les Diamants de la Couronne."



PALMO'S OPERA HOUSE

The next one to court failure by the presentation of Italian opera was Ferdinand Palmo, proprietor of the Café des Milles Colonnes, a popular restaurant on Broadway near Duane street. He opened, February 3, 1844, Palmo's Opera House in Chambers street, between Broadway and Centre street, in a building which had previously been Stoppani's Arcade Baths. It was fitted up in the most primitive way with bare, undecorated walls and board benches; but, though comfortless, it was for several years the chief home of music in New-York, and the precursor of the beautiful Astor Place Opera House. Palmo opened with "I Puritani," given for the first time in New-York, with

Signora Euphrasia Borghese as Elvira and Signora Albertazzi as Henrietta. Lord Walter Walton, Lord Arthur Talbot, aud Sir George were represented by Signors Mayer, Perozzi, and Valtellina, and Sir Richard by Signora Majocchi. Palmo's conductor was Rapetti, leader of Montresor's orchestra at the Richmond Hill Theater in 1832, who exercised a considerable influence on New-York's musical culture through many years. "Puritani" was followed by "Belisario," first time in New-York, and by "Beatrice di Tenda," in which Antognini made his first appearance here as Orombello. In April "Il Barbiere" was produced, under the management of De Begnis, in which Sanquirico, a capital buffo and long popular, made his first appearance. In May were given "La Sonnambula" and "L'Elisire d'Amore," both for the first time in Italian in New-York. In July Mme. Cinti-Damoreau, who had made her début at the Park Theater the preceding autumn in a grand concert with the violinist Artôt and an orchestra, appeared as Isabella in "Italiani in Algieri." She sang several times also the part of Rosina in "Il Barbiere," a rôle in which she was very successful. She was followed by Signora Rosina Pico, who personated Chiara in Luigi Ricci's "Chiara di Rosemburg." Pico was an excellent contralto, and was for several years a favorite in New-York.

In 1847 a new company, under the management of Sanquirico, Patti, and Pogliani, opened Palmo's with Donizetti's "Linda di Chamounix," given for the first time in America. Linda was sung by Clotilda Barili, half-sister to Adelina Patti. She was young and pretty, with a sweet though thin soprano voice, and became quite popular, but retired from the stage on her marriage the following year. Sesto Benedetti, who appeared at the same time with her as the Vicomte de Serval, was a most excellent tenor, unrivaled before the coming of Salvi. But, notwithstanding these and other attractions, the season was a comparative failure, and Palmo's doors were closed to opera, the building being rechristened in 1848 as Burton's Theater.

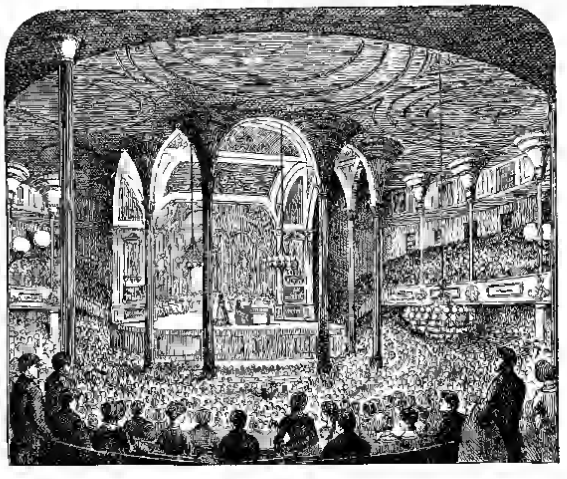
Palmo's collapse was partly due, probably, to the rivalry of the Havana Italian Opera Company, under the musical directorship of Luigi Arditi, which opened April 15, 1847, at the Park Theater. This company, with Fortunata Tedesco and Caranti Vita as prima donnas, gave acceptable representations of "Ernani," "I Due Foscari," "Norma," "Sonnambula," "Mosé in Egitto," and Pacini's "Saffo." Frederico Badiali, barytone, and Giovanni Bottesini, contrabassist, who won a European reputation in later years, received their first recognition as members of this troupe. The Havana company continued its spring visits several years, and introduced to New-York audiences, besides those already mentioned, the soprano Steffanone, the contralto Vietti, the tenors Salvi, Bettini, and Lorini, the bassos Marini and Coletti, and other noted singers. Angiolina Bosio, who

won fame in New-York and afterward in Europe, came also with the Havana company in a subordinate position. The Park Theater having been burned in 1848, the later representations of this company were given at Niblo's Garden, the Astor Place Opera House, and at Castle Garden.

The Astor Place Opera House, on the site of the present Clinton Hall in Astor Place, was the outgrowth of the interest aroused by Palmo's revival of Italian opera. It was built by subscription, by an association of music-lovers, and was in its appointments a credit to the city and to art. Max Maretzek, who came to New-York in 1848, and was afterward its lessee, says in his "Crotchets and Quavers" that he was agreeably surprised to find so fine a building, in which "everybody could see and be seen." It was opened November 22, 1847, under the management of Sanquirico and Patti, with "Ernani": Elvira, Signorina Teresa Truffi; Ernani, Signor Adelindo Vietti; Carlo V., Signor Antonio Avignone; Silva, Signor Rossi. "Ernani" was followed by "Beatrice di Tenda," with Clotilda Barili as Beatrice and Amalia Patti (afterward Mme. Patti-Strakosch) as Agnese; by "Lucrezia Borgia"; by "Romeo e Giulietta," with Clotilda Barili as Giulietta and Caterina Barili-en-Patti (mother of Clotilda Barili, of Adelina Patti, and the other artists who bear her name) as Romeo; and by Mercadante's "La Giuramento" and Verdi's "Nabuco," both for the first time in New-York. Dissensions in the company brought the season to a close in the spring of 1848, and after another short season in the autumn of that year and the spring of 1849, under Edward P. Fry, the opera-house was let as a theater. In 1849, after the famous Astor Place riot, the Astor Place Opera House fell into the hands of Maretzek, who gathered about him a troupe including Mlle. Apollonia Bertucca (afterward Mme. Maretzek), Signoras Truffi and Borghese, and Signors Forti, Guidi, Beneventano, and Novelli, and gave "sixty consecutive performances without a postponement." With the exception of the French troupe in New Orleans, this was then the only opera company in the United States, though in Germany and Italy at the time nearly every town of twenty thousand inhabitants had its opera-house and troupe. Maretzek describes opera in New-York as "an establishment whose failure had flourished for the last five and twenty years," and takes to himself the credit of bringing order out of chaos. He certainly exhibited more ability in dealing with the difficulties attending its production than any who had preceded him. When Marty visited New-York with the Havana company in 1850, Maretzek succeeded in securing all his best singers, with the exception of Tedesco; and when, in the same year, the coming of Jenny Lind reduced his audiences, he brought over Teresa Parodi, the favorite pupil of Pasta, to rival her, and drew full

houses with increased prices. Parodi made her début at the Astor Place Opera House, November 4, 1850, in "Norma." Maretzek gave, in the same season, Donizetti's "Parisina," "Lucia," in which Bettini made his first appearance as Edgardo, and Strakosch's "Giovanni di Napoli." In 1852 the Astor Place Opera House closed its doors to music and became the New-York Theater.

In the summer of 1850 the Havana Opera Company gave a series of operas at Castle Garden, with one of the strongest troupes ever brought to New-York, including Steffanone, Tedesco, Bosio, Caroline Vietti, and Eliza Costini, and Marini, Salvi, Lorini, Vietti, C. and F. Badiali, Luigi Vita, and Coletti, under the leadership of Arditi and Bottesini. The garden had a fairly comfortable auditorium, where the summer heat was tempered hy the sea breeze, but its stage was small, and the acoustic properties were poor; yet for several seasons it attracted fashionable audiences, and some of the best music ever heard in New-York was produced within its walls. In 1850, September 11, Jenny Lind made there her first memorahle appearance before an American audience; there Parodi, Sontag, and Mario and Grisi sang, and there Jullien drew immense audiences to hear his famous orchestra. But its glory did not last long, for with the opening of the Academy of Music in Fourteenth street in 1854, music deserted it and moved with fashion northward. About this time Niblo's Garden also was a musical center. In the autumn of 1851 Anna Thillon made her first appearance in America there in an English version of "Crown Diamonds," which was originally written for her by Scribe and Auber. She was an Englishwoman married to a French musician, and had made her début in French opera in Paris, where she had acquired the French accent and style to such perfection that it was difficult to believe her not "to the manner born." She sang afterward in the "Black Domino," "The Daughter of the Regiment," and other operas with great success. At Niblo's also, January 10, 1853, appeared



INTERIOR OF CASTLE GARDEN.

first in opera, in "La Figlia del Reggimento," Henrietta Sontag, who had made her début in concert, September 27, 1852, at Metropolitan (Tripler) Hall. She sang there also the parts of Lucrezia, Norma, Amina, Lucia, Linda, and Maria di Rohan. On March 28, 1853, Marietta Alboni, who also had made her New-York début in concert at Metropolitan Hall, appeared at Niblo's as Norma in "Don Pasquale," assisted by Marini, Beneventano, and Salvi. Alboni sang also Maria ("Figlia del Reggimento"), Rosina, Leonora ("Favorita"), Amina, Zerlina, Ninetta ("La Gazza Ladra"), and Maffeo Orsini to the Lucrezia of Mme. De Vries.

Metropolitan Hall, a fine concert-room on Broadway opposite Bond street, grand in proportions and chaste in decoration, where Sontag and Alboni and Jenny Lind sang, was burned in 1854. Soon afterward the Academy of Music was opened, October 2, 1854, with Grisi and Mario in "Norma." They sang also, during a short season, "Lucrezia," "Puritani," "Sonnambula," and "Semiramide." In 1855 Ole Bull leased the Academy and gave a short season of opera, ending in failure. He was succeeded by Phalen, Coit, and Payne, who produced "Guglielmo Tell" (April 9, 1855) and "Il Trovatore" (May 2), both for the first time in America, with Steffanone, Vestvali, Brignoli, and Amodio. In quick succession came Ullman's company, with Anna de Lagrange (Baroness de Stankovitch) as prima donna; Mlle. Nau, who gave Auber's "Syren" for the first time; a German opera company; and the Pyne-Harrison troupe, who sang the "Daughter of the Regiment" and Balfe's "Daughter of St. Mark." On September 24, 1856, "L'Etoile du Nord" was given by the Lagrange company, and on December 3 "La Traviata," both for the first time in New-York. In 1857 Parodi sang there in "Lucrezia," Thalberg played, and Erminie Frezzolini made her début as Amina, Elena d'Angri as Arsace, and Anna Caradori as Fidelio. In March, 1858, Fry's "Leonora," which had previously been produced in Philadelphia with some success, was given at the Academy. In September of the same year Marietta Piccolomini made her first appearance before a New-York audience as Violetta in "Traviata," which Verdi wrote for her. She sang also Maria ("Figlia"), Leonora, Zerlina, Susanna, Lucrezia, Lucia, and Paulina. In 1859 (June 3) Adelaide Cortesi made her first appearance in Pacini's "Saffo." "I Vespri Siciliani" and "Die Zauberflöte" (in Italian) were also heard for the first time. In the latter Pamina was sung by Gazzaniga.

In 1859 also (November 24), Adelina Patti made her début in opera at the Academy, in "Lucia," aided by Brignoli as Edgardo, with unqualified success. She had sung previously in concerts, having first appeared in public when eight years old. She added rapidly opera after opera to her repertory, until, after a professional career of barely

three mouths, and when not yet seventeen years of age, she sang seven leading works—"Lucia," "Sonnambula," "Don Giovanni," "Puritani," "Il Barbiere," "Martha," and "Robert le Diable." The next year she went to London, and continued there and in Paris the triumphs she had first won in New-York. On her return in the autumn, she sang also in "Traviata" and in "Linda." Anna Bishop made her début before a New-York audience too, at the Academy, in 1859, first in concert and afterward in opera. In 1860 appeared Adelaide Cortesi, Pauline Colson, and Inez Fabbri, the last with Carl Formes and Stigelli. In 1861 (January 23), Isabella Hinkley made her début at the Academy in "Lucia," and Clara Louise Kellogg (February 27) in "Rigoletto." About the same time English opera was given at Niblo's, where Anna Bishop sang in "Fra Diavolo" and the "Bohemian Girl"; but the political excitement incident to the opening of the Civil War had already begun to tell on the audiences. In the autumn of 1861 many singers left the country to "fulfil engagements they have found it advisable to accept in view of the disturbed state of the Union." During the two years following, opera was given in only a desultory manner and in short seasons, with Mme. Strakosch, Carlotta Patti, Kellogg, Hinkley, Brignoli, Amodio, and Susini as the chief singers. In 1862, Gottschalk gave his first concert at the Academy, and Genevra Guerrabella made her début in America in "Traviata." In 1863, Maretzek gave a successful season at the Academy, with Medori, Sulzer, Mazzoleni, Bellini, Biachi, and Minetti, presenting, besides the stock operas, Petrella's "Ione," Douizetti's "Roberto Devereux," and Peri's "Giuditta." Maretzek was succeeded by Carl Anschutz, who gave a season of German opera with Mme. Johannsen, Himmer, Weinlich, Habelmann, and Graff, presenting, among other works, "Fidelio," "Stradella," and "Tannhäuser," which last had been first given in New-York in 1859 at the Stadt-Theater.

In 1864 appeared at Niblo's Saloon, for the first time in New-York, the Harrison English Opera Troupe, under the direction of Theodore Thomas. About the same time, Maretzek and his troupe, with Medori, Sulzer, and Kellogg as prima donnas, held the Academy with the stock operas; and a second English company, called the Richings troupe, with Caroline Richings as prima donna, assisted by Edward Seguin, gave the "Bohemian Girl," "The Enchantress," and other works at Niblo's Garden. In February a French company, consisting of Mmes. De Lussan, Maillet, and Hamburg, and Messrs. Donatien and Maillet, gave at Niblo's Saloon Offenbach's operetta, "Le Mariage aux Lanternes." This met with such success that it was soon followed by "Le Violoneux," "Tromb-al-Çazar," and "Ba-ta-clan," all by the same prolific author, and opera-bouffe began its reign in New-York. The next season, 1865, saw the début in New-York of Camilla Urso

and of Euphrosyne Parepa, the latter at Irving Hall, assisted by Carl Rosa (whom she afterward married) and Edward Dannreuther, and an orchestra led by Thomas. Parepa sang later in Italian opera at the Academy of Music. The season of 1865–66, the first after the close of the war, was a favorable one for music: Maretzek, with a troupe numbering among the women, besides Parepa, Adelaide Phillips, Clara Louise Kellogg, Ortolani, and Zucchi, and among the principal men Bellini, Mazzolini, Massimiliani, Antonucci, and Marra, gave fifty-six representations at the Academy, including nineteen operas. Among these were several novelties, like "L'Africaine" and "Crespino e la Comare," both of which had been produced in Paris only the preceding April, and Gounod's "Faust," then but a few years old. In 1866 the Academy was burned, but Maretzek gave a season of opera, with Kellogg and Ronconi, first in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, where Miss A. M. Hauck, afterward called Minnie Hauk, made her début in "Sonnambula," and then at the Winter Garden Theater, where he alternated with Edwin Booth. He reopened the rebuilt Academy again in 1867 with "Don Giovanni," his troupe including Parepa, Minnie Hauk, Angela Peratti, Bellini, Ronconi, and Baragli. Gounod's "Romeo e Giulietta" was first produced in New York in this season. In 1865 too appeared first in New-York Levy, performer on the cornet-à-pistons, since so well known to our audiences, and Blind Tom, the negro musical phenomenon.

In 1866 began at Niblo's Garden the musical mêlange, the "Black Crook," familiar even to the present generation. A short season of Italian opera at the French Theater, corner of Fourteenth street and Sixth Avenue, was followed (October 9) by Halévy's "Les Mousquetaires de la Reine," and later by works of Massé, Auber, Boieldieu, and other French composers. About the same time a so-called American opera season began at the New-York Theater with Julius Eichberg's "Doctor of Alcantara," given under the composer's own direction. On October 31 of this year was opened Steinway Hall, in Fourteenth street, then the musical center of New-York, with Bateman's concert troupe, including Parepa, Brignoli, Ferranti, Fortuna, S. B. Mills, Carl Rosa, and J. L. Hatton, the orchestra being conducted by Thomas.

The success of the light French operas, in 1864 and 1866, led legitimately to opera-bouffe. On September 24, 1867, took place, under the direction of H. L. Bateman, the first representation in this country of Offenbach's "La Grande Duchesse de Gerolstein," with Lucille Tostée in the title rôle. This proved so acceptable to New-York audiences, and became so popular, that it bid fair for a season to drive Italian opera from the field, Maretzek having been succeeded at the Academy by the Richings English Opera Troupe. The next year, Jacob Grau, inspired, doubtless, by Bateman's success, revived "La

Grande Duchesse" at the Théâtre Français, with Rose Bell in the title rôle, following it, on October 22, with Offenbach's "Genéviève de Brabant," which was received with even greater applause. Meanwhile, on January 6, 1868, had been opened, on the corner of Twenty-third street and Eighth Avenue, Pike's Opera House, which became a year later the Grand Opera House. After a brief season of Italian opera by the Lagrange and Brignoli troupe, under the direction of Max Strakosch, Bateman returned here from Boston with the Tostée troupe, and gave in succession "La Grande Duchesse," "La Belle Hélène," "Barbe Bleu," "Les Bavârds," "Chanson de Fortunio," and "La Perichole," the last of which was represented first on January 4, 1869. About the same time "Genéviève de Brabant," which ran twelve weeks at the Théâtre Français, was followed by Hervé's "L'Œil Crevé" and Lecocq's "Fleur de Thé." But Offenbach proved the prime favorite, and his music held its own against all rivals until 1876, when the opera-bouffe craze culminated in the master's visit to New-York under the auspices of Patrick Gilmore. Besides Tostée and Rose Bell, who were among the earliest to present opera-bouffe to us, New-York has listened to Irma, Aimée, Paola Marie, Théo, Angele, Judic, and other foreigners, and among native or English singers to Lillian Russell, Pauline Hall, Marie Tempest, and Marie Jansen.

In September, 1870, came Christine Nilsson, under the direction of Max Strakosch, to give a series of concerts at Steinway Hall, with the aid of Cary, Brignoli, Verger, and Vieuxtemps. She sang in concerts only through the winter, but in the autumn of 1871 appeared in opera, one of her chief rôles being the heroine in Ambroise Thomas's "Mignon." She sang also in "Don Giovanni," "Il Flauto Magico," "Traviata," "Faust," and in Thomas's "Hamlet." After a visit to London, Paris, and St. Petersburg, where she achieved great success, she returned to New-York in the autumn of 1873, and in the following winter appeared in Wagner's "Lohengrin," then admiringly heard here for the first time.

After the Civil War musical taste, which had previously run largely in Italian and French channels, came gradually more and more under German influences, developing a love for classical music instead of the dance-tunes, ballads, and operatic potpourris which had once satisfied our audiences. The beginnings of this improved taste may be traced as far back as 1842, to the founding of the Philharmonic Society, which still exists as one of New-York's most cherished institutions. Its organization was due chiefly to the efforts of Ureli Corelli Hill, a New-Englander who had been a pupil of Spohr at Cassel. He was ably assisted by Henry C. Timm, a German; George Loder, an Englishman; and Alfred Boucher, a Frenchman, all of whose names appear as conductors of the Philharmonic's earlier concerts. In 1849

Theodore Eisfeld took the baton, and held it almost continuously until 1855, when Carl Bergmann appeared as conductor for the first time. Other prominent musicians who have conducted its concerts at different times are Leopold Damrosch, Adolph Neuendorff, Theodore Thomas, and Anton Seidl. To the influence of the Philharmonic Society must be added that of the German traveling orchestral companies that visited the United States before the Civil War, many of whose members ultimately made their home with us. Among these was Carl Bergmann, of the famous Germania Orchestra, to whom music-loving New-York owes much. He conducted the Philharmonic more than ten years, and was long active, in association with Theodore Thomas, in giving classical chamber-music concerts, which aided much in developing appreciative audiences among us. To Theodore Thomas New-York owes even a deeper debt of gratitude, for he first gave us an orchestral band comparable with the best European organizations, and able to interpret properly the highest class of music. The series of symphony soirées begun by him, in connection with William Mason and others, in 1864 at Irving Hall, and continued after 1866 at Steinway Hall, in rivalry with the Philharmonic Society, spurred the latter to increased efficiency, and greatly conduced to our musical progress. In 1866 he began his garden concerts, so long a feature at Terrace Garden, on Third Avenue, and later at Central Park Garden, on Seventh Avenue. This enabled him to make his orchestra, then the best New-York had known, almost a permanent one; but public interest in the concerts failed after the novelty wore off, and in 1878 Thomas left New-York to become director of the College of Music, Cincinnati.

Meanwhile rivals had been growing up in a field which he had practically controlled for a decade. In 1871 Leopold Damrosch came from Germany to conduct the Männergesangverein Arion, a German male chorus society formed in 1854 by a secession from the Deutsche Liederkranz, a similar association established in 1847. In 1873 he founded the Oratorio Society, and in 1878 the Symphony Society, both of which organizations, since so important in New-York's musical history, he conducted until his death in 1885, when he was succeeded by his son, Walter Damrosch. In 1881, with the cooperation of these two societies, Dr. Damrosch organized a musical festival in the armory of the Seventh Regiment, with an orchestra of 250 and a chorus of 1200, with additional choruses and brass bands, in Berlioz's "Requiem" and other pieces, and with distinguished solo singers, including Gerster, Cary, and Campanini. Among the compositions given were selections from "Die Meistersinger," the "Ninth Symphony," the Dettingen "Te Deum," and Rubinstein's "Tower of Babel." In 1882 Theodore Thomas, who had returned to New-York again to lead

the Philharmonic Society, organized a musical festival in the Seventh Regiment Armory on a still grander scale than that of Dr. Damrosch. With the Philharmonic as a nucleus, he drilled an orchestra of 300 and a chorus of 3200, the latter made up of the New-York Choral Society and the Brooklyn Philharmonic Chorus, each of which contributed 600 singers; the Boston Handel and Haydn Society, 550; the Worcester County Musical Society, 450; the Cecilian Society of Philadelphia, 350; the Reading Choral Society, 100; and the Baltimore Oratorio Association, 550. Among the solo singers were the sopranos Amalia Friedrich-Materna, of the Imperial Opera, Vienna, and Etelka Gerster; the contraltos Anna Louise Cary and Emily Winant; the tenors Campanini and William Candidus; and the basses Antonio Galassi, Franz Remmertz, and Myron W. Whitney. Dudley Buck presided at the organ, and Hermann Brandt was the chief violinist. This great festival, the culmination of Thomas's ambition, was the grandest series of concerts ever heard in America, and, together with Dr. Damrosch's festival, contributed more to the elevation of the popular taste to the appreciation of good music than all that had been done before. Mr. Thomas also conducted the Wagner Festival Concerts in New-York in 1885, and the American (afterward National) Opera Company from 1885 to 1887, when he resigned. In 1889 he was the recipient of a grand testimonial concert at the Metropolitan Opera House, in appreciation of his labors for so long a period in behalf of music in New-York.

The past twenty-five years has been so prolific of musical enterprise that limitations of space will permit but a brief summary of events. During the decade of 1870–80 Italian opera dragged on in a desultory way, sometimes under one maestro and sometimes under another, alternating now with English and now with German opera in an English or an Italian dress. Among the prominent names connected with opera during this period are Christine Nilsson, Pauline Lucca, Clara Louise Kellogg, Anna Louise Cary, Minnie Hauk, Mme. Pappenheim, Adelaide Phillips, Teresa Tietjens, Marie Roze, Mlle. Marimon, Etelka Gerster, Campanini, Brignoli, Ronconi, and Wachtel. Worthy of note was the production of "Aïda" in 1873, of "Lohengrin" (in Italian) in 1874, and of "Die Walküre" in 1877, all before they had been presented in London or Paris. In 1875, too, was given by Patrick Gilmore at the Madison Square Garden a grand concert, with a band of a hundred pieces and a large auxiliary chorus, in aid of the completion of the Centennial buildings at Philadelphia. Among other musicians who visited us during the decade were Anton Rubinstein (1872–73), Arabella Goddard (1875), Hans von Bülow (1875–76), Ole Bull (1877), Wilhelmj and Remenyi (1878–79), and Franz Rummel and Joseffy (1879).

In 1879 a new rival to Italian opera and a formidable competitor to opera-bouffe arose in the English comic operettas of Gilbert and Sullivan. The first and most popular of these, entitled "H. M. S. Pinafore," which had won an unqualified success in London the previous season, was produced, January 9, at the Standard Theater, and took such possession of the popular fancy that the authors were induced to come over the following December and superintend its performance at the Fifth Avenue Theater with their own company from the Savoy. At one time "Pinafore" was playing in four different theaters, and companies were organized to produce it all over the country, even church choirs and children taking part in the musical demoralization. The composer and his collaborator, taking advantage of the popular tide, produced their "Pirates of Penzance" the following season in New-York before presenting it in London, and it was rapidly followed by "Patience" (1881), "Iolanthe" (1882), "Princess Ida" (1884), "The Mikado" (1885), "Ruddygore" (1887), "The Yeomen of the Guard" (1888), and "The Gondoliers" (1889), most of which were received with favor, though none of them won the universal popularity of the original "Pinafore."

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE.

The decade of 1880–90 was one of the most prolific in our musical history. The Academy of Music had become inadequate for the wants of society, which had moved northward, and in 1881 was formed the Metropolitan Opera House Company, which built, the following year, a new opera-house on the corner of Broadway and Fortieth street. This building, grander than any that preceded it, had the largest auditorium in the world, with a seating capacity greater even than that of San Carlo at Naples and La Scala at Milan, and a stage exceeded only by those of the opera-houses of Paris and St. Petersburg. In 1884 the directors of the Metropolitan, at the suggestion of Dr. Damrosch, concluded to give a season of German opera, which resulted in the supplanting of Italian opera and the production of all of Wagner's music-dramas on a scale of magnificence unexcelled even

in Germany. In the first season (1884) were given "Tannhäuser," "Lohengrin," and "Die Walküre"; in 1885 "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg"; in 1886 "Rienzi" and "Parsifal" (Oratorio Society); in 1887 "Der Fliegende Holländer," "Tristan und Isolde," and "Siegfried"; in 1888 "Die Götterdämmerung"; and in 1889 "Das Rheingold." Only the first three of these were given under the direction of Dr. Damrosch, who died in 1885; the remainder were presented by Anton Seidl, his successor, to whom we owe also the production of many other novelties, including Goldmark's "Die Königin von Saba" (1885) and "Merlin" (1887), Nessler's "Der Trompeter von Sakkingen" (1887), Massenet's "Le Cid," Lalo's "Le Roi d'Ys," and Spontini's "Fernand Cortez" (1888). Among those who have been prominent on our operatic stage since 1880 have been Patti, Nilsson, Albani, Bellocca, Valleria, Scalchi, Lilli Lehmann, Moran-Olden, Marianne Brandt, Krämer-Wiedl, Seidl-Krauss, Bettaque, Campanini, Tamagno, Alhert Niemann, Anton Schott, Max Alvary, Emil Fischer, Adolf Robinson, and many other celebrities who have visited us in pursuit of gold and fame. We have listened also to concerts under the direction of Thomas, Damrosch, Seidl, Gericke, Nikisch, Van der Stucken, Pratt, Eduard Strauss (who came in 1890 with a small but select band); to numerous orchestral and choral societies; and to the legion of violinists, pianists, organists, and harpists, who either make their home with us or visit us frequently. Among the most noted musicians whom we have welcomed lately are Eugen d'Alhert and Sarasate (1889), Moritz Rosenthal, Von Bülow, Vladimir Pachmann, and Philip and Xaver Scharwenka (1890), Tschaikowski, Paderewski, and the brothers Grünfeld (1891), Antonin Dvořák (1892), and Paderewski again (1893). The coming of Dvořák to become the head of the National Conservatory of Music is an event in our history from which the most important results may be expected.

Our musical record will scarcely be complete without mention of the lighter music of the decade, represented by opera-bouffe, vaudeville, and comic opera, of which the Casino has been the principal house, though by no means the only one. Works and adaptations of many French and German composers, especially Audran, Lecocq, Massé, Strauss, Chassaigne, and Jakobowski (whose "Erminie" had more than twelve hundred representations), drew large audiences, and amused if they did not instruct. At the Academy of Music, too, in the early part of the decade, Mapleson's Italian opera troupe gave stock operas interspersed with occasional novelties; but Italian opera finally succumbed to the attractions of German opera as presented at the Metropolitan Opera House, and for a time deserted our stage, not to reappear until the season of 1890. Its reign was then of short duration, for in 1892 the Metropolitan Opera House, which had given

Italian operas the preceding season with Adelina Patti as its chief star, was burned. In 1891 music, which had been moving northward by successive stages for more than a century, found what is apparently a permanent home in Fifty-seventh street. The Carnegie Music Hall, erected through the munificence of Andrew Carnegie for the Symphony and Oratorio Societies, is one of the finest and best-appointed buildings of its kind in the world. Its permanent orchestra, under the able leadership of Walter Damrosch, who is also the conductor of the two societies, is unexcelled, and has already become an institution to which New-York may point with pride. The musical festival at the dedication of this magnificent temple of the Muses, in May, 1891, in which Tschaikowski took a prominent part, will long be remembered as the fitting culmination of our musical culture. With this hall as the home of music dissociated from the drama, our several greater and lesser opera-houses, including the new Manhattan Opera House (at present—1893—devoted to French grand opera), our many smaller music-halls, our numerous orchestral and choral associations, our educational conservatories, and our trained audiences, New-York is now, in this closing decade of the century, a musical Mecca to which every professor of the art in search of fame and fortune finds it necessary to make a pilgrimage. Next beyond the age of appreciation lies that of production. Perhaps another decade will usher in that.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY OF TRINITY PARISH

THE establishment of Trinity Church in the province of New-York in the year 1697 was the result of a long series of events, maritime, political, and social, which began with the discovery of North America by the Cabots on St. John's Day, 1497. The English always had in view the founding of a colony on the Hudson River, and in the year 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert was preparing to sail for latitude 40° north for that purpose In 1606 the region was granted to the Virginia Company by royal patent, and in 1609 Henry Hudson, an Englishman, arrived and explored the river which now bears his name. That river had been known to navigators long before his time, and it was upon the suggestion of Captain John Smith that Hudson made his voyage to the place.[1] In the year 1610 the Dutch appeared upon the scene. They seem to have contemplated originally nothing more than the establishment of a naval depot in connection with their operations against the Spanish West Indies; their plans did not include the founding of a church and state, the only government being such as would naturally emanate from the counting-room under the rules of a great commercial company. It was the misfortune of the Dutch that they depended largely upon mercenaries; the hardy people of the right stamp disliked to leave the comfortable and prosperous homes for which they had fought so bravely and so long; and in consequence their enterprise languished, and came, finally, to depend in large measure on English support.

From the very outset, the appearance of the Dutch at Manhattan Island, and their operations there, were observed by the English with suspicion. In 1613 Captain Samuel Argall of Virginia is credited with having gained the submission of the Dutch, and in 1619 they made an apology to Captain Dermer, the agent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, for their presence on the Hudson. In the year 1623, however they became more active, and sent out a considerable company, chiefly

[1] See Vol. II, Chap. 1, of this work

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of Walloons or Huguenots, who were to serve under contract. In 1628 a Dutch minister was also sent over from Holland, and later we find them firmly settled on Manhattan Island, and even pushing into Connecticut. These advances were made under the constant protest of the English. Governor Bradford disputed their right to settle on the river; a ship, the Bonnie Bess, was ordered to proceed to the Hudson River and break up whatever beginnings of a colony might be found there; and their demonstrations in the direction of Connecticut were forcibly resisted by the English. It appears that the Dutch were divided among themselves on the English question; part of them felt a strong sympathy with that people; and no objection was made to the arrival of English settlers, particularly as the company failed signally in keeping up a due supply of colonists from Holland. It cannot be determined precisely when the English began to join the Dutch and French in New Amsterdam, but in 1635 English are mentioned: George Holmes and his hired man, Thomas Hall, arrived as prisoners from the Delaware, and quietly settled down as inhabitants of the place, in company with others who had defied the authority of the Dutch on the South River. In 1638, as we learn from the Dutch records, Thomas Sanders had a house and land by patent from Governor Kieft; and later on we find one Edward Wilson held to answer for robbing peoples' gardens and breaking jail. For some years thereafter, frequent mention is made of Englishmen as dealers in real estate and purchasers of houses and lands; and in 1639 there is a record of "a form of oath taken by all Englishmen residing at or about Manhattan." It is further stated by a "report and advice" of 1644, that in 1639 English had arrived in considerable numbers from both New England and Virginia, "so that in the place of seven bouweries full thirty were planted." Thus did the English steadily advance and grow in numbers, power, and influence in the place which they had always regarded as their own possession.

The Dutch records continue to reveal the growing importance of the English in the colony. They appear as parties to important contracts; they are authorized to maintain worship by themselves, contrary to the State religion; and efforts are made to induce them to enlist in the Dutch service, a bill of exchange for 25,000 guilders being authorized in favor of New England for 150 soldiers, New Netherland being mortgaged for security. The condition of affairs made the English overbearing and disorderly, though in this respect they were countenanced by the Dutch opposers of Kieft. It is unnecessary to pursue the subject down to the date of the surrender of New Amsterdam to the land and naval forces under Nicolls; but it may be noted that during the entire period there is no trace of any attempt to use the Book of Common Prayer, and no demonstration

on the part of persons—of whom there must have been some—who were favorable to the Church of England as hy law established at home. The German Lutherans were active meanwhile, and so were the Baptists and the Quakers; but the worship of those bodies was prohibited and suppressed with a strong hand, religious liberty being interdicted by the charter. The complete ascendancy of the English in Manhattan, in any case a mere question of time, was secured on the occupation of New Netherland in 1664. Governor Nicolls was a steadfast upholder of the Church of England; and divine service according to the order of the Book of Common Prayer was at once instituted in the chapel of the fort by the garrison chaplain. After a brief interruption of a few years, caused by the reoccupation of the town by the Dutch, with Captain Anthony Colve as governor, the order was resumed early in 1674, and continued without interruption, the English and Dutch using the chapel at different hours, in that amicahle spirit which has always marked the two people in their ecclesiastical relations to each other.

With the conquest of New Netherland by the English, religious liberty was established, and the Dutch enjoyed privileges that had long been denied by their own countrymen, who were not allowed, as in Holland, to assemble in private houses,[1] or follow the particular form of religion which they might prefer. The instructions of King Charles to his commissioners declared it scandalous that any man should be debarred from the exercise of his religion; and the Church of England in the province of New-York always proceeded on this belief; yet in 1673, when the Dutch were temporarily in power, their governor, Colve, decreed that no Englishman could hold office unless a communicant of the Dutch Church. The Duke of York, however, though a member of the Church of Rome and consequently disabled by the Test Act, was exceedingly kind to dissenters like himself, and decreed religious liberty not simply for "all Christians," but "all persons." Governor Dongan, also a Roman Catholic, who came over in 1683, administered the law impartially, showing himself wise, high-minded, and disinterested. The instructions of Dongan were express,[2] and he faithfully carried them out so far as he was able, never allowing personal views to interfere with official duty. The situation in which he found himself was indeed remarkable,—the Roman Catholic governor being strictly commanded by a Roman Catholic

[1] The liberty of the Pilgrims in Holland was the liberty of worshiping in a private house. Public worship was illegal apart from the established church. The Presbyterians and some others, however, were denied a charter, which has been represented as the suppression and death of religious liberty.

[2] "You shall take especial care that God Almighty bee devoutly and duly served throughout yor government: the Book of Common Prayer, as it is now establisht, read each Sunday and Holy day, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the Rites of the Church of England. You shall bee careful that the Churches already built there shall bee well and orderly kept, and more built as ye Colony shall, by God's blessing, bee improved." (New-York Colonial Documents, Vol. III, p. 372.)

king to support, with all the weight of his authority, an ecclesiastical system opposed to that of the Church of Rome.[1]

The first clergyman of the Church of England of whom we have any account was the Rev. Charles Wolley, from the University of Cambridge, whom the Duke of York sent out with Andros, 1674. Wolley, however, did not achieve much success, and eventually returned to England. Prior to 1683 there appears to have been a vacancy in the chaplaincy of about two years; but, August 25, 1683, Dongan came out with the Rev. Dr. John Gordon, though for his own private service he had Harvey, a Jesuit priest. During his administration the service of Common Prayer obtained a footing through the Rev. Samuel Eburne, at Setauket, Long Island. In 1686 a new set of instructions gave particular directions concerning ecclesiastical affairs, recognizing the church in the province of New-York as established by law, investing the Bishop of London with jurisdiction, displacing the Archbishop of Canterbury, and providing for the exercise of supervision by the Bishops of Durham, Rochester, and London in turn. At this time Dongan wrote: "New-York has, first, a chaplain, belonging to the fort, of the Church of England; secondly a Dutch Calvinist; thirdly a French Calvinist; fourthly a Dutch Lutheran—there bee not many of the Church of England—ranting Quakers; preachers men and women especially; singing Quakers; Anti-Sabbatarians; some Anabaptists, some Independents, some Jews; in short, of all sorts of opinions there are some, and the most part of none at all." He also says that the "Great Church" served both Dutch and English, but it was so inconveniently situated within the fort, that he desired an order might be given for building another, for which ground had already been set apart. In the chaplaincy Josias Clarke followed John Gordon, being appointed March 7, 1691. It has been computed that the population of 1664, which included fifteen hundred men capable of bearing arms, had now risen to about fifteen thousand, yet the number of adherents of the Church of England was small. Few English, Scotch, or Irish families had come over, though the French had arrived in force from St. Christopher's and from England, while Dongan said that many were expected, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes having sent thousands out of France.

The Rev. Alexander Innis succeeded Chaplain Clarke, April 20, 1686. He is described by one authority as at heart "a meere Papist," a statement which is to be explained by the fact that the Roman question was entering into the public mind; while the instructions given to the new governor, Sloughter, in 1689, denied liberty of public worship

[1] The spirit of toleration favored by royal mandate was marred, however, in the year 1700 by the action of the Assembly which passed a bill against Jesuits and all Roman Catholic ecclesiastics. This action, however, was not approved by the crown.

to "papists," thus taking a step backward in respect to religious liberty. This was in sympathy with the Leisler movement, which was anti-Roman.

In 1691 the New-York Assembly passed an act maintaining the Test Act, and denying liberty to "persons of the Romish religion." In the same year Governor Sloughter caused a bill to be introduced into the Assembly for "settling a Ministry" in the province. The bill provided for the election, by the freeholders of the city of New-York, of a body to consist of two wardens and ten vestrymen, who should have the power to nominate a suitable person to serve as minister of the city. This body must not be confounded with the church vestry afterward provided for upon the foundation of Trinity Church; it had nothing whatever to do with the parish, and its functions and modes of procedure were entirely different. Governor Fletcher, who was appointed March 1, 1692, took up the matter with vigor, and, beginning with a declaration that the law of Magna Charta provided for the establishment and maintenance of the religion of the Church of England throughout the realm, succeeded, as he informed his government at home, "in getting them [the Assembly] to settle a fund for a ministry in the city of New-York and three more counties." The vestry having been duly elected by the freeholders under the provisions of the act, voted to raise one hundred pounds by taxation for the support of a minister, but followed this up by decreeing "that a Dissenting Minister be called to have the Cure of Souls in this Citty." This action was taken against the wish of a minority, who regarded the bill as intended to provide for the appointment of a minister of the Church of England according to the governor's wishes. No result followed, as Governor Fletcher declined to agree to the appointment of a dissenter; and so matters stood till the following year, when a new vestry was elected. In this body the minority was largely increased, though the majority still opposed action in accordance with the governor's desire, till, a threat being made to prosecute the recalcitrant members, they at last consented to proceed, and accordingly voted, *nem. con.*, to call "Mr. William Vesey" as minister of New-York. It appears that about five members were opposed to his election; they did not care, however, to vote against him, and remained sullenly silent. No immediate result followed from this action: it was understood that it had been taken by the vestry under a fear of prosecution for contumacy, and that the dissenting influence was still in the majority.

About this time an important step was taken by the friends and members of the church, who, tired of the contest between the governor and the amorphous and ill-assorted city vestry, organized under the name of "Managers of the Affairs of the Church of England in

the City of New-York," and began an active campaign in the cause of the church. The result of this wise movement soon appeared, for at the next election, January 14, 1696, a majority was secured favorable to the governor and the Church of England, a strong representation of the "Managers" being chosen as members of the vestry. It was at once voted that the call to Mr. Vesey be renewed, and he accepted the position, and proceeded to England for ordination. Governor Fletcher acquiesced, though his preference was for a clergyman who had served for a time at King's Chapel in Boston, and whom he wished to have for his private chaplain.[1] It has been the custom of most writers on this subject to refer to Mr. Vesey as a dissenter; but there is no foundation for the statement; on the contrary, the evidence is full and clear to the point that he came of a Church of England family in Braintree, Mass., and that he was carefully trained in the church's ways, his father being an ardent Jacobite. Graduated from Harvard College at the age of fifteen, he was advised by his friends to exercise his gifts as opportunity offered; and it being impossible to obtain holy orders in this country, he appears to have served as what we should call a "lay reader" in various parts of the country, but always in the interests of his own church, with the understanding that he would take orders at as early a date as might be convenient. Papers preserved in the archives of the Propagation Society, and recently discovered, clear up the subject and enable us to contradict the long series of misrepresentations resulting from want of full information. It is now known that Mr. Vesey officiated at Sag on Long Island before he went to Hempstead, and that he came to New-York not as a dissenting minister from Long Island, but as a duly appointed officiant at King's Chapel in Boston; and that throughout his lay ministry he had used the Book of Common Prayer and represented the church. The charge that he was originally a dissenter, and turned his coat to secure the place in New-York, was a malicious invention of his enemies, originating long after his ordination, and accepted thoughtlessly by church writers; we have its flat contradiction in documentary evidence and in a letter written by himself in denial of the statement.

Mr. Vesey went out to England for ordination, as has already been observed. He was received with great kindness and attention. The degree of A. M. was conferred on him by Merton College, Oxford, July 8, 1697. On the 25th day of the same month, he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of London, and priest on the 2d of August following; and in December he returned to New-York. During his absence the "Managers of the Church of England" had applied for and obtained an act of incorporation, in conformity with the Ministry Act of 1693, the exclusive benefit of which they desired to have ap-

[1] Archives of the Propagation Society, Vol. IX, No. D, and "Church Press," March 27, 1886.

plied to the Church of England. This was the beginning of Trinity Church; and upon his return, Mr. Vesey found the new parish in existence with a charter of its own, and lacking nothing but a rector. The honor of the final proceedings belongs to the city vestry, by whom, at a meeting held February 24, he was elected to the rectorship of the parish, the Bishop of London being, under the provisions of the charter, the titular rector. The induction took place on Christmas Day, 1697, in the New Dutch Church in Garden street, there being as yet no church edifice in the parish. Governor Fletcher acted as inducting officer, and two of the Dutch clergy were present as witnesses; Domine Selyns testifying that the Dutch and English lived together in all friendship. It may here be remarked that no objection whatever was made by the Dutch to the granting of a charter to Trinity Church, as they had previously obtained an excellent one of their own. Trinity Church was opened for divine service, March 13, 1698, when the rector read the declaration of the Bishop of London attesting his conformity, and fully entered upon his work. He was not, however, destined to pass his life in tranquillity; throughout nearly the whole of his rectorship of fifty years, he was subjected to attack, sometimes by the dissenters, whose hostility to the establishment of the Church of England in the province was intense; anon by the royal governors, of whom several were but indifferent churchmen; and again by marauders on the church estate and property. Being of the anti-Leislerian party, he came into conflict with Bellomont, who succeeded Fletcher; and under Bellomont's successor he fared no better; while during the administration of Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan the situation became serious. The infamous Chief Justice Atwood, who had condemned Bayard to be hanged and quartered, threatened the rector personally, and insinuated that he had fled from the city to escape prosecution: a charge as false as it was injurious. On the arrival of Lord Cornbury, the Leisler faction was finally ejected, and Atwood escaped to England, gratifying his spleen by writing a book in which he maligned Mr. Vesey.

Notwithstanding the political agitation of the period, the parish remained internally in perfect peace, and rapidly grew in favor and prosperity. The records contain much that is curious and instructive, as well as of general interest apart from mere ecclesiastical annals. The parish church was adorned and perfected to such an extent as to be regarded as very attractive and imposing; and the rector was assisted in his constantly growing duties by the garrison chaplains. In 1703 the church came into possession of a valuable tract of land, subsequently known as "King's Farm," which has proved the source of immense services rendered to religion, education, and science during nearly two hundred years; many parishes and churches in this city

and elsewhere owe their existence to that endowment, and to this was also due the foundation of King's College, now expanding into Columbia University. Work among the negroes was vigorously carried on by the aid of Elias Neau, formerly an elder in the French Protestant Church, but subsequently a member of Trinity Parish; and from this has sprung, after many years, the modern Church of St. Philip in this city. According to a letter by Lewis Morris, the church made little progress under Cornbury's administration, the governor being the grand obstacle to growth. By his quarrel with Mackanie, the Presbyterian clergyman, he embarrassed the situation, inasmuch as it was falsely charged that the church was opposed to the liberty of the Presbyterians, which could not possibly have been farther from the case.[1] Mr. Vesey managed to keep the peace with Cornbury, who, when dismissed, was thrown into jail by his New-York creditors. His successor, Lovelace, was cordially received by the parish; and on his death, Mr. Vesey preached his funeral sermon, which was printed, and gives a fair idea of his ambitious style in depicting "the perfect man." Governor Ingoldesby followed with an administration of eleven months, while Mr. Vesey supplemented his parish duties by serving as chaplain to the ships of war, at a time when, as he says, "my annual income sometimes leaves me in debt in this publick and expensive place." About this time an attempt was made to inaugurate the services of the church in Harlem, but after a trial the effort was abandoned as premature.

Governor Hunter's administration was a trying one for the rector and the parish. Arriving June 16, 1710, he was welcomed by the church authorities with the usual address. His manners were plausible, but Mr. Vesey mistrusted him, and not without reason; a hot controversy sprang up, in the course of which the governor, abandoning the parish church and worshiping in the chapel in the fort, was represented as being unfavorable to the establishment. In 1714, the finances of the parish having become involved, Mr. Vesey went to England with a double object,—to obtain assistance for carrying on the work, and to secure the countenance and support of the government in his official relations to his adversaries at home. Talbot, the church missionary at Burlington, New Jersey, wrote: "Bro. Vesey, ye Rector of Trinity, is fled before the Philistines," a remark which Governor Hunter quoted with great relish. During Mr. Vesey's absence, the Rev. Messrs. Talbot and Poyer of Jamaica were secured as pulpit supplies. The result of Mr. Vesey's visit to England was a substantial victory over his enemies; he returned with the appointment of commissary of the Bishop of London, and Hunter com-

[1] See "Centennial History of the Diocese of New-York," p. 60, and Briggs's "History of Presbyterianism," p. 152.

plained that he entered New-York "in triumph." During his absence, the city vestry (not the vestry of Trinity) had withheld his stipend, but the home government took up the matter and forced them to pay what was due. After all this a settlement was effected, the governor gave up his attendance on the services in the chapel in the fort, and he and Mr. Vesey spent the rest of their time in amity and peace. In 1720 the congregation was growing so fast that it was decided to enlarge the church. Soon after (April 20, 1720), Hunter's administration ended, and Burnet, son of the Bishop of Salisbury, was commissioned in his place. His relations with the parish were amicable. Montgomerie followed Burnet in 1727. Commissary Vesey, however, did not enjoy uninterrupted peace, as he was obliged to maintain discipline among the clergy. The records of the times contain disagreeable cases, though they show that he was determined to do all in his power to maintain the highest possible standard; and when, in the course of his administration, he found that he had erred, he generously acknowledged the error and made amends. Whitfield was in New-York in April, 1739, and occupied a seat in church, but was not allowed to preach, as the rector did not altogether approve of his revival methods.

It would be impossible, however, to dwell upon details further, and it must suffice to say that, superintending the work of the parish, looking carefully after the interests of the colored population, the music of the church, and the parish school, he held an even course, constantly overcoming criticism and rising in the esteem of all within and without the church, until July 11, 1746, when his long career came to an end, in the seventy-second year. Public and private testimony unite in attesting his worth, and in describing his death as a great loss to the people of New-York; in fact, it may be justly said that one of the pillars of church and state fell when William Vesey was no more.[1]

Upon the death of Mr. Vesey, the Rev. Henry Barclay was called to the rectorship. He was the son of the Rev. Thomas Barclay, whom he succeeded in the Indian missionary work on the upper Hudson. He was born about the year 1714, and graduated at Yale College in 1734; he was a man of culture and attainments, and was able to preach in the Dutch language. Mr. Barclay was inducted into his office on Sunday, October 23, in the presence of a large congregation, and on the afternoon of the same day he read his declaration of conformity. The parish now became more than ever active in good works; several clergymen, including the Rev. Mr. Charlton and the Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, were laboring in it as assistant ministers, and the need of enlarged accommodation for the people led to the erection of a "chapel

[1] His will and that of his wife are interesting and important documents, recorded in the Registry of Wills, Liber XX, p. 573, and Liber XXIV, pp. 240, 242.

of ease." Measures were also taken to provide a suitable house for the charity school, which had been taught by Mr. Hildreth in the belfry of the church. St. George's Chapel, the first of the numerous chapels of the parish, was opened July 1, 1752, with considerable parade and ceremony, the occasion marking an important point in the history of the city. It is described as a very neat building, planned by Robert Crommelin, a member of the vestry; it had a lofty, irregular tower and spire, 172 feet in height. It was under the general charge of the Rev. Mr. Auchmuty. On the 23d of February, 1750, the new charity-school house was destroyed by a fire which filled the community with alarm and endangered the church. Notwithstanding this untoward event and the consequent loss, the parish continued to grow in favor and popularity, and money flowed in from interested friends.

On January 31, 1753, the parish took important action toward the improvement of the music by the appointment of William Tuckey, who was to teach singing, serving also as clerk with Mr. Hildreth, teacher to "fifty poor children" in the parish school. There being now two congregations and a rapidly increasing work, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Conn., was invited, December 20, 1753, to become an assistant minister; and on April 15 following he left the place where he had labored for thirty-two years to commence work as "lecturer," having also accepted the presidency of the college. Trinity soon after made a grant of land for the institution, so that Columbia College is substantially the creation of the parish. This the dissenters recognized by their vigorous opposition to the institution, which was chartered in spite of their hostility. The Bogardus heirs were now active in asserting their claim to parish lands, but the "New-York Mercury" of October 27, 1760, gave the result of a remarkable trial, which settled the question for all time, however ignorance may be played upon to keep an unfounded belief alive: "Last Week a remarkable Tryal, which has been in the Law near 20 years, came on in the Supreme Court here, between the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New-York of the Church of England as by law established, and the family of the Browers, who sued for 62 acres of the King's Farm, when the Jury, after being out about 20 Minutes, gave their Verdict in favor of the Defendants." This was really the end of the Bogardus or Brower claim, which has been agitated by the "heirs of Anneke Jans," who was the widow of the Rev. Everardus Bogardus. All following assaults upon the rights of the corporation of Trinity have proved idle, not commanding the respect of the legal mind. On April 5, 1763, the idea of church extension was again agitated; the movement was encouraged by the state of affairs in the Dutch congregation, where the Dutch language met with a growing unpopularity. Besides, intermarriages were en-

couraged, and the young people improved every opportunity for frequenting Trinity Church. The feeling had now set in which finally has forced the Dutch communion at large to strike their flag, and drop the word "Dutch" from their titles. Under the circumstances, the Dutch were obliged to introduce English preaching, yet with this concession the exodus could not be stayed.

It was now resolved to erect a second chapel. The "foundation," according to the "Mercury," was laid May 14, 1764. The rector, however, was not to see the end of the work, for we suddenly learn that on August 20, 1764, the Rev. Henry Barclay, D.D., passed away, in the fifty-third year of his age. His funeral took place from Trinity Church, and Mr. Auchmuty preached from Rev. xiv. 13 "to a prodigious large audience." The Rev. Samuel Auchmuty succeeded to the rectorship on the death of Mr. Barclay, and was inducted on the mandate of Lieutenant-Governor Colden, September 1, having previously taken the prescribed oaths in Fort George. The new rector was of Scotch descent, born at Boston, graduated from Harvard College in 1742, and admitted to holy orders by the Bishop of London. Upon his recommendation, the Rev. John Ogilvie and subsequently the Rev. Charles Inglis were elected assistant ministers. With the Dutch Church, Trinity was during this period, as always, at peace, holding the most cordial relations; but Mr. Auchmuty complained that the Presbyterians kept up a restless opposition, both as regarded religion and education. The church prospered, however. From about 1758 the custom came in of holding conventions to consider and promote the general interests of the Church of England in America. Dr. Samuel Seabury served as secretary, and Dr. Johnson, then living at Stratford and compelled by age to forego active work in the ministry, rendered valuable aid as president.

John Ogilvie

The new chapel, known as St. Paul's, was opened October 30, 1766, with services that marked the growing religious feeling and ecclesiastical taste of the people of New-York. The building was recognized as "one of the most elegant edifices on this continent." Dr. Auchmuty preached the sermon, and a full band supplemented the vocal music, Mr. Tuckey being awarded the sum of fifteen pounds additional for his success as conductor on this memorable occasion. All the authorities of the State on this occasion recognized Trinity as the legal establishment.

An important action marked December 23, 1766, as the Rev. Samuel Provoost, who was destined to exert so important an influence on the parish, was elected at that time as assistant minister, while soon after a residence was built for the rector. While the church was thus increasing in prosperity, a movement was undertaken which finally

ended in disestablishment. It is an interesting fact that the first steps toward this end were taken by men devoted to the church, under the lead of Lewis Morris, long an earnest member of the Church of England. On April 6, 1769, Mr. Morris began a movement for the relief of non-Episcopalians from taxation for the support of Episcopal worship, which, however, was not accomplished until the British Constitution had been set aside in this country. Bills were passed in reference to the desired relief, but were rejected by the governor and council, and disestablishment was delayed until 1777.

The political and social disturbances which preceded the Revolution were not without their effect on the parish. Early in 1769 it was found necessary to use strict economy in administration, though all obligations were honorably met. The Bogardus heirs, having no standing in law, resorted from time to time to violent and disorderly actions in asserting their false claim to the property of the church, and it became necessary on one or more occasions to resist them by force. In the death of Sir Henry Moore, August 11, 1769, the church lost a powerful friend; and Dr. Auchmuty warned the Bishop of London on the danger of appointing a new governor opposed to the church and the college. Under the administration of the Earl of Dunmore and Governor Tryon the financial difficulties increased, and the Rev. Mr. Provoost withdrew, the vestry finding it no longer possible to pay his salary. During the year 1772 the parish maintained a sort of war to protect themselves from the assaults of the Bogardus heirs, and were compelled to resort for that purpose to legal process, in order to restrain the invaders. Upon the departure of Governor Tryon for England, April 7, 1774, the great seal of the province was left with Lieutenant-Governor Colden. In May the convention of the clergy of the province was held in Trinity Church. In the midst of the disturbances of this time occurred the death of the Rev. John Ogilvie; the Rev. John Bowden and the Rev. Benjamin Moore were now brought into the parish as assistants. When Tryon returned and undertook the hopeless task of maintaining order, the public excitement increased and the clergy were drawn into it. Mr. Inglis fought lustily for church and king, and used his pen and voice with vigor. Dr. Myles Cooper, president of King's College, was also in the arena, and Dr. Thomas B. Chandler of Elizabeth, N. J., also appeared in the fray. Dr. Auchmuty's health was feeble; he retired to New Jersey, leaving Mr. Inglis in charge. Except in the city of New-York, the English churches were closed. Inglis was finally obliged to take the same course, and on the occupation of the town by the Revolutionary forces, he withdrew to Flushing, locking up the churches and carrying the keys with him. Upon the defeat of the Americans in the battle of Long Island, and the reoccupation of New-York by the British, Mr. Inglis returned and

resumed his work. Then followed the great fire, in which, as is well known, Trinity Church was destroyed, while the two chapels, St. George's and St. Paul's, narrowly escaped. Dr. Auchmuty succeeded, after great trouble and exposure, in getting through the lines, and returned to New-York in November, a sick and broken man, and nigh unto death. He passed away March 4, 1777, very suddenly, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, having officiated at his daughter's wedding the day before. He was a faithful priest, an able man, and a gentle and lovely character, adorning his profession in all ways. Dr. Charles Inglis succeeded to the rectorship. The induction took place in Trinity churchyard, under the supervision of Governor Tryon, the new rector laying his hand upon the charred ruins of the parish church in taking the oath of allegiance and conformity. The Bishop of London, in approving the election, said, "I know Mr. Inglis to be a person of most eminent abilities, of great judgment, integrity and piety." Mr. Bowden, the assistant, had gone to Jamaica, and decided not to return to New-York, mainly on the ground of impaired health.

By the action of the vestry, October 29, 1779, St. George's Chapel was placed at the disposal of the Dutch Church from nine to eleven, Sunday mornings, in recognition of the kindness and courtesy ever shown by that corporation to the Church of England. The Dutch Church returned thanks for the courtesy, April 8, 1780, saying: "The Christlike behaviour and kind attention shown us in our distress by members of the Church of England will make a lasting impression on the minds of the antient Reformed Dutch Congregation, who have always considered the interests of the two churches inseparable." The brief rectorship of Mr. Inglis was confined to the period between the death of Mr. Auchmuty and the evacuation of New-York by the British forces, November 25, 1783. During that period he bore himself with great dignity, and faithfully discharged the duties of his sacred office. Upon the surrender of the city, he found his occupation gone, his name being on the bill of attainder and his property being confiscated; and he accordingly resigned and withdrew. In other colonies amnesty was liberally granted on the successful completion of the Revolutionary War, and with the good result of retaining in the country men of sterling character and ability, who were willing to yield to the inevitable and do their best as honest citizens under the change of government. Not so in the province of New-York, where there appears to have been no reaction of feeling in favor of the loyalists, and no disposition to adopt a magnanimous policy toward individuals who had rendered themselves obnoxious during the civil strife. Considering his position, it is clear that there was nothing for the rector to do but to resign his charge and leave the country. Subsequently to his removal to Nova Scotia, his merits were acknowledged by an appointment to the

Episcopal office, and he closed his career with the honors and responsibilities of the first colonial bishop in North America. Dr. Inglis's farewell sermon was preached October 26, 1783. His assistant, the Rev. Benjamin Moore,—afterward Bishop of New-York,—was elected to fill his place, and accepted the call; but it was seventeen years before he entered upon the office. Upon the successful termination of the war, the disestablishment of the church followed as a matter of course, and the parish accepted the situation cheerfully, and proceeded with its work. On the 17th of April, 1784, an act of the legislature was passed which brought the charter of Trinity Church into conformity with the laws of the State of New-York; and when this was accomplished, no attention was paid to the fact of the election of the Rev. Mr. Moore the previous year, and thus his entrance into the rectorship was delayed. The new vestry proceeded to elect the Rev. Samuel Provoost, who was the choice of the "Whig Episcopalians," and highly in favor on account of his strong sympathy with the cause of the colonies against the crown. Ten years previous to that time he had been an assistant minister of the parish, but had withdrawn to retirement and the enjoyment of a country life, being an adherent to the American cause, and not in sympathy with the majority of his coreligionists.[1]

Now followed the rebuilding of the parish church, for which the plans were drawn by J. Robinson.[2] The "Advertiser" of June 18 invited proposals for taking down the walls of the ruined church "as low as the sills of the windows all around," leveling the chancel walls to the ground, and cleaning the stones; and on July 8 proposals were invited for laying a "new foundation." August 23 they laid "the foundation stone to the honor of almighty God and the advancement of the Christian religion." The building was 104 by 72 feet; the spire is set down at 200 feet. The "New-York Magazine," January, 1790, speaks of the church as "not yet complete." March 25, 1789, was appointed for the opening of the new edifice, in which a pew

[1] Mr. Provoost, who had come to town February 2, 1784, was formally called to the rectorship on the 22d of April. The work of the parish now proceeded without interruption. It was represented at a meeting of clerical and lay deputies from the church in several of the States, held in Philadelphia, June 22d. A convention of the clergy and laity was held in New-York, May 3, 1785, at which Mr. Provoost was recommended for consecration to the episcopate; and soon after the University of Pennsylvania gave him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. His consecration took place in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, London, February 4, 1787. Reaching New-York on Easter Day of the same year (April 18), he resumed his duties as rector, being now also bishop of the diocese of New-York, and serving also as one of the trustees of Columbia College. Bishop Provoost was also Chaplain of the United States Senate.

[2] Over the eastern door, under the porch, was the inscription

D. O. M.
TRINITY CHURCH
was first founded in the year 1696, enlarged and beautified in 1737, and entirely destroyed in the Great Conflagration of the City, September 21, 1776.

THIS BUILDING WAS
erected on the site of the former
CHURCH
in the year 1788.
Right Rev. Samuel Provoost, D. D., Rector.
James Duane, Esq., and John Jay, Esq.,
Church-wardens.

with a canopy was set apart for the President of the United States, while another was assigned to the governor and members of Congress.

Bishop Provoost resigned the rectorship, December 22, 1800, in consequence of failing health. The same day the Rev. Benjamin Moore was elected and inducted to the rectorship. Mr. Moore was unanimously elected Bishop of New-York, September 5, 1801, and consecrated in St. Michael's Church, Trenton, N. J., in September following. The Rev. John Bisset was elected assistant minister, and about this time a new organ was imported from England. The policy was now instituted of making grants of land to new parishes and other institutions. To a certain extent this had been previously done. January 16, 1786, the vestry had voted that a good lot of ground should be granted to each of the Presbyterian congregations in the city, for the use of their session pastors for the time being; for which the "First Presbyterian Congregation" returned thanks, as also the "Scotch Presbyterian Church," an act that carried special significance, as showing that the parish was in no way embarrassed by the action of that denomination. Gifts and grants were now made freely, and to such an amount that it is computed that during the period through which this policy was pursued nearly two thirds of the entire estate of the corporation was given away. Thirteen lots of land, together with a bell belonging to St. Paul's Chapel, was given to St. Mark's Church, the number of lots being afterward increased to thirty, valued in 1847 at $131,500, and now very much more valuable. Later similar and separate donations were made to Grace Church, together with an organ for which Trinity paid. In fact, Trinity was the nursing mother of the church throughout the city and State.

On the resignation of Bishop Provoost, the Rev. Benjamin Moore, who, as we have seen, had been elected rector of the parish seventeen years before, was now again chosen, and entered upon his office. The Rev. Cave Jones was chosen as assistant minister. In 1803 the vestry began to build a new chapel on a part of the island then considered very remote. It was finished in 1807, and still occupies its old site on Varick street, above Beach, having been consecrated as St. John's Chapel. The district became in time the center of fashion, elegance, and wealth, and next to St. John's, on the north, was built a residence for the rector, who, it will be remembered, was also bishop of the diocese. The Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning was instituted August 16, 1802, and handsomely endowed by Trinity Church. It is a wealthy and prosperous corporation, and does good work in the cause of theological education. Grace Church was founded in 1805, and endowed by Trinity Church with twenty-five city lots and large donations in cash, the foundation of its present prosperity. In the year 1811 Bishop Moore was stricken by paralysis, and Dr. Abraham

Beach, the assistant rector, administered the parish for nearly two years. The Rev. John Henry Hobart, then assistant minister, was on the nomination of Bishop Moore elected and consecrated assistant bishop; he was also assistant rector, having received that appointment upon the resignation of Dr. Beach. On the death of Bishop Moore in 1816, Hobart became bishop of the diocese, and March 11, 1816, rector of Trinity. The name of Bishop Hobart is one of the most notable in the annals of the diocese and the parish. He was born in Philadelphia, September 14, 1775, and graduated at Princeton in 1793. He was admitted to the diaconate by Bishop White, June 3, 1798, and advanced to the priesthood by Bishop Provoost, April, 1801. He was a delegate to General Convention in 1801 and 1804, and also secretary of the diocese of New-York and of the House of Bishops. His degree of doctor of divinity was received from Union College in 1806. May 29, 1811, he was consecrated as assistant bishop, succeeding to the jurisdiction on the death of Bishop Moore. He died at Auburn, September 10, 1830, and was buried under the chancel of Trinity Church. A conspicuous monument of the style of the period commemorates him; but no monument was needed to keep in the recollection of posterity the fame and acts of that great champion of the church and devoted chief pastor of the flock of Christ.

JAMES MILNOR.[1]

Upon the death of Bishop Hobart, the Rev. William Berrian was elected to the rectorship, October 11, 1830. During his long incumbency of thirty-two years, the parish continued to grow and thrive, though not without adverse circumstances, and occasional assault from enemies.[2] Among the most important events of the period

[1] Dr. James Milnor was born June 20, 1773, in Philadelphia. He studied law, was admitted to the bar, and in 1803 entered political life. He served for two years as member of Congress, and upon his return home became a candidate for orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1814 he accepted the rectorship of St. George's Church in New York city, where he remained until his death in 1844. Dr. Milnor published a "Thanksgiving Day Sermon," "A Plea for the American Colonization Society," "A Sermon on the Death of Governor DeWitt Clinton," and "A Charitable Judgment of the Opinions and Conduct of Others Recommended," which was delivered on the Sunday preceding his death, which occurred on the 8th of April. EDITOR.

[2] His manuscripts are preserved in the library of the General Theological Seminary, including a very large number of sermons, and various bundles of letters and papers, besides his journals, extending over a long series of years. These journals, though dry reading, are nevertheless unique productions of the kind, showing as they do how Dr. Berrian spent his days, the exact duration of visits made and received, being noted, while the number of minutes consumed by the reading of his sermons at which he labored with care is given. He had genius for details.

was the rebuilding of the parish church. In the year 1839 repairs were commenced upon the edifice, when it was discovered that it was in such a condition as to render it expedient to rebuild; and accordingly the present church was erected after the plans of Richard Upjohn, one of the most eminent of our American architects. The corner-stone was laid June 3, 1841, and the new church was consecrated on Ascension Day, May 21, 1846. The present church still stands without a rival among our city churches; it has been somewhat enlarged from time to time, and the interior has been magnificently adorned and decorated, but substantially it remains as when erected, the pride of the city and one of the most attractive of our public buildings. The church was consecrated by the Right Rev. Dr. Samuel A. McCoskry, Bishop of Michigan, in presence of an unusually large assemblage of clergy and laity. It has since been the witness of many remarkable services. One of the most interesting of these was the celebration, in 1885, of the Centennial of the formation of the diocese of New-York.

Reference has been already made to the attacks on the church before the Revolution by certain persons pretending to a right to her property by virtue of descent from Anneke Jans; and it has been noted that these attempts at spoliation, often disorderly and riotous in their character, invariably failed. It was to be expected that they would continue after the change of government, and such was the case. The history of the various assaults upon the title of the church to its property would be a very interesting one, but there is no space for more than a very concise summary. In 1830 John Bogardus, a lineal descendant of Anneke Jans Bogardus, brought an action in the Court of Chancery against Trinity Church, claiming as one of her heirs to be entitled to an interest in the property, and to an accounting with respect to his share of the rents received by the church. The corporation pleaded its ownership under a grant from Queen Anne of the 23d of November, 1705, and denied that it was ever a tenant in common with the complainant or any of his ancestors. Objection being made as to the sufficiency of the defenses in the form in which they were made, they were sustained as to form by the chancellor on August 6, 1833, and on an appeal to the Court for the Correction of Errors they were sustained by that court in December, 1835. After this decision, proofs as to all the facts affecting the title were taken on both sides, consisting of documentary evidence, oral testimony of old witnesses, the records of trials which had taken place a hundred years before, etc. The hearing occupied thirteen days. On December 23, 1847, a decision was made by Vice-Chancellor Sanford sustaining the title of Trinity Church in all particulars. The report of this case, covering one hundred and thirty pages, con-

tains everything in the way of documentary and other proof that could at that period be produced, and the case was argued by eminent counsel. The conclusion of the opinion of the court is as follows:

And now that I have been enabled to examine the case carefully and with due reflection, I feel bound to say that a plainer case has never been presented to me as judge. Were it not for the uncommon magnitude of the claim, the apparent sincerity and zeal of the counsel who supported it, and the fact (of which I have been oftentimes admonished by personal applications on their behalf) that the descendants of Anneke Jans at this day are hundreds if not thousands in number, I should not have deemed it necessary to deliver a written judgment on deciding the cause. A hearty dislike to clothing any eleemosynary institution with either great power or extensive patronage, and a settled conviction that the possession by a single religious corporation of such overgrown estates as the one in controversy and the analogous instance of the Collegiate Dutch Church is pernicious to the cause of Christianity, have disposed me to give an earnest scrutiny to the defense in this case. But the law on these claims is well settled, and it must be sustained in favor of religious corporations as well as private individuals. Indeed it would be monstrous it, after a possession such as has been proved in this case, for a period of nearly a century and a half, open, notorious, and within sight of the temple of justice, the successive claimants, save one, being men of full age, and the courts open to them all the time (except for seven years of war and revolution), the title to lands were to be litigated successfully upon a claim which has been suspended for five generations. Few titles in this country would be secure under such an administration of the law; and its adoption would lead to scenes of fraud, corruption, foul injustice, and legal rapine, far worse in their consequences upon the peace, good order, and happiness of society than external war or domestic insurrection. The bill must be dismissed with costs.

While this litigation was proceeding, another action was brought in the Court of Chancery in June, 1834, on behalf of other heirs of Anneke Jans (Humbert *vs.* Trinity Church), which was defeated upon the ground that upon the plaintiffs' own showing there was no right of recovery. This case was heard first before the vice-chancellor of the first circuit, then on appeal by the chancellor, and afterward in the Court for the Correction of Errors, where the chancellor's decree was affirmed without dissent in December, 1840,—Justice Cowen delivering the opinion of the court. (22 Wendell's Reports.)

These are the latest cases which have been brought to a hearing based upon claims of descendants of Anneke Jans; and the title of the church, which was so clearly and conclusively established by the decision of Vice-Chancellor Sanford in 1847, has been further strengthened by a continuous and undisturbed occupation by the corporation for nearly fifty years since that time. In 1856, however, an action was brought in the name of the people to recover on behalf of the State a portion of the property owned by the church, upon the ground that its title, as derived from the British government before the Revolution, under Queen Anne's grant of 1705, was not valid, and that the people of the State, having succeeded to the rights of the British crown,

were in a position to claim the property. In this case the suit was dismissed upon the trial in 1859, and the decision was affirmed by the General Term of the Supreme Court. In the same case the Court of Appeals in 1860—Judge Comstock delivering the opinion of the court—gave a final decision against the claim and in favor of Trinity Church. Although it is from time to time stated in the public press that claims are being made on behalf of alleged heirs of Anneke Jans, and suits are occasionally commenced ostensibly in their interest, no case against the church has ever been brought to trial since this last decision in 1860. All suits commenced since that date have been dismissed, none have been commenced for some years past, none are now pending.

Dr. Berrian died November 7, 1862, and on the tenth day of the same month the Rev. Morgan Dix, assistant rector, was elected his successor. The new rector was installed on the following day, in the presence of divers witnesses, according to an ancient form of induction coming down from the pre-Revolutionary era, and only observed in Trinity parish. On the twenty-ninth day of the month he was instituted, according to the order appointed for that purpose in the Book of Commou Prayer, in the presence of a large congregation. During the incumbency of the present rector, the parish has grown by the addition of five chapels, with many other buildings needed in the work. St. Chrysostom's, St. Augustine's, and St. Agnes's have been built, and St. Cornelius's and St. Luke's (formerly St. Luke's Church on Hudson street) have been taken in. Of the buildings referred to, the more important are: a school-house, on the corner of Trinity Place and Thames street, for the schools of Trinity Church, including a chapel used by the German congregation, and a suite of apartments for the sexton and his family; a parish building on the west side of St. Paul's churchyard, extending from Fulton to Vesey street, giving rooms for the schools of St. Paul's Chapel, offices for the rector and corporation of Trinity and the clergy of St. Paul's, and residence for four or five priests connected with Trinity and St. Paul's; a parish building for St. Augustine's Chapel, 107 East Houstou street, containing everything

needed in the work; a similar building for St. Chrysostom's, Seventh Avenue and Thirty-ninth street; a school and parish house, and a residence for the clergyman in charge of St. Agnes's, on Ninety-first street and Columbus Avenue. The old rectory, 50 Variek street, has been converted into a parish hospital, and greatly enlarged for that purpose; and a complete system of parochial schools has been established, including day and night schools, kindergartens, manual-training schools, cooking and house schools. Full particulars of the work of the parish, now extending from the Battery (south) to Ninety-first street (north), are given in the year-books, which have been annually published since the year 1874. To these the reader must be referred who desires additional information as to the present condition of the parish.

TRINITY CHURCH

CHAPTER VII

THE STATUES AND MONUMENTS OF NEW-YORK

THE oldest public monument in the city of New-York is that to the memory of General Richard Montgomery, who fell at the siege of Quebec. It is a mural monument, placed under the large portico of the eastern end of St. Paul's Church, where it can be seen readily from Broadway. Montgomery was one of the first eight brigadier-generals commissioned by Congress in 1775, and in that year was second in command to General Schuyler in the invasion of Canada. Forming a junction with the forces under Benedict Arnold on December 3, he determined to carry Quebec by storm; and the attack was begun early in the morning of December 31, the principal assaults being made by Montgomery and Arnold in person. The night was excessively dark, and Montgomery, who commanded the New-York troops, and who was closely attended by the youthful Aaron Burr,—then an aide-de-camp,—led them, Indian file, through a fearful storm of snow, hail, and wind to Wolfe's Cove, from whence they advanced to the attack at early dawn. The first line of defenses was successfully passed, and they were about to assault the second, when Montgomery, seeing the soldiers wavering within a few yards of the cannon, exclaimed: "Men of New-York, you will not fear to follow where your general leads! Push on, brave boys; Quebec is ours!" and immediately thereafter fell. The monument bears this inscription: "This monument is erected by order of Congress 25th Jan'ry 1776 to transmit to Posterity a grateful remembrance of the patriotism, conduct, enterprize & perseverance of Major General Richard Montgomery, Who after a series of successes amidst the most discouraging Difficulties, Fell in the attack on Quebec 31st Dec'br 1775. Aged 37 Years." And a tablet on the base reads: "The State of New-York Caused the Remains of Maj. Gen. Richard Montgomery to be conveyed from Quebec and Deposited beneath this Monument the 8th day of July 1818." The transfer of his remains occasioned great interest with the public, for although Montgomery was of Irish parentage, his marriage with the sister of Chancellor

Livingston connected him with many of the leading families of the city. Just south of the church is a marble shaft at the grave of the noted Irish orator, Thomas Addis Emmet, who died November 14, 1827, a brother of Robert Emmet, who, during the revolt of the Irish people against the British government in 1798, forfeited his life on the scaffold. In a corresponding location on the north side of the church is a high monument of Ohio stone, in honor of another brilliant and patriotic Irishman, Dr. William James MacNeven, an old and devoted friend of Emmet's, who died July 12, 1841. A handsome and lofty monument of brown freestone stands in the northeast corner of Trinity churchyard, close to Broadway, where it was erected in 1852 by order of the vestry of the church, in consonance with a general desire of the citizens, to commemorate the American patriots who died in British prisons in New-York city during the Revolutionary War. The inscription reads: "Sacred to the memory of those brave and good men who died whilst imprisoned in the city for their devotion to the cause of American independence."

It is well known that monuments are almost always slowly raised in this country, and the Bunker Hill memorial column may be cited as an instance. The corner-stone was laid in 1825, on the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, the ceremonies honored by the presence of Lafayette, who was on the eve of returning to France after a warm and flattering reception in the United States, and also by the delivery of the most noted of Webster's orations. From that day, however, public interest in the undertaking flagged (the monument not being completed until eighteen years afterward), and many schemes were proposed and carried out for obtaining the funds necessary to perfect the work, which still remained unfinished. "But," to quote a graceful writer, "when Fanny Elssler came and danced away the hearts of the young men of nearly fifty years ago, the amiable *bayadère* took pity upon the struggling monument, and — as was merrily said in those light-hearted days, when enthusiastic youth removed the horses from the dancer's carriage, and drew her triumphantly home from the theater — Fanny Elssler turned a pirouette and lifted Bunker Hill Monument to completion upon her divine toe!"

Comparatively little was either attempted or accomplished in erecting statues in New-York during the first half of the present century, and it was not until 1856 that any appreciable progress was made. That year witnessed the erection, on July 4, of what has long been an ornament to the city, and has also proved a valuable landmark for the guidance of rural visitors — the bronze equestrian statue of the "Father of his Country," in Union Square. It stands upon historic ground, since it occupies nearly if not the identical spot where Washington was received on November 25, 1783, by the citizens of

New-York, on its evacuation by the British. The total height of the monument is twenty-nine feet, half of which distance is devoted to the immense granite pedestal, weighing one hundred tons, while the figures of the horse and rider weigh four tons; and the whole cost was over $31,000.[1] On the morning of the unveiling, the First Division of the New-York State Militia, under General Sandford, having marched to Fourteenth street, formed a hollow square around the monument and the platform for the speakers, this last being erected where the Lafayette statue now stands. Everything being in readiness, it was decided to remove the coverings from the bronze before beginning the purposed ceremonies. And here a ludicrous incident occurred. The policemen detailed for the purpose were unable, after much amusing but futile scrambling up the legs of the horse, aided by encouraging though irrelevant advice from the spectators, to unfasten the heavy tarpaulins used, and it became necessary to secure the assistance of a hook-and-ladder company from the Fire Department before the grand memorial could be exposed to view. The statue was executed by Henry K. Brown, who was engaged upon it for four years, and the features are copied from Houdon's bust, which was taken from life. It represents Washington seated on horseback, with his right arm outstretched, as if restraining the ardor of his troops, while he calmly curbs his noble steed, which is apparently at a quick trot. The uniform is a copy of that which was worn by Washington, and which is still preserved at the Capitol. When the cheering with which the magnificent work was received had subsided, Colonel Lee requested the Rev. Dr. George W. Bethune to speak; and, Senator Hamilton Fish having introduced him, the reverend gentleman delivered a discourse, closing with the following words:

And now, fellow-citizens — not of this State — exult as we may at other times, and exult more we who were born on its imperial soil, in that designation, it is not equal to this occasion — citizens of the UNION, hear me and bear witness that in the name and by the authority of those who have erected this statue, I give it, before God and our country, to the PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES. From the St. Croix to the Rio

[1] This sum was collected among the wealthy residents of Union Square, and Colonel James Lee acted as a committee to solicit subscriptions. Toward the close of his labors he called upon the rich but penurious Mr X, who resided in a handsome mansion on the lower side of the square. "There is no need of the statue!" exclaimed the affluent gentleman. "Washington needs no statue; he lives in the hearts of his countrymen; that is his statue." "Ah, indeed!" replied the colonel, "does he live in yours?" "Truly, he does," said Mr. X. "Then," rejoined the colonel, "I am very, very sorry; for he is in an exceedingly tight place!"

Cascade, from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores, it is theirs! And you, people of New-York, individually and collectively, and not by any delegation of the trust, but as a democracy, shall be its guardians. GOD SAVE THE REPUBLIC!

The ceremonies over, the troops, led by the Washington Greys, marched around the statue, the regiments cheering and each soldier removing his cap as he passed.

General William J. Worth, who had served on the staff of General Winfield Scott in 1814 at the battles of Niagara and Chippewa, in the Florida war in 1840–42, and who afterward distinguished himself during the Mexican war in 1846–48, died in San Antonio, Texas, in 1849. His remains were temporarily placed in Greenwood cemetery, and on November 25, 1857—the day selected by the corporation of the city for the inauguration of a monument to his memory—were conveyed from the City Hall, where they had been taken two days before, by a large military escort, and deposited in their permanent resting-place in the small triangular plot of ground on the Fifth Avenue, opposite Madison Square. The monument is of granite, and is fifty-one feet high, its smooth surface ornamented at intervals by raised bands inscribed with the names of the battles in which General Worth participated; and on the lower portion of the shaft are representations of military trophies in relief. The familiar features of Abraham Lincoln are accorded a place in the southwestern part of Union Square, corresponding to the location of the Washington monument on the eastern side. Shortly after his assassination in 1865, a popular subscription under the auspices of the Union League Club realized sufficient funds for the raising of a suitable memorial to his memory. The order was intrusted to Henry K. Brown and the statue was placed in position, without formal ceremonies, on September 16, 1870. It is of bronze, eleven feet high, weighing three thousand pounds, and mounted on a granite pedestal fourteen feet high. Lincoln is represented in citizen's clothes, with a Roman toga carelessly thrown about his shoulders, and the proclamation of emancipation in his left hand, the natural expression of his face being reproduced with remarkable fidelity. A heavy granite coping, on which is cut the memorable sentence, "With malice toward none, with charity for all," surmounted by a low bronze railing, incloses the statue.

Conspicuous in Printing-house Square, opposite the City Hall Park, and directly in front of the "Tribune" and "Times" offices, is the statue of Benjamin Franklin. It was presented to the printers and press of New-York on January 17, 1872, by Captain Albert De Groot, a retired steamboat commander, who, taken into service as a boy under Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, then a prosperous steamboat captain, builder, and owner, soon rose from the deck to a command.

He became master of several steamboats, amongst others the Niagara and Reindeer, the swiftest boats on the Hudson in their day. The statue, which is of bronze, and twelve feet high, mounted on a massive granite pedestal, was designed by Ernest Plassman, and depicts Franklin as he appeared at Versailles, majestic in his republican independence, as ambassador of the United States. The attitude is easy and natural, one hand extended, as if in speaking, while the other holds a copy of his first paper, "The Pennsylvanian." The pose of the head is perfect, and the likeness, taken from the best French portraits, very accurate. The philosopher's dress is that which he wore when abroad—long-waisted coat, with long vest, knee-breeches, ruffled shirt and cuffs, and buckled shoes. On the day of the unveiling a large platform held the members of the statue committee, the invited guests, and the New-York Typographical Society; while a smaller one was reserved for Captain De Groot, Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, Horace Greeley, and Charles C. Savage. After a prayer by the Rev. Dr. Charles Deems, Professor Morse, being introduced, spoke briefly, and then drew the drapery from the figure, the band meanwhile playing the "Star Spangled Banner," and a battery of artillery firing a salute in the City Hall Park. The presentation address was made by Mr. Greeley, the reply by Mr. Savage, president of the New-York Typographical Society, who said in the course of his speech accepting the gift:

> It is appropriate that this statue should be erected in this center of our trade, in the very midst of our craft-work, instead of in Central Park; for Franklin's life was devoted to practical hard-work rather than to ornamental and recreative. Could Franklin step into the mammoth printing and newspaper offices which surround this monument, could he look into yonder post-office, what thoughts and contrasts would they suggest! When he first visited New-York in 1723, not a newspaper was published in this city, and only one small printing-office existed. And when, a few years later, he was appointed postmaster in Philadelphia, the whole mail of the country would not equal that which now passes through our city post-office in an hour.

On the southern point of Union Square, only a few yards from, and facing, the Washington monument, and commanding a view directly down Broadway, may be seen the bronze statue of one of France's most distinguished sons and of America's warmest friends—the Marquis de Lafayette. Designed by Frederic A. Bartholdi, and presented by the French government to New-York city in recognition of the assistance rendered by its citizens to the people of Paris during the Franco-Prussian war in 1870–71, it was unveiled in the centennial year of American independence, 1876. It represents Lafayette in the costume of the court of Louis XVI., standing on the prow of a boat beneath which the waves are curling, and as if about to step from its deck, while he offers "his virgin sword to the nation which has just declared

its existence, and the fate of which is still uncertain." The granite pedestal was the offering of the French citizens of New-York, and is appropriately inscribed. The ceremonies took place on September 6, when, after the parade in honor of Lafayette, Union Square and the adjoining streets were crowded with people eager to see the statue. Several militia regiments were present, as well as military veteran societies, companies of firemen, city officials, French musical societies, commanderies of Knights Templar, and other masonic bodies, and delegations from French societies in Quebec, Montreal, and Albany. The French consul-general, Edmond Breul, presented the statue to the city, and as Bartholdi drew aside the flag which veiled the figure, a salute of eighteen guns was fired. Frederic R. Coudert, the orator of the day, said in part:

If we had had any doubts as to the spot on which we should erect this monument, and if we could have called upon him to come from his grave; if life could have been restored into that face which charmed our ancestors so much, if we could say to Lafayette, "Where do you wish your image to rest for ages, in order that our descendants may look upon it and love you?" would he not have chosen just the spot we have, and have said: "I wish to be near the man who called me son, and whom I loved as a father"?

The first statue erected in this city to a citizen of the State of New-York is that of William H. Seward, which occupies a prominent place on the southwest side of Madison Square, facing the open space at the intersection of Broadway, Fifth Avenue, and Twenty-third street. The figure, which is of bronze, and moderately colossal, was designed by Randolph Rogers, and represents Seward in a heavy chair of a Renaissance character, one hand holding a scroll, and the other hanging over the arm of the chair and holding a pen. The pose is simple and natural, and the statue is a satisfactory memorial of the eminent statesman. It was the gift of a number of gentlemen to the city, and was unveiled on September 27, 1876, the strains of Gilmore's band attracting a large concourse of people to Madison Square, where, besides an ample stand for the speakers, seats for a thousand persons were provided. The ceremonies were concluded with an oration by William M. Evarts, who said in the course of his eulogy on Seward:

And he had an unflinching faith in all popular institutions. Never, from beginning to end, will you find in his support of party or any measure of his administration one single departure from that faith, and from the purpose to make that faith felt and respected in the world. He believed that it was the consent of citizens that made the safety and the greatness of a state, and not the power that could coerce its will. He

had unfailing confidence in the permanence of the Union, and a thorough admiration for the Constitution. Whatever others thought of him, as disobedient, as rash, as dangerous to the fortunes of the country, he never yielded to any one, in his own opinion, in his fidelity to the Constitution and his faith in the nation. And for the rest, what is there to be said of him? A great career—in all respects a great career. Great was he in intellectual ability, great in moral qualities, great in the opportunities which served him, great in the perils which he encountered, great in the triumph of his politics, and great in the prosperity of his statesmanship. And if the policy upon which he acted was wise and conspicuous, all nations could behold it, all nations could judge of it; and he is great in his fame, which is now secured alike against discordant opinions in his life-time, and against posthumous detraction.

In the northwest corner of Madison Square, within a stone's-throw of the Worth monument, stands the bronze statue of David Glasgow Farragut, the first admiral of the United States navy. It is by Augustus St. Gaudens, and depicts the brave old sailor standing on the quarter-deck of his ship, the effect heightened by the shape of the pedestal, which is of stone, and semicircular—the work of Stanford White. The unveiling was celebrated May 26, 1881, and was attended by many distinguished officers of the army and navy, one hundred members of the order of the Loyal Legion, and numbers of well-known citizens; the hotels and private houses in the neighborhood displaying a profusion of flags. The marine guard from the Brooklyn navy-yard, together with detachments of sailors and marines from the vessels of the North Atlantic stations, formed three sides of a square, of which the speakers' stand and the statue formed the fourth. After a prayer by the Rev. Dr. Henry C. Potter, William M. Hunt, the Secretary of the Navy, was introduced, and in a few words presented the statue to the city on behalf of the Farragut Monument Association. Whereupon John H. Knowles, the sailor who lashed Farragut to the mast in the battle of Mobile Bay, assisted by J. B. Millner, who was also on the flagship Hartford, drew aside the drapings from the statue, and B. S. Osborne, the sailor who hoisted the colors of the flagship just as she was entering the engagement, quickly displayed an admiral's flag on a pole at the corner of the stand; the band played a national air, and an admiral's salute of seventeen guns was fired. The principal address was delivered by Joseph H. Choate, whose opening words were:

The fame of naval heroes has always captivated and charmed the imagination of men. The romance of the sea that hangs about them, their picturesque and dramatic achievements, the deadly perils that surround them, their loyalty to the flag that floats over them, their triumphs snatched from the jaws of defeat, and deaths in the hour of victory, inspire a warmer enthusiasm and a livelier sympathy than are awarded to equal deeds on land. We come together to-day to recall the memory and to crown the statue of one of the dearest of these idols of mankind—of one who has done more for us than all of them combined—of one whose name will ever stir like a trumpet the hearts of his grateful countrymen.

At a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in 1880, a resolution, offered by Elliot C. Cowdin, was adopted, to the effect that a statue of Washington be placed in Wall street on the spot where he took the oath of office as first President of the United States, April 30, 1789. Accordingly, on March 27, 1880, a bill was introduced in Congress, and passed December 23 of the same year, authorizing the erection of such a statue, with the proviso that the work should at all times be subject to the supervision and control of the Secretary of the Treasury. The statue, which cost $35,000, stands on the steps of the Sub-Treasury building, facing Broad street. It is of bronze, thirteen and a half feet high, upon a pedestal six feet high, while the base for the latter reaches eight feet above the level of the sidewalk. The statue is by J. Q. A. Ward, and represents Washington in the act of taking the oath of office as President, his right hand extended, his left resting on his sword, and his left foot slightly advanced. He is in the Continental uniform, his military cloak, thrown back from his right shoulder, partially conceals a Bible lying upon a column of fasces. The attitude of the body is commanding, the head being held erect, and the features, for which Mr. Ward used the portraits by Houdon and Stuart as a study, are indicative of strength, dignity, and power. The unveiling took place on Evacuation Day, November 26, 1883, during a pouring rain, which, however, did not prevent a large attendance. The Sub-Treasury was ornamented with the arms of the original thirteen States, and a lavish display of the national colors. President Chester A. Arthur received the statue on behalf of the government, and George William Curtis, standing on the identical stone upon which Washington had stood when taking his first oath of office, delivered the oration of the day.

A subscription list circulated among the pupils of the public schools of New-York city, limiting the subscription of each child to ten cents, resulted in the raising of a trifle over three thousand dollars, with which sum a bronze statue of Washington—a copy of Houdon's original marble in the Capitol at Richmond, Va.—was purchased. It stands on a granite pedestal in Riverside Park, close to the driveway, opposite the block between Eighty-eighth and Eighty-ninth streets, where the unveiling was celebrated July 4, 1884. After a medley of patriotic airs by the Seventh Regiment band, and the singing of the national anthem by the five hundred school-children present, William Wood, ex-president of the Board of Education, made the presentation address. In his remarks he said:

For the last ten years the statue has been stored in the basement of the Arsenal in the Central Park, waiting for a pedestal—a kind of epidemic with statues intended for New-York and vicinity. The legislature of Virginia passed an act in 1784, "requiring an image of Washington to be made in the purest marble by the most eminent sculptor in Europe." John Anthony Houdon of Marseilles was selected by Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson to execute the statue. He visited Mount Vernon in 1785, and made a plaster cast of Washington, which he took back to France with him, and there executed his work. The cast was returned to Mount Vernon.

At the junction of Broadway, Sixth Avenue, and Thirty-fifth street is the bronze statue of William E. Dodge, by J. Q. A. Ward, which was presented to the city by numerous gentlemen, October 22, 1885. The ceremonies were observed in the armory of the Seventy-first Regiment, close at hand, and were presided over by Samuel D. Babcock. Abram S. Hewitt entertained the audience with a sketch of Mr. Dodge's life, and Dr. Roswell D. Hitchcock and Senator Colquitt of Georgia delivered addresses. Dr. Joseph Wiener, a physician of repute in New-York, and an admirer of Washington Irving's writings, gave a colossal bust of that author to the city in May, 1886. It was executed by Beer, a European sculptor of promise, and has been temporarily placed on a pedestal in Bryant Park, on the southern side, facing Fortieth street.

To the traveler from foreign lands who, as he stands on the deck of the steamer, enjoys his first view of the beauties of New-York harbor, there is no one feature that appeals to his admiration and awakens his interest more quickly than the majestic statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World." As he approaches Governor's Island, from the northwest point of which Castle Williams pushes boldly out, and the varied structures of the lower portion of the city begin to assume distinct and individual form, he finds on his left the noble statue, with the Hudson, bordered by New Jersey's hills, stretching away in the middle distance; while on his right, far above buildings and ships, looking light and fragile in its setting of blue sky, the great bridge in one long span crosses the East River. The Statue of Liberty originated in a suggestion, made shortly after the reëstablishment of the republic in France, to the effect that the fraternal feeling existing between that country and the United States should be signalized by the erection of some appropriate memorial. The French-American Union, formed in 1874, and embracing some of the most eminent men in France, opened a popular subscription, from which over 1,000,000 francs were realized. The plans and model prepared by the artist Frederic A. Bartholdi were accepted, and the statue was successfully executed by him.

On February 22, 1877, a resolution was passed by Congress that the gift be received, and Bedlow's Island was named as the site for its erection. Meanwhile the funds for the building of the pedestal—

an undertaking of enormous magnitude—were provided in this country by means of popular subscription, exhibitions, concerts, and fairs. The necessary amount—$300,000—was far, however, from being raised when the New-York "World" took the subject in hand, publishing daily the contributions to the fund; and to that journal is due the credit of securing the completion of the work. The day set apart for the dedication of the statue—October 28, 1886—proved wet and foggy, and consequently unpleasant for the participants in the long procession of military, veterans of the war, old firemen, civic societies, etc., which, parading through the streets in honor of the event, occupied two hours in passing any given point. In the harbor the weather was still more disagreeable, the dense fog interfering with the naval display, and materially lessening the effect of the imposing ceremonies. A platform was built against one side of the pedestal for the accommodation of the guests, with a high stand above for the President of the United States and those accompanying him, distinguished French visitors, and the speakers. The arrival of the President and his suite and the prominent representatives of France was heralded by the booming of guns from the men-of-war anchored off the island. After all were seated, General John M. Schofield introduced Count de Lesseps, who spoke briefly in French, followed by an address from William M. Evarts. The statue was then unveiled by Bartholdi, and as the wet and clinging drapery disappeared from the immense figure, salutes were fired from the forts in the harbor and the war-vessels, and the innumerable tugs and steamboats added the shrieking of steam-whistles and the ringing of bells to the noises which rent the air. President Cleveland accepted the statue in behalf of the American people, and Albert Lefaivre, the French consul-general, said a few words. The admirable commemoratory address was by Chauncey M. Depew, who, in beginning his oration, said: "We dedicate this statue to the friendship of nations, and the peace of the world; the spirit of liberty embraces all races in common brotherhood, it voices in all languages the same needs and aspirations." Bishop Henry C. Potter pronounced the benediction. The Statue of Liberty is the highest in the world, the top of the torch being 305 feet 11 inches above low water; the figure itself is 151 feet 1 inch high—more than double the height of the next largest statue, that of San Carlo Borromeo on the shore of Lago Maggiore, which is about 70 feet. "The Statue of Liberty is very imposing. It is lofty enough to dominate the bay, and it has the true grandeur of simplicity."

On June 4, 1888, the Italian residents of New-York erected a bronze statue, by Giovanni Turini, of Giuseppe Garibaldi, in Washington Square, directly south of Fifth Avenue. Including the pedestal, it is a trifle over 21 feet high; and depicts Garibaldi in uniform,

a soldier's short cloak wrapped about him, with one foot advanced, his gaze directed eagerly forward, and in the act of drawing his sword. The eminent mechanical engineer Alexander L. Holley is honored by a heroic bust, in bronze, which was unveiled in Washington Square on October 3, 1890. It is by J. Q. A. Ward, and an excellent likeness; an inscription on the pedestal states that the memorial was erected by the engineers of two hemispheres. Mr. Ward is again represented in Printing-house Square, and by a most satisfactory piece of work. The heroic bronze statue of Horace Greeley executed by him, and paid for largely by the printers throughout the country, was dedicated September 20, 1890, Mr. Depew delivering the oration. Mr. Greeley is represented as seated in an arm-chair, in his characteristic stooping attitude, and the earnest, sympathetic expression of the face is wondrously lifelike. In the open space just east of the Clinton Hall building, at Astor Place, there is a bronze statue of Samuel S. Cox, who, when in Congress, accomplished some legislation favorable to the letter-carriers, and they gratefully erected to him this memorial in 1891. It was executed by Miss Louisa Lawson.

One of the handsomest and most imposing of the monuments in New-York city is that to Christopher Columbus, which stands in the middle of the broad plaza at Eighth Avenue and Fifty-ninth street. It consists of a base and column surmounted by a statue, and is mainly of granite. On each of the four sides of the base are three steps leading up to a large square plinth, on two sides of which are inscriptions, while on the north and south sides are bronze reliefs, one depicting the first sight of land by Columbus, and the other his debarkation. Above this is a smaller square pedestal; against its south side is a statue, executed in Carrara marble, representing the "Genius of Geography," a nude winged figure with one hand resting on a terrestrial globe. On the north side is a bronze eagle, with the shields of the city of Genoa and of the United States. Upon this pedestal is supported the high, round, granite shaft of the monument. The words "A Cristoforo Colombo" are inscribed upon it in bronze, with an anchor above and below them; and from the east and west sides respectively project three bronze prows of ships. Resting upon the capital crowning the column is a small round pedestal, upon which is placed the statue of Columbus; this is also done in Carrara marble — the whole work, column and statue, being designed and executed by Gaetano Russo. It was the gift of the Italian residents of New-York, and was formally dedicated on October 12, 1892, in the presence of many distinguished persons. The presentation address was made by Carlo Barsotti, followed by Baron Fava, the Italian minister, and the monument was received on behalf of the city by General James Grant Wilson. The corner-stone of General Grant's monument and tomb on the pictu-

resque Riverside Drive was laid with befitting ceremonies on April 27, 1892. The monument itself,[1] when completed, will be one of the finest and most imposing memorials in the world. Its incomparable situation on the bold height above the Hudson River's banks, at a point visible for several miles north and south, alone gives it an appreciable advantage, and, aside from its inherent interest, will render it a conspicuous object for all time.

The passage by the legislature of the ordinance creating the commissioners of the Central Park occurred in May, 1856. Work was begun in the following year; and the whole district included between Fifty-ninth and One Hundred and Tenth streets, and the Fifth and Eighth avenues, being approximately half a mile wide and two miles and a half long, and embracing 840 acres, was slowly converted from a barren waste of rock and swamp into one of the most beautiful parks in the world, a triumph of engineering skill, a model of landscape gardening, and the daily resort, almost all the year round, of tens of thousands of persons, rich and poor alike. Well-kept drives and walks, handsome lawns and secluded groves abound, affording with the various attractive lakes and rustic bridges many glimpses of picturesque scenery; while on fine afternoons an endless stream of equipages, and crowds of ramblers of all ages, give life and animation to the scene. With the gradual transition of this hitherto rough and unsightly tract of land into a paradise of flowers and trees, of vines and shrubs and placid waters, a desire arose to enhance the beauties of nature with fitting memorials of some of the world's great men; thus, year by year, statues and monuments of celebrated statesmen and poets, musicians and scientists, were erected by private presentation or public subscription.

Our German fellow-citizens can claim the honor of being "first in the field" with a bronze bust of the poet Schiller, the centennial anniversary of whose birthday was celebrated by a three days' festival in New-York. The bust is placed in a vine-embowered corner of the Ramble, north of the Bow Bridge, and opposite Seventy-sixth street, and was unveiled quietly on November 9, 1859, the first day of the commemorative festival. It was the writer's fortune one autumn morning to be looking upon this work of the sculptor C. L. Richter, when two elderly ladies, evidently from some rural neighborhood, also stopped to inspect and admire. One, covertly nudging her companion, said, *sotto voce:* "Who is it?" and her friend, slowly spelling out the name which alone appears on the pedestal, replied: "S—c—h—i—oh! yes; General Schuyler!" The works of art destined for the park were not limited to statues only. Just west of the Mall, and on the Center Drive, is the bronze group of the "Eagles and Goat," which

[1] See Illustration in Vol. III. p. 613.

was executed by Fratin, and represents two of those noble birds tearing to pieces a goat which one of them has secured and borne to their eyrie. It was the gift of Gordon W. Burnham, in May, 1863, and is a fine piece of casting. Another notable donation by a private citizen is the colossal statue of "Commerce," by Jules Fesquet, of Paris, presented in August, 1865, by Stephen B. Guion, a native of New-York, who was long a resident of Liverpool. It is in the West Drive, in the southwestern corner of the park, not far from the Eighth Avenue and Fifty-ninth street entrance, the proposed site of the Merchants' Gate.

In October, 1867, twelve gentlemen residing in New-York tendered the park the group of the "Tigress and Young," which is a familiar sight to the thousands who pass the rising ground just west of the Terrace. It is six feet high and seven and a half in length, mounted on a suitable pedestal, and portrays a tigress bringing food to her hungry cubs. The sculptor is Augustus Caine, and it is cast in bronze by Barbedienne, whose magnificent models were without a rival in the Paris Exposition of 1867. Near the southern end of the Mall is another famous group, "The Indian Hunter," executed by J. Q. A. Ward. The young redskin, nude save for a strip of buffalo-robe about his loins, is bending forward eagerly watching the game, his left hand holding his bow and arrow, and his right restraining his restive dog by a firm grasp of his throat. This group is also in bronze, on a granite pedestal, and was paid for by private subscription, and presented through a committee of prominent gentlemen in December, 1868. A colossal bronze bust of William Cullen Bryant, executed by Launt Thompson, was given to the park in 1868 by Charles Ludington. It stands in the "Poet's Corner" of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; and it will probably be placed eventually in Bryant Park. A somewhat similar fate has attended the marble statue of Christopher Columbus presented by Marshall O. Roberts, in a letter dated February 20, 1869, to Andrew H. Green, as comptroller of the park. It has been stored in the Arsenal building for many years, but a site has at last been assigned it at the Mount St. Vincent cottage. It is the work of Miss Emma Stebbins.

The centennial anniversary of the birth of the distinguished savant Alexander von Humboldt was celebrated September 14, 1869, in many parts of the world. The enthusiasm excited in Germany by the event extended to this country, and its outcome was the dedication on that day of the bronze bust by Gustav Blaeser at the Fifth Avenue and Fifty-ninth street entrance. George Bancroft wrote from Berlin May 11, 1869, to Christian E. Detmold, the president of the Humboldt Monument Association: "Blaeser knew Humboldt well, and works from memory, from Rauch's bust, from Schrader's best picture, and from the cast taken of the head after death. You will get a work of art, an excellent likeness, of enduring value." Orations were delivered by Dr. Francis Lieber in German, and by Dr. Ogden Doremus in English, and the German choral societies sang several selections. A subscription list circulated among the members of the telegraphic craft realized the sum necessary to erect the bronze statue of Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, which is placed near the entrance at Fifth Avenue and Seventy-second street. The designer, Byron M. Pickett, has represented the inventor as standing with a telegraphic despatch in his right hand, and his left resting on a telegraphic instrument; his costume is the ordinary attire of a citizen, with the addition of a furred cloak. The unveiling took place on June 10, 1871, and the orator, William C. Bryant, said:

> It may be said, I know, that the civilized world is already full of memorials which speak the merit of our friend, and the grandeur and utility of his invention. Every telegraphic station is such a memorial; every message sent from one of these stations to another may be counted among the honors paid to his name; every telegraphic wire strung from post to post, as it hums in the wind, murmurs his eulogy; every sheaf of wires laid down in the deep sea, accomplishing the bottom of soundless abysses, to which human sight has never penetrated, and carrying the electric pulse, charged with the burden of human thought, from continent to continent, from the Old World to the New, is a testimonial to his greatness. Nor are these wanting to the solitudes of the land: telegraphic lines crossing the breadth of our continent, climbing hills, descending into valleys, threading mountain passes, silently proclaim the great discovery and its author to the uninhabited deserts. Thus the Latin inscription in the Church of St. Paul in London, referring to Sir Christopher Wren, its architect — "If you would behold his monument, look around you," may be applied in a far more comprehensive sense to our friend, since the great globe itself has become his monument.

Full of action and spirit is the bronze figure of heroic size called "The Falconer," which is placed on the high bluff south of the Webster statue. It was designed in Rome by George Simonds, and was presented February 28, 1872, by George Kemp.

It must not be supposed that this ever-increasing number of productions of the sculptor's chisel was accepted by the people as a matter of course, so far as merit was concerned. Quite the reverse was the case, and until within a very recent period the city has been

subjected to occasional ridicule, more or less good-natured, in regard to the effigies in its public parks and squares. Its own newspapers have at times launched sarcastic shafts at the offending bronzes or marbles; its own citizens have often voiced their unfavorable criticism in the daily journals. In the editorial notes of the New-York "Tribune" of April 26, 1872, we read: "The American people has a great passion for erecting statues of brass, of marble, of freestone, or of granite; but the chief national peculiarity is that, when the images are set upon their pedestals, or pins, so to speak, there rises a dreadful clamor of adverse criticism. There is no public statue, no image of anybody, which has not been ferociously found fault with." That some of this ridicule or fault-finding was deserved is perhaps true, and the responsibility for it may often be traced to the defective judgment of the committees usually having in charge the selection of designs. Nevertheless, the array of these statues has increased year by year, a more artistic taste has been evinced in their conception and execution, and their numbers almost warrant the assertion that New-York has become a city of statuary. Distinguished men in all walks of life have been thus honored, and among them representatives of nationalities other than American sufficient to give the metropolis a cosmopolitan character. For those who are disposed to be hypercritical in regard to our statues, it may not be amiss to recall Ruskin's observation in his "True and Beautiful": "The sculptor does not work for the anatomist, but for the common observer of life and nature."

Many eminent persons were to be seen at the lower end of the Mall on May 23, 1872, in the temporary pavilion which, gaily festooned with flags and decorated with plants, inclosed a large space around the statue of Shakespeare, then about to be unveiled. Seats for two thousand people were arranged in tiers in a semicircle, with the speakers' stand in front of the statue, and thousands more found standing room close at hand. The dedicatory exercises were begun with orchestral music, and, after the unveiling, Judge Charles P. Daly introduced William Cullen Bryant, the orator of the day, who in the course of his carefully prepared address delivered a glowing eulogy on the master mind of Shakespeare. Referring to Shakespeare's varied store of learning, Mr. Bryant spoke of his psychological knowledge, quoting his insight into the most subtle forms of mental distemperature:

> An insight shown in his portraiture of the madness of *Hamlet*, that of *Ophelia*, and that of *King Lear*, all how distinctly drawn, yet each how diverse from the others! [Further on he said:] Moreover, if Shakespeare had worn the clerical gown, what a

preacher of righteousness he would have become, and how admirably and impressively he would have enforced the lessons of human life — he who put into the mouth of Cardinal Wolsey the pathetic words:

> "Had I but served my God with half the zeal
> I served my king, he would not in mine age
> Have left me naked to mine enemies."

I am sure that if those who deny to Shakespeare the credit of writing his own dramas had thought of ascribing them to the judicious Hooker or the pious Bishop Andrews, instead of Lord Bacon, they might have made a specious show of proof by carefully culled extracts from his writings. Nay, if Jeremy Taylor, whose prose is so full of poetry, had not been born a generation too late, I would engage, in the same way, to put a plausible face on the theory that the plays of Shakespeare, except, perhaps, some passages wickedly interpolated, were composed by the eloquent and devout author of "Holy Living and Dying."

The statue, which is very fine, is one of Mr. Ward's masterpieces, and meets with the unqualified approval of capable critics. Lord Ronald Gower says: "England has no statue of the 'myriad-minded' that equals it"; and Richard H. Stoddard wrote: "Ward's Shakespeare is a noble work, the noblest of the kind yet produced in America, and by far the noblest of which Shakespeare is the subject. We except none. It is Shakespeare as we wish to have him, and very much as he was, we are willing to believe from our knowledge of his authentic portraits — a large, capacious, gracious soul in a beautiful, manly body. We can look up to him with reverence as the greatest of poets and of men. All honor to the American Shakespeare."

Near the southern end of the Mall, and not far from Ward's Shakespeare, is a bronze copy of the statue of Sir Walter Scott, modeled by Sir John Steele, and now standing in the Prince's street gardens, in Edinburgh. It is mounted on a superb pedestal of Aberdeen granite, is of heroic size, and represents the "Wizard of the North" in a contemplative mood, seated on one of his native rocks, having apparently just finished reading the closed book which is held in his left hand supported on his knee, while his right hand rests lightly on the volume, a stag-hound crouching at his feet. The statue was the gift of the Scotch residents of New-York, and the presentation ceremonies took place on November 2, 1872, in the presence of twenty thousand people, including the Seventy-ninth Regiment of Highlanders. William C. Bryant, who delivered the oration, closed with the following words:

> And now as the statue of Scott is set up in this beautiful park, which a few years ago possessed no human association, historical or poetic, connected with its shades, its lawns, its rocks, and its waters, these grounds become peopled with new memories. Henceforth the silent earth on this spot will be eloquent of old traditions; the airs that stir the branches of the trees will whisper to us tales of chivalry to the visitor. All that vast crowd of ideal personages created by the imagination of Scott will enter with

his sculptured effigy, and remain; Fergus and Flora McIvor, Meg Merrilies and Dirk Hatteraick, the Antiquary and his sister, and Edie Ochiltree, Rob Roy and Helen MacGregor, and Baillie Jarvie and Dandie Dinmont, and Diana Vernon and Old Mortality,— but the night would be upon us before I could go through the muster-roll of this great army. They will pass in endless procession around the statue of him in whose prolific brain they had their birth, until the language which we speak shall perish, and the spot on which we stand shall be again a woodland wilderness.

The first military procession that ever had access to the park was composed of the famous New-York Seventh Regiment, and its Veteran Association, led by Grafulla's band of a hundred pieces in a new and showy uniform; and the cause of the unusual sight was the dedication of a monument erected by the regiment, June 22, 1874, in honor of its members who died in defense of the Union during the Civil War. The monument is of bronze, ten feet high, mounted on a handsome granite pedestal, and represents a private soldier of the regiment, wearing the overcoat and leaning on his rifle. It was designed by J. Q. A. Ward, and is excellently done; and, together with the pedestal, which is by Richard M. Hunt, cost $40,000. The site of the memorial is upon rising ground, on the West Drive, near Sixty-ninth street, and facing the level plain below. After the unveiling and presentation formalities, General John A. Dix, who was introduced, was greeted with three hearty cheers, supplemented by the noted regimental "sky-rocket" cheer. Alluding to the dedication of the statue to those of the regiment who had perished in the war, the general said that it also

Symbolized the character and services of the living corps—the performance of the past and the promise of the future. For many years before the regiment went to the field, I was familiar with the energy, zeal, and untiring diligence with which it was devoted to military exercises; and the result was a success rarely equaled and still more rarely surpassed by any corps in the regular service. In the manual of the soldier, the company drill, and the evolutions of the battalion, I do not think that I have ever known it excelled. For a long series of years it has maintained this distinguished military character; and by showing through such a continuous example what a volunteer corps is capable of accomplishing, it did more than all other causes combined to vindicate the usefulness of the militia system at a time when there was a prevalent disposition to disparage it, and to rely on the regular army to repel invasion from abroad and preserve the public order at home.

In March, 1876, the Goethe Club presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art a colossal bust of Goethe, designed by August F. Fischer, of Berlin. Dr. Anthony Ruppaner, the president of the club, made the presentation at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, and short addresses were delivered by William C. Bryant, Rev. William R. Alger, and Rev. Samuel Osgood; and Thomas B. Wakeman read an original translation of Goethe's poem "Zueignung" (Dedication). The statue of Daniel Webster, on the West Drive, near the Seventy-second street

entrance, was unveiled November 25, 1876. It was a gift from Gordon W. Burnham, and was executed by Thomas Ball, of Florence, a former resident of Boston and an old friend of Webster. Its height is fourteen feet; it is in bronze, and stands on a granite pedestal twenty feet high, the combined weight being a hundred and twenty-five tons. The great statesman is represented as standing erect in the ordinary costume in which he appeared on public occasions, his head and shoulders thrown back, his right hand in the breast of his coat and his left at his side, as if he had just closed some powerful passage in an oration. Addresses were delivered by Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, and William M. Evarts, after Mr. Burnham had made the formal presentation of the statue.

FITZ-GREENE HALLECK [1]

On the east side of the Mall, in proximity to the handsome memorials to Scott and Burns, is placed that of Fitz-Greene Halleck. Obtained through the subscriptions of a number of gentlemen and several ladies, it was unveiled May 15, 1877, in the presence of President Rutherford B. Hayes and his cabinet, Generals Sherman and Hancock, Admiral Rowan, and many other distinguished persons. The Seventh Regiment and its Veteran Corps, each accompanied by magnificent bands, acted as escorts to the presidential party, and the vast crowds attracted to the locality were estimated to embrace fifty thousand people. Seats were provided for two thousand specially invited guests, and, after some music from the bands, William C. Bryant, who presided, called the assembly to order and introduced the President of the United States, who had been asked to present the statue on behalf of the subscribers. The President made a brief speech, and, drawing aside the flags which hid the figure, revealed Halleck represented as seated in a draped chair, with a cloak thrown partially over his left shoulder, holding a pen in his right hand and writing-paper in his left, as if composing. The design is by J. Wilson Macdonald, and is in bronze on a granite pedestal. A poem entitled "Fitz-Greene Halleck," written for the occasion by John G. Whittier, was, in his absence, read by Halleck's biographer, General James

[1] The above portrait of the poet Halleck, which has never before been engraved, is taken from a miniature painted in 1811, by Nathaniel Rogers. EDITOR

Grant Wilson, through whose instrumentality the statue was secured; and upon its conclusion, William Allen Butler, the orator of the day, delivered an appropriate address. The colossal bronze bust of Giuseppe Mazzini, which is on the West Drive, opposite Sixty-seventh street, and a few rods from the Seventh Regiment Monument, was presented to the city by the Italians in the United States, on May 29, 1878. It is from the original model of Giovanni Turini, and bears a strong resemblance to the best portraits of the great liberator. On a beautiful slope of lawn, close to the banks of the Pond, and but a moment's walk from the Scholars' Gate, is the bronze bust of Thomas Moore, designed by Dennis B. Sheahan, which was formally presented on May 28, 1880, hy the committee which raised the funds for its erection.

The Mall presented an animated scene on Octoher 2, 1880, when tens of thousands of enthusiastic Scotchmen assembled to participate in the dedication of Sir John Steele's hronze statue of Robert Burns. Caledonian clubs from Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other cities, as well as New-York, resplendent iu their bonnets, kilts, tartans, and plumes, mingled together, and the Stuarts, Campbells, MacKenzies, and other clans were represented. The statue was presented by Scotch residents of the city, and portrays Burns seated upon the stump of a tree, pen in hand, as if composing one of his songs, his gaze toward the heavens, seeking inspiration. It is mounted on an Aberdeen granite pedestal, and is erected immediately opposite the statue of Sir Walter Scott. The orator of the occasion was George William Curtis, who, after rehearsing the many reasons which made the year 1759 (in which Burns was horn) a proud one for Great Britain, paid this beautiful tribute to "Auld Scotia":

> You, fellow-citizens, were mostly born in Scotland. There is no more beautiful country, and as you stand here, memory and imagination recall your native land. Misty coasts and far-stretching splendors of summer sea; solemn mountains, and wind-swept moors; singing streams, and rocky glens and waterfalls; lovely vales of Ayr and Yarrow, of Teviot and the Tweed; crumbling ruins of ancient days—abbey, and castle, and tower; legends of romance gilding burn and brae with "the light that never was on sea or land"; every hill with its heroic tradition, every stream with its story, every valley with its song; land of the harebell and mountain daisy, land of the laverock and the curlew, land of braw youths and sonsie lassies, of a deep, strong melancholy manhood, of a deep, true, tender womanhood—this is your Scotland, this is your native land. And how could you so truly transport it to the home of your adoption, how interpret it to us beyond the sea, so fully and so fitly, as by this memorial of the poet whose song is Scotland? No wonder that you proudly bring his statue and place it here under the American sun, in the chief American city, side by side with that of the other great Scotchman whose genius and fame, like the air and sunshine, no local boundary can confine. In this Walhalla of our various nationality it will be long before two fellow-countrymen are commemorated whose genius is at once so characteristically national and so broadly universal, who speak so truly for their own countrymen and for all mankind, as Walter Scott and Robert Burns.

In closing his admirable address, Mr. Curtis said:

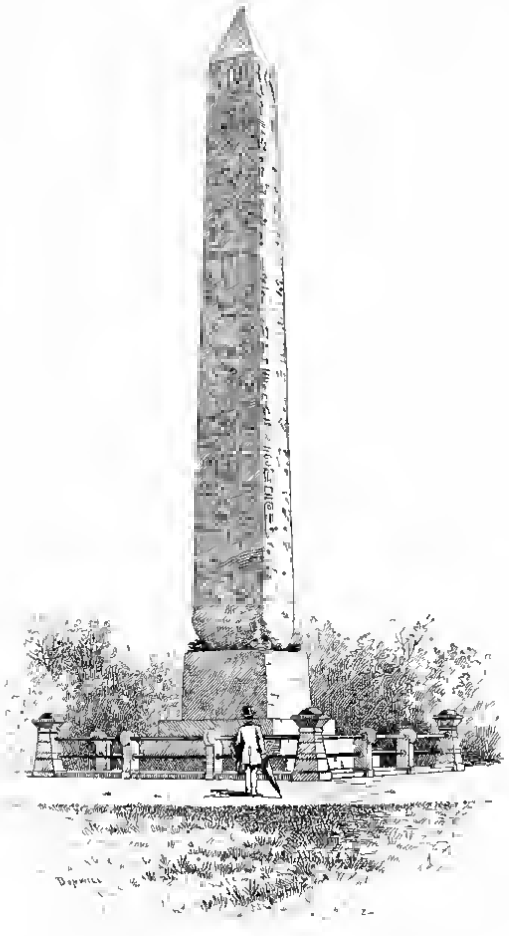
Here, then, among trees and flowers and waters; here upon the greensward and under the open sky; here, where birds carol and children play, and lovers whisper, and the various stream of life flows by—we raise the statue of Robert Burns. While the human heart beats, that name will be music in human ears. He knew better than we the pathos of human life. We know better than he the infinite pathos of his own. Ah! Robert Burns, Robert Burns, whoever lingers here as he passes, and muses upon your statue, will see in imagination a solitary mountain in your own beautiful Scotland, heaven-soaring, wrapped in impenetrable clouds. Suddenly the mists part, and there are the heather, the brier-rose, and the gowan fine, there are the

"Burnies wimplin' down your glens
Wi' toddlin' din,
Or foaming strang wi' hasty stens
Frae hin' to hin'";

the cushat is moaning: the curlew is calling: the plover is singing: the red deer is bounding:—and look! the clouds roll utterly away, and the clear summit is touched with the tender glory of sunshine, heaven's own benediction.

Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, is honored by a statue presented by his son, Colonel John C. Hamilton, which is erected on a knoll near the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The work of Charles Conradts, it is in fine white Westerly granite, and, with the pedestal, is about 18 feet high, representing Hamilton standing erect, his right hand in the breast of his waistcoat, and his left clasping a roll of manuscript lying upon a plain column. His head is slightly turned to the right, and his hair, drawn back and tied in a queue, shows the high, intellectual forehead. He is dressed in the costume of the Revolutionary time, with ruffles and buckled shoes. After the unveiling it became necessary by reason of the coldness of the day—November 22, 1880—to adjourn to the main hall of the museum, where the ceremonies were continued, Chauncey M. Depew delivering the principal oration. An object of curiosity to every one visiting the park is the Egyptian Obelisk, which was given to the city of New-York in 1877 by the late Khedive, Ismail Pasha, the whole expense of its transportation and erection being paid by William H. Vanderbilt. Specially designed machinery was constructed in Trenton, N. J., for handling this immense monolith; Lieutenant-Commander Henry H. Gorringe, U. S. N., was given charge of the arduous work of removing it to this country, and it was finally raised successfully on January 22, 1881, on a slight eminence near the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Notwithstanding the unfavorable sea-

son of the year, five thousand people had gathered to witness the unusual scene, and a long line of carriages and sleighs filled the adjoining driveway. A few moments before noon a battalion approached, led by the Brooklyn Navy Yard band and composed of 170 marines and 180 sailors from the United States war-vessels Powhatan and Minnesota, who took their places on two sides of the obelisk. The secretaries of state and of the navy, William M. Evarts and Nathan Goff, Jr., soon appeared, and were escorted to the speakers' stand by Commander Gorringe. The obelisk, then resting horizontally, its apex toward the Eighth Avenue, was held in place by ropes and iron cables, and at a given signal it was slowly raised to a perpendicular position, its lower end immediately over the permanent base, in which situation it was temporarily secured. This being done, Commander Gorringe raised his hat to Mr. Evarts, who congratulated him upon the happy accomplishment of his work; the band struck up "Hail Columbia," and the spectators cheered. The total height of the obelisk and base is 90 feet 11 inches, of which the shaft itself takes 69 feet 2 inches. It is 7 feet $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches square at the base, and 5 feet 3 inches at the top, and weighs $219\frac{1}{4}$ tons. Of the whole family of Egyptian obelisks, of which there are forty-two known, this one ranks sixth in size. Rome possesses 12, England 5, Florence 2, and Paris, Arles, and Constantinople 1 each. The New-York Obelisk, if it may be so termed, dates back to the reign of Thotmes III., fifteen centuries



THE OBELISK IN CENTRAL PARK.

before Christ, and its numerous hieroglyphic inscriptions are replete with interest to lovers of ancient lore.

On the East Drive, opposite Seventy-seventh street, is Edward Kemeys' bronze entitled "The Still Hunt," representing a panther crouching and ready to spring upon his prey. The gift of several gentlemen, it was happily placed, in 1883, on a rough ledge of rocks, some fifteen feet high, rising abruptly on the west side of the driveway. The height of the figure is less than three feet, and as one comes upon it suddenly, nestled among the shrubs and vines which conceal the surface of the rocks, the illusion is very perfect. England and Italy, France and Germany, Scotland and Ireland had all been complimented in New-York by memorials to some of their representatives; but it was not until June 17, 1884, when an equestrian statue was raised to the memory of General Simon Bolivar, "the liberator of five republics," that South America also could claim the same distinction. A gift from the people and government of Venezuela, it was unveiled amid a company of notable persons, high officials of the army and navy, the Seventh Regiment Veteran Corps, four batteries from the forts in the harbor, and two battalions of marines from the four United States war-vessels which, decked with flags, were anchored in the North River off the site of the monument and in plain view. The statue, which is situated on a high bluff on the West Drive, opposite Eighty-third street, was designed by R. de la Cova, of New-York, and depicts Bolivar on horseback, his left hand curbing his prancing steed, while, leaning forward and facing to the right, he points with his sword in his outstretched hand toward the enemy. An oration on the "Life and Character of General Bolivar," who died at Santa Marta, December 17, 1830, was delivered by Frederic R. Condert. A few weeks later, July 22, 1884, the Beethoven Maennerchor unveiled a beautiful colossal bronze bust, by Henry Baerer, of the great *maestro* after whom the society is named. It is mounted on a pedestal of polished granite 12 feet high, having in front a bronze female figure, typifying the genius of music, and has been placed advantageously at the upper end of the Mall, opposite the music pavilion. In the "Poet's Corner" of the Metropolitan Museum of Art is a tasteful memorial, erected principally by the theatrical profession, to Edgar A. Poe,

whose parents were actors. It consists of a slab of white marble placed against the wall, and upon which is inlaid a life-size profile of the poet in bronze. Upon the pedestal, which is suitably inscribed, stands a marble figure of Poesy holding a wreath of flowers around the bronze bust. The presentation occurred May 4, 1885. The last statue placed in the park is that of "The Pilgrim," by J. Q. A. Ward; it stands on a slight eminence at the junction of the East Drive with the roadway from the Seventy-second street entrance, and was the gift of the New England Society on June 6, 1885. It is in bronze, and cost $20,000; is nine feet high, on a granite pedestal eight feet high, designed by Richard M. Hunt; and portrays a Puritan of the seventeenth century, in the prime of life, standing erect, with his right foot advanced, and his right hand grasping the muzzle of his old flint-lock musket, the butt of which is resting on the ground. He is dressed in the doublet and broad collar, broad-rimmed hat, heavy boots, and wide belt and buckle, and the expression on his handsome face is stern and undaunted. "It is indeed a most fortunate work," writes a cultured critic, "and of itself, standing amid the verdure and blossoms of the park, will unconsciously but truthfully refine and soften the familiar conception of the Plymouth Pilgrim and the great Puritan body to which he belonged:

SUNÖL'S STATUE OF COLUMBUS.

> "Ay, call it holy ground,
> The soil where first they trod:
> They have left unstained what there they found —
> Freedom to worship God."

It is expected that a bronze statue of Columbus, by the Spanish sculptor Sunöl, will be added to the art attractions of the Central

Park about the time of the great Naval Review in New-York harbor, during 1893, and that the act of unveiling the statue will be performed by the Duke of Veragua, a descendant of "the world-seeking Genoese," in the presence of the President of the United States and many other distinguished personages. The orator of the occasion will be Chauncey M. Depew, and a popular poet, whose name is not yet—March 1—announced, has been invited by the committee of arrangements to contribute a poem for the interesting occasion. This statue has been secured through the exertions of the president of the New-York Genealogical and Biographical Society, aided by several prominent members of that association, including Cornelius Vanderbilt and Henry G. Marquand. The features of Columbus are those which appear in what is known as the Jauez portrait, the generally accepted counterfeit presentment in Spain of the discoverer, and the one which has been engraved for the first volume of this work.

Our sister city of Brooklyn has kept abreast with New-York in honoring men of national reputation to whom the country is more or less indebted. Within the city's bounds, which include Greenwood Cemetery and Prospect Park, are many admirable bronze busts and statues, including those erected to perpetuate the memory of Abraham Lincoln, Robert Fulton, DeWitt Clinton, Washington Irving, John Howard Payne, and Brooklyn's great preacher, Henry Ward Beecher. The last was unveiled in the presence of a great multitude of spectators in the small City Hall Park in June, 1891, but is soon now, it is expected, to be removed to Prospect Park, a more appropriate place for the admirable statue.

CHAPTER VIII

CLUB LIFE IN NEW-YORK CITY

THE history of clubs, from the days of Shakespeare down, is of intense interest. In the earlier days of club life, Sir Walter Raleigh, Ben Jonson, and other kindred spirits met with Shakespeare at "The Mermaid," in Friday street, or at "The Devil," near Temple Bar. The word "club" was coined and defined by Aubrey, in 1659, in this way: "We now use ye word clubbe for a sodality in a taverne," and, in writing of a political club that met at "The Turk's Head," Aubrey continued: "Here we had a balloting box and balloted how things should be carried." Then came the golden days of club life in London, with Addison, Swift, Steele, Dryden, Pope, the Earl of Peterborough, and Lords Halifax, Stanhope, and Dorset. "Will's" coffee-house, kept by William Unwin, was such a famous meeting-place that it has been called the father of modern clubs. Indeed, the coffee-house, or the tavern, was the only club-house of those days. Dr. Johnson, after describing the private house as unfit for social gatherings, had this to say: "There is nothing which has yet been contrived by man by which so much happiness is produced as a good tavern or inn." Thus did he discourse to Boswell, while to Hawkins he asserted that "a tavern chair is the throne of human felicity." Shenstone also wrote:

> Whoe'er has traveled life's dull round,
> Where'er his wanderings may have been,
> Will sigh to think he still has found
> His warmest welcome at an inn.

The first of the more modern clubs of London were proprietary—that is, the owner had control of all who entered his doors. Such was the origin of White's and Brooks's. Afterward, those members who wished exclusive privileges paid Brooks a fixed sum so that no outsiders could be accommodated. The London club of to-day is still conservative; few changes are made, but everything is carried on for the comfort and convenience of the members.

The shifting of club life to America, and particularly to the city of New-York, was a matter of slow growth. The colonists followed the custom of the mother country in all things, including their bouts at the taverns. Nothing worthy the name of a club appeared till, just before the war of the American Revolution, the Friendly Club was formed with James Kent, William Dunlap, Charles Brockden Brown, and Anthony Bleecker as the leading spirits. Several of its members conducted the first medical journal in America, and its weekly receptions were attended by the intellect and wit of the city, George Washington often being a visitor. But the club finally went to pieces in the clash between the Federalist and Anti-Federalist members, some of them founding the Drone Club in 1792 as a successor of the Moot Club of ante-Revolutionary days, for the debate of purely technical questions, chiefly in the law. The Black Friars was also a noted club of the time. The Kront Club, organized by lineal descendants of the Dutch settlers of Manhattan, and the Tuttle Club, which held its annual feast and revel in the Elysian Fields at Hoboken, soon became very strong rivals of the Drone. During the war of the Revolution, one of the popular houses in New-York was Fraunces' Tavern, at the corner of Broad and Pearl streets. It had been built as far back as 1730 by Stephen or Etienne De Lancey, on land conveyed to him by his father-in-law, Stephanus Van Cortlandt. In 1762 Samuel Fraunces bought the house and opened it as an inn under the sign of "Queen Charlotte." He afterward became steward of the household of the first President. It was in one of the rooms of this hostelry that General Washington took formal leave of his officers after the surrender at Yorktown. The building still stands on the old site, but two stories have been added to it since the days when it was the resort of the heroes of the War of Independence. It has survived six generations of tenants. There has been some idea of purchasing the old tavern and preserving it as a museum for Revolutionary relics. The Society of the Sons of the Revolution was organized in consequence of the celebration in 1883, and it has been thought that it could, with great propriety, undertake the work of preserving this monument of Revolutionary days from the danger of being torn down, which will menace it until some such arrangement is made.

There was a pause in club life for almost a generation till, in 1824, James Fenimore Cooper, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Gulian C. Verplanck, William Cullen Bryant, Robert C. Sands, Philip Hone, Dr. James E. De Kay, Professor Renwick, and Judge Duer originated the Bread and Cheese Club, which entertained savants of all countries, diplomats, members of Congress, and other distinguished sojourners in the city. Among frequent guests were the French minister, De Neuville, and Daniel Webster. Closely following the Bread and Cheese was the

Sketch Club, founded by Verplanck, Bryant, and Sands in 1829 to combine the elements of art and literary life. "The Talisman" was annually illustrated by Cole, Inman, and Morse. The membership was limited to twenty-five, and the meetings at the homes of the members were pleasing and instructive. The club was dissolved in 1830 to drive out an objectionable member; but it reorganized at once and lived till 1846, when it became one of the component parts of the Century Club. The Hone Club was founded in 1836 as the outgrowth of a society of the leading business men of the city. It was named after the mayor, Philip Hone, and among its members were James Watson Webb, Simeon Draper, Moses H. Grinnell, Paul Spofford, and Thomas Tileston. It was a club of Whig tendencies, and Daniel Webster and William H. Seward were always welcome guests.

The oldest club of the city in existence to-day is the Union, at the northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-first street. When it was founded in the year 1836, Bond and Bleecker streets were fashionable thoroughfares. The West Side, above Jay street, was a series of straggling settlements. While the usual meeting-places for men were still at the taverns, there were societies partly for benevolent objects, like the St. Andrew's and the St. George's. There were also literary and scientific associations, the Society Library, the Historical Society, and the Athenæum, which proposed, at one time, to swallow all the other associations. It was in the Athenæum rooms, then at Chambers street and Broadway, that Chief Justice Jones and his associates met on October 18, 1836, to authorize the committee of formation to organize the Union Club. In 1837 Commodore John C. Stevens, William E. Laight, Chief Justice Jones, Hamilton Wilkes, Charles L. Livingston, George F. Talman, Jacob R. Le Roy, Robert Ray, De Witt C. Colden, N. G. Harbright, John Van Buren, John A. King, J. L. H. McCracken, and their associates started a subscription list for members of a club after the plan of the London clubs. When the names of one hundred and thirty-five subscribers had been recorded, they rented the dwelling of Jacob Le Roy, at No. 343 Broadway, near White street, converted the back parlor into a dining-room and the front parlor into a reading-room. Billiard and card rooms were arranged on the upper floors. Of the original subscribers, then the social *élite* of New-York, not one survives. The Le Roy house proving too small for the gradual increase of members, then limited to four hundred, the club emigrated in 1841 to the Astor residence, No. 376 Broadway, originally built by the father of the elder Cuttings of the present day, whose mother, one of the Livingstons of Livingston Manor, had built herself a residence at the corner of Astor Place. This was subsequently bought by John D. Wolfe, and was afterward occupied by the New-York Club before it took possession of the Haight mansion, corner of

Fifteenth street and Fifth Avenue. The Union Club had its palmy social days in the Astor residence; but it was left so far down-town by the northward movement that its quarters were changed to the Kernochan dwelling, No. 691 Broadway. The lot on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-first street was bought for forty thousand dollars, on which the club erected the present building, at a cost of

THE UNION CLUB, FIFTH AVENUE.

one hundred and eighty thousand dollars for construction and furniture, taking possession on May 1, 1855. The first president of the club was Chief Justice Samuel Jones. He was succeeded by John A. King, at whose death Moses H. Grinnell took the presidency, which he resigned in consequence of ill health, and William M. Evarts was chosen his successor. The early members of the Union Club were

chiefly men of assured fortune and leisure. They played whist, chess, and billiards; and, at one time, under the lead of Commodore Stevens, they made such a specialty of yachting that the club became the parent of the yacht clubs in the city. The Union still adheres closely to the English idea that the club is a man's private retreat from the world, where none but those as privileged as himself can enter, and that as long as a man discharges all of his indebtedness and behaves himself like an "officer and a gentleman," he is in a mess-room of his own. The discipline in the club is as perfect as it is in any army headquarters. The club-house is of brownstone, three stories high, of square Grecian architecture, with a balcony entrance flanked by columns. On the first floor are spacious lounging-rooms, small reception-rooms, and the office. A reading and lonnging room faces Fifth Avenue. The windows, from which they look out not only on passing fashion, but also over to the Lotus Club across the way, are the choice resorts of the members. Extensive improvements were made in the club-house in 1874 and in 1886. Several attempts have been made of late years to move the clnb up-town, but thus far without success. The clnb, whose regular membership numbers fifteen hundred, is still noted for its exclusiveness and for its high play at cards. It is further noted for its restaurant, which foreigners are said to appreciate more than any other club restaurant in the couutry. Clarence A. Seward is now president of the club.

Next in age to the Union is the New-York Club, although in a sketch of the clubs of the city printed some years ago its name did not appear. This was because it had been voted out of existence and had remained so for a short period. The club was founded at the "Woodcock," in East Houston street, in 1845. The first president was Charles Brugiere. The New-York has had more homes than any other club, the present house, at Fifth Avenne and Thirty-fifth street, being its eleventh abiding-place. The other ten were these: Chambers street, opposite the present Court House; Broadway, at the corner of Walker street; No. 737 Broadway, opposite Astor Place; No. 558 Broadway, below Prince street; No. 620 Broadway, above Houston street and opposite the old St. Thomas' Church; the Wolfe house, at the corner of Broadway and Astor Place; the Haight house, at the corner of Fifth Aveuue and Fifteenth street; rooms of the old City Clnb, in Seventeenth street, Union Square; No. 309 Fifth Avenue, near Thirtieth street; the Worth house, Fifth Avenue and Twenty-fifth street. The latter home was a sightly one, looking out on Madison Square at the Worth monument; but the house was all breadth and no depth; nor did it have the conveniences of a modern club-house. The attraction of the New-York in those days was the large nnmber of windows, where the members stood, attired in hats and overcoats;

while, it is said, the more conservative men of the Union sat singly in their windows, the Knickerbockers sat in rows, and the Lotus men not only sat, but slumbered. Those conservative days have passed, younger blood has crept in, and the New-York is regaining the prominence it had when the Civil War began. The membership, limited to four hundred, is always full. While the club still occupied the Haight house, in December, 1869, a few of the dissatisfied members moved for a dissolution on May 1, 1870, and the winding up of its affairs. The vote for this action was carried by a small majority, and after liquidation a surplus of some thousands of dollars was divided *pro rata* among the members, although it was currently reported that the club was in a bankrupt condition. Immediately after the dissolution of the club, a meeting of a few of the old members was held at Delmonico's, in Fourteenth street, and it was resolved to reorganize under the same name. Temporary quarters were at once secured in Seventeenth street, on Union Square; in October of the same year the new constitution was adopted, and the reorganized club has prospered. The present club-house, on Fifth Avenue, with the entrance on West Thirty-fifth street, was enlarged and first occupied in 1888. The Manhattan is on the corner below. The president of the club is James H. Parker.

THE NEW-YORK CLUB.

Among the younger of the prominent clubs is the St. Nicholas, which was founded in June, 1875, with rooms at No. 8 West Twenty-fifth street, where the members enjoyed themselves for three years. The first removal was to No. 12 East Twenty-ninth street; the second to No. 415 Fifth Avenue; and the third to No. 386 Fifth Avenue, adjoining the corner of Thirty-sixth street, where it now resides. The interior is decorated and furnished in the old New-York Dutch style. The St. Nicholas is in fact the only club in this country which insists that the chief condition for eligibility is that the proposed member shall be a descendant of a person who was a native or resident of the city or State of New-York prior to the year 1785. Among its members

are many of the prominent New-Yorkers of to-day and descendants of New-Yorkers of former days. Here will be found the names of Beekman, De Peyster, De Lancey, Irving, Livingston, Roosevelt, Morris, Norwood, Schell, Vermilye,—in fact representatives of almost every old New-York family. Young New-York is also represented by names that would be an honor to any club. The St. Nicholas is perhaps too exclusive to please modern democratic ideas; but, nevertheless, its membership is nearly complete, the number being limited to four hundred. The object of the club is "to collect and preserve information respecting the early history and settlement of the city and the State of New-York, and to promote social intercourse," and it has long been its custom to hold an annual feast on Pinkster Monday. Its president is James W. Beekman. Another of the more exclusive organizations is the Knickerbocker, which was an offshoot of the Union in 1871. It had a life directory, with power to fill vacancies. The club at once purchased the house at No. 319 Fifth Avenue, on the corner of Thirty-second street, which it still occupies. A large bow-window, similar to the one at White's in London, which was made famous by Thackeray, is the chief feature of the exterior. The membership is limited to four hundred and fifty. Alonzo C. Monson is the president. The Calumet Club, of No. 267 Fifth Avenue, at the corner of Twenty-ninth street, grew out of the Knickerbocker in the same way that the latter sprang from the Union. The house has a southern exposure, ample sunlight, and a wealth of growing vines. Its membership is limited to five hundred. The name of the "Junior Union" has been given to this club because the ages of its members average much less than those of the elder Union. The club is famous for its bachelor dinners and for the dinners given to the members of ten years' standing. The club was organized in 1879, and incorporated in 1890. The opening was in 1880 at the club's rooms, No. 21 East Seventeenth street. In 1881 the club-house, No. 70 West Thirty-fifth street, was occupied, and in 1885 another house, at No. 3 West Thirtieth street. The present club-house was opened in 1887. Of the social clubs that put on a warlike aspect, the United Service, of No. 16 West Thirty-first street, is the most prominent. It was incorporated in 1889 "to encourage military and naval science and for the mutual benefit of its members by social intercourse with those who have served in the military or naval forces of the United States or foreign governments." Once a month during the winter the club holds an open meeting at which is given a lecture or reading of a service paper by some distinguished member or guest, thus affording both an instructive and a social evening. The total number of members is about seven hundred. President, General Gilbert H. McKibbin, U. S. Volunteers. The club was the successor of the Army and Navy

Club, which was founded in 1871 after the plan of the United Service Club in London. The development of the Union League Club into a semi-military body, and the organization of the United Service Club on broader lines, led to the end of the Army and Navy Club. Other military clubs that do an important work are the Loyal Legion and the Seventh Regiment Veteran; the latter having a handsome new home on the southeast corner of Fifth Avenue and Fifty-eighth street, being the north end of the beautiful marble block built by Mrs. Mason Jones. The Loyal Legion, consisting of officers of the army and navy who served in the late war, have five meetings annually at Delmonico's, on which occasions an address is delivered after the banquet by members of the New-York or other commanderies. A volume of these valuable addresses was edited by General Wilson and Dr. Coan and issued by the Loyal Legion during the year 1891. Other volumes are expected to follow. Both arms and history are preserved by the Society of Colonial Wars, the Sons of the Revolution, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, and the Society of the War of 1812.

SEVENTH REGIMENT VETERAN CLUB

The Metropolitan Club was formed in 1891 as a kind of protest against the special tendencies into which many of the clubs have been falling for the past fifteen years. It is a strictly social organization without a charter from the State, and almost immediately after it was founded four building-lots on Fifth Avenue, and four on Sixtieth street, were bought of the Hamersley estate for $480,000. This site, which was the last available in the vicinity, is among the finest in the city, as in the nature of things the entrance to Central Park must be a position where a club will be able to remain for a long period without being forced to move. The lot has a frontage of one hundred feet on Fifth Avenue and two hundred feet on Sixtieth street. The exterior of the building is of white brick and marble in the style of the Italian Renaissance. It consists of a main four-story building, with a ladies' annex, two stories high, in the rear, forming one of the novel features of the club. This makes the structure twice the size of the Manhattan, and three times as large as the Union. An imposing gateway of white marble on Sixtieth street gives access

for carriages and persons on foot into a large court, from which visitors enter either the club or the annex, the two buildings not communicating. Entrance to the club is through two large vestibules to the office, lobby, and waiting-room, on the Sixtieth street side. A few steps further on, and one comes to the great hall, fifty feet square and forty-five feet high, all in marble, with a white marble staircase of magnificent proportions. Beyond this is the main lounging-room, occupying the whole of the Fifth Avenue side, and flanked by a smaller one on Sixtieth street, filling the space not occupied by the great hall. To the right on entering are the hat, service, and wine rooms. The club has provided, with easy access from the waiting-room, strangers' dining-rooms, where a member may entertain his friends without trespassing upon the apartments reserved for the members. From the main hall a wide stairway and an elevator lead to the reading, card, and billiard rooms, which occupy all of the second floor, surrounding the hall. On the third story are the dining-hall, forty by eighty-five feet; a large breakfast-room, a smoking-room, three private dining-rooms, and a large library. The fourth floor is devoted to bedrooms; and above this, in a mezzanine story, are the servants' quarters. In the basement are the bowling-alley, the kitchens and store-rooms, and steam-heating arrangements. The main hall and vestibules are in Numidian marble, the ceiling in white and gold, the smoking-rooms and dining-hall in paneled oak and white and gold, and the other rooms in American oak, cherry, and mahogany. The ladies' annex, fifty-five by forty feet, has on the first floor dressing-rooms, and a restaurant, twenty-five by fifty feet, in white and gold and English oak. Above are two large private dining-rooms and lavatories. The most striking exterior features of the club-house are the heavy white marble cornice (ten feet high and projecting six feet), the balconies, and the handsome first-story windows. Quite an innovation among the clubs of the city is an attractive garden on the flat roof of the building. It is filled with flowers and plants, and is protected by an awning. The membership is now (April, 1893) about seven hundred, and the president is J. Pierpont Morgan. The club-house is not yet completed.

THE METROPOLITAN CLUB.

Another instance of the movement of the clubs up-town is that of the Colonial, which has recently taken possession of its new building on the southwest corner of Seventy-second street and the Boulevard. This club is the outgrowth of the Occident Club, which was incorporated in 1889. By order of the court, in 1890, the name was changed to the Colonial. It should be a religiously inclined club, because the steps leading to its reorganization were taken within the walls of a church. The location of the club is on historic ground. Washington camped upon the site, and near by can be seen the place from which he saw the retreat of the American forces from Long Island. One of

THE COLONIAL CLUB.

the many objects of the club is to preserve the relics and memories of the Colonial times and the American Revolution. Therefore, the site of the house is eminently appropriate. The cost of the site, forty-five feet on Seventy-second street and one hundred and fifteen feet on the Boulevard, was eighty-five thousand dollars; and the building cost about two hundred thousand dollars, all of which has been paid in cash by the seven hundred members of the club. The building is of limestone up to the second floor, and above that of gray brick with terra-cotta trimmings. The main entrance, on the Boulevard side, is through a broad porch supported by columns with carved capitals. The ladies' entrance is through a shallow porch at the western end of

the Seventy-second street front. This porch extends along the whole of the Seventy-second street side, and the eastern end, separated from the ladies' entrance by a railing, forms a veranda for the smoking-room. At the dining-room story a broad stone balcony, with wrought-iron railings, extends along both fronts of the building. The basement contains four bowling-alleys seventy feet long, and it has a separate stairway for ladies, from the ladies' hall on the first floor. Over the smoking-room, and of the same size and shape, is the library, communicating with which is a writing-room twenty feet long by eight feet wide. In the rear of the assembly-room are a card-room, a serving-room, and the lavatories. The dining-rooms are on the third floor. They consist of a main room thirty-eight feet long, thirty-two feet wide, and twenty feet high, and four private rooms at the ends, so arranged that they can be thrown into the main room when required. The ladies' dining-room is above the library, and is of the same size as the smoking-room. A feature of the club is that a special dining-room and parlors are always open to the wives, daughters, and friends of the members of the club. The Colonial was the third social club in the city to admit ladies to the privileges of its excellent restaurant. The president is Edward W. Scott.

A new social organization, known as the Columbus Club, has been opened at 1773 Broadway; it is composed of young men who wish to find evening amusement at a nominal cost. The Whist Club, at No. 18 West Thirtieth street, was organized in 1885; it not only makes a specialty of the game of whist, but also of dinners that are served as if the members belonged to a private family. Others of the smaller clubs are the Willow, of No. 123 East Twenty-third street; the Imperial, of No. 15 West Thirty-second street; the Abingdon, of No. 305 West Twelfth street; the Gilsey, of No. 24 West Thirty-first street; and the Albemarle, of No. 6 West Twenty-eighth street. The New Club has a home in Fifth Avenue near Fifty-eighth street. The region above the Harlem River, known as the Annexed District, has recently opened a club at Nos. 601 and 603 East One Hundred and Thirty-ninth street. This is known as the Morris Club of Northern New-York, after the well-known Morris family of Morrisania. The membership of the club is comprised almost wholly of substantial business or professional men. The Harlem Club, of No. 34 West One Hundred and Twenty-third street, is about to erect a new building. The extreme up-town movement of some of the clubs has led to the formation of down-town clubs. One of the earliest, the Merchants', of No. 108 Leonard street, composed mainly of dry-goods men, is now about to retire. The Commercial, formerly at Nos. 104 and 106 Leonard street, is extinct. The Fulton Club, at the corner of Fulton and Gold streets, was chartered in 1875. It has two hundred mem-

bers, who are for the most part in the drug and leather trade. The Down-town Association, of No. 60 Pine street, has one thousand members, and its four-story building runs through to Cedar street. All of these are dining-clubs for business men. At No. 153 Essex street the Tee-to-tum Club gives a home to working-men and -women after the manner of similar clubs in London. The commercial travelers have an up-town house at No. 15 West Thirty-first street, and the insurance men have a club at No. 52 Cedar street. The passing observer must not fail to note several of the social clubs that have passed away. Each of them assumed to have a special mission, but the mission proved a failure. Among them were the Blossom Club, the former City Club, and the Americus Club, which owed their origin to William M. Tweed. The Blossom, founded in 1864, had rooms in Franklin street, from which it moved to Broadway, and finally to No. 129 Fifth Avenue, where the campaign for the possession of the city government was carried on. The Americus was opened in 1849 as a summer seashore club with convivial instincts. The fall of Tweed was the beginning of the end with all three of the clubs. The Carleton, founded about 1885 as a proprietary club, had but a brief existence because it was adapted to the latitude of Washington rather than to that of New-York. The expected patronage did not come, and even the names of many members of national reputation could not save it.

The first departure from the strictly social club was a development along the lines of literature and art. This departure came about ten years after the Union Club had been formed. The tendency of club life as shown in the Union, the New-York, and minor clubs that were constantly springing up, was too much in the direction of the convivial and the social to meet the ideas of the more conservative members of the Sketch Club. Joined with them were the members of the Column Club, a circle of graduates from Columbia College, and the whole literary and artistic *clientele* of the city generally. There was thus a demand for a club combining the elements of "plain living and high thinking." Acting upon this demand, a preliminary meeting of forty-two members or frequent guests of the Sketch Club was held in 1846. The more prominent of this number were Rev. Dr. Henry W. Bellows, William Cullen Bryant, Thomas Addis Emmet, Daniel Huntington, Thomas P. Rossiter, Jonathan Sturgis, Henry T. Tuckerman, Gulian C. Verplanck, and Edgar S. Van Winkle. These gentlemen, with others of a like mind, formed the Century Association, which name is still retained. In January, 1847, the place of meeting was the art-gallery in the City Hall Park, known as the Rotunda. The original constitution declared of the association: "It shall be composed of authors, artists, and amateurs of letters and the fine arts, residents of the city of New-York and vicinity. Its objects shall be the culti-

vation of the taste for letters and the arts and social enjoyment." Those objects have never been departed from; for "brains, culture, and achievement" have been required for admission into the Century from that day to this. It is the antithesis of the purely social clubs, a man's estimate of himself giving place to the estimate of him by others. The more specific objects of the club were shown in the charter of 1857, which was granted "for the purpose of promoting the advancement of art and literature, by establishing and maintaining a library, reading-room, and gallery of art, and by such other means as shall be expedient and proper for that purpose." The Century has had a smaller number of presidents than any club of its years. Mr. Verplanck might have held the office longer than from 1847 to 1864 if an unfortunate question of political economy had not arisen in the latter year. George Bancroft and William Cullen Bryant each served as president, and since 1878 Daniel Huntington has filled the office. The Century occupied rooms successively at No. 495 Broadway, No. 435 Broome street, and No. 375 Broadway. From 1852 to 1857 it occupied the house at No. 24 Clinton Place. In the latter year it moved to the house at No. 109 East Fifteenth street, which it occupied till 1891, when it moved into the new club-house at No. 7 West Forty-third street. The greatest development of the club took place when it was in the old house in Fifteenth street. Here simplicity of living was the rule almost to Bohemianism. Monthly exhibitions of works of art by the members were begun; the foundation for the Metropolitan Museum of Art was laid, and the collection of paintings and statuary excelled that of any club in the city. Originally designed to combine all the intellectual and artistic forces, it yet welcomed the beginning of such special clubs as the Authors, the University, and the Architects' from among its own members. The memorial exercises on the death of its noted members were made a distinctive feature, while Twelfth-night was celebrated in a style wholly its own. Of the latter, in its most recent stage, the board of managers said: "The treasures of ceramic and sculptured art, the wealth of gloomy canvas portraying in serious form the glories of nature, historic deeds, and thoughts that breathe and words that burn, the histrionic display, the operatic and symphonic harmonies of that night some future historian must record, and he will find there a theme worthy of his utmost powers, as it was of the traditions of the Century." Such is Twelfth-night in the new house, designed by members of the club. It has a frontage of one hundred feet, and a height of four stories. The exterior is of buff brick, terra-cotta, and gray marble. The spacious hall, lined with marble and onyx, and a half flight of stairs lead to the great art-gallery at the rear. On either side of the hall are the office and the reception-rooms. Another half flight above the art-gallery leads to

the living-room, the smoking-room, and the reading-room. The living-room is fifty-one by thirty-five feet. The third floor has grill-rooms, one of which opens into a loggia over the main entrance. The library, a large and lofty room, contains over seven thousand volumes. The cost of the house and furnishings was four hundred thousand dollars, and the library and works of art are worth nearly one hundred thousand dollars more. Originally the membership was limited to one hundred — hence the name of the club. This has been increased from time to time, till it now reaches over eight hundred. Artists and business men each had about half of the foundation members; but their proportions are smaller now.

While partaking somewhat of a literary and artistic atmosphere, like the Century, the Lotus is more a club of affairs. Indeed, the Lotus was founded in 1870 to offset the more conservative ways of the Century. The club, whose membership is limited to five hundred, was intended to represent in New-York the element which in London finds its home partly at the Junior Garrick and partly at the Savage. Its primary object was to promote social intercourse among journalists, literary men, artists, and members of the musical and dramatic professions, and at least one half of the members and one half of the officers of the club are to be connected with said professions. The originators were six young journalists. For several years the club occupied No. 2 Irving Place, next to the Academy of Music. Early in its history it was suggested that the female friends of the members should be invited to attend stated receptions, a thing unknown to the clubs of that day. The experiment was successful, and "Ladies' Day" soon began to be a distinguishing feature of the Lotus. Other clubs have followed its lead in this respect. While in Irving Place the Academy of Music was often connected with the club-house for balls and large receptions. That house proving too small, the Bradish Johnson house, at No. 149 Fifth Avenue, corner of Twenty-first street, was secured, and here has been witnessed the more recent growth of the Lotus. The club, unlike the Century, gives dinners to distinguished foreigners and American citizens, including incoming presidents of the United States and newly elected mayors of New-York city. The first floor has three parlors *en suite*, the walls of which are covered with valuable paintings. The club is still famous for its art exhibitions and for its Saturday-night symposiums. The roster of eminent men who have been entertained in the dining-rooms above would fill a small volume. Everywhere is seen the emblem of the Lotus, and the visitor feels an air of repose like that of the wanderers when

> In the afternoon they came unto a land
> In which it seemed always afternoon.

But the afternoons at the Lotus last far into the night. Story, travel, and song are so well blended that the visitor departs without decidiug whether the club is social, artistic, literary, or professional in its nature. The new club-house, soon to be occupied, at Nos. 556 and 558 Fifth Avenue, will give still greater opportunities for the peculiar field of the Lotus. Frank A. Lawrence is the president of the club. The Arcadian Club had a unique history. Originally formed in 1872 out of a quarrel in the ranks of the Lotus, it began at once a lively contest for the supremacy. It drew in the members of the Euterpe Club, and endeavored to secure the rising lights of journalism and the arts. The aims and objects of the Arcadian were similar to those of the Lotus, and for a time they ran on parallel lines. A house was taken at No. 52 Union Square. Instead of the Saturday nights at the Lotus there were the Thursday nights at the Arcadian. After five years the club merged with the Travelers, and moved to No. 146 Fifth Avenue, near Twentieth street. Again merging with the Palette Club, the Arcadian moved to East Twenty-third street. Fostered within the Century and the Lotus, the Authors Club became strong enough in 1882 to stand alone. The original charter required that seventy-five per cent. of the members must reside in or within twenty-five miles of the city. To be eligible, an applicant must have written a book, or have a recognized position in other kinds of literary work. At first the members, most of whom also belonged to other clubs, met at private houses. Then the club moved to No. 19 West Twenty-fourth street, over the Fencing Club, where its rooms were plainly furnished. The Authors is an association for discussion and improvement, as its fortnightly reunions will prove to any visitor; and modesty toward the outside world is its motto. The club, now settled in its new home at No. 158 West Twenty-third street, has recently issued its first book, "Liber Scriptorum," a most unique work. Each article in every one of the 251 copies is signed by its author with pen and ink. The number of contributors is over one hundred, and the sale of the book at one hundred dollars a copy has been without precedent. The American Society of Authors, and the Association of American Authors, are very recent organizations with similar aims—the protection of authors' rights as against unscrupulous publishers. William Carleton is president of the first named, and Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson of the latter. Literary endeavor fiuds still another expression iu the Drawiug Room, organized in 1884 "to promote the advancement of general culture and refinement iu all classes." It is "composed of ladies aud gentlemen, especially of authors, artists, and lovers of letters and the fine arts," to the number of two hundred. Stated reunions to further its objects are held at its temporary quarters at No. 224 West Fifty-ninth street, pending the establishment of

a house of its own. The Thursday Evening Club, with nearly the same aims, has a more social cast, meeting at the residences of the members. The Goethe Society and the Theater of Arts and Letters are also literary societies that have no permanent club homes. The Shakespeare Club meets on Saturday evenings in the parlors of the Berkeley School, at No. 20 West Forty-fourth street, to make a critical study of the works of Shakespeare. Fifteen of his leading dramas have been studied since the club was founded in 1889. Turning for a moment from the literary to the mechanical part of book-making, we find that the Aldine Club and the Grolier Club are doing an important work in "the art preservative of all arts"—that of printing. The Aldine, composed of authors, artists, editors, and publishers, is named after Aldus Manutius, the great printer; and its house at No. 20 Lafayette Place is a popular resort of the professional and business men of the vicinity for their midday lunch. Among its prominent members are Bishop Potter, General Wilson, Rev. Dr. Rainsford, Theodore Roosevelt, Richard Watson Gilder, Frank R. Stockton, Thomas W. Wood, and William W. Appleton, the last three mentioned having been presidents of the club. Evening receptions and dinners occur occasionally, and also ladies' days, for the exhibition of rare books and pictures. The Grolier Club, of No. 29 East Thirty-second street, is noted for its collection of missals and original Grolliers, whence the club takes its name. The club was incorporated in 1888 for "the literary study and the promotion of the arts pertaining to the producing of books." The mission of the Grolier is primarily to interest and instruct its members in the material part of book-making, with special reference to artistic bindings, ancient and modern. The club from time to time publishes a volume of some standard work, which is supposed to represent the highest style of the book-maker's art. It also gives exhibitions of bindings, engravings, etc., at frequent intervals during the season. The New-York Library Club was founded in 1884 as an organization of persons engaged in library work and interested in the libraries of New-York and vicinity. It numbers about one hundred and twenty-five members, and holds five meetings annually. Its

GROLIER CLUB.

purposes are the furtherance of library interests in this city, and the welfare of the libraries and library workers. Originally founded at Columbia College Library, the meetings were held there for some years; but they are now held at the different libraries, the annual meeting only being held at Columbia College.

The New-York Press Club was founded in 1873, beginning under the name of the Journalistic Fraternity, a combination of a dozen or two reporters. The drowning of two of their members attracted attention to the organization, and the membership was doubled within a few weeks. The gift of a large burial-plot in one of the cemeteries made it necessary for the association to secure a corporate name and standing, so the Press Club was then organized, larger rooms were secured, and over one hundred names were added to the roll. During the twenty years of its existence the club has increased its membership to nearly six hundred. Its object is to provide reading, writing, and billiard rooms for working journalists. The library is a good one, and the bound newspaper files, extending back to 1840, are very valuable. Every European and American journal, daily, weekly, and monthly publication is kept on file. The Press Club is the cheapest in the city for the members; yet it is out of debt, and possesses a charity fund of nearly twenty thousand dollars. This money has been derived from bequests and gifts from wealthy citizens, wholly unsolicited, and the interest only is used. Whenever special cases arise requiring assistance, the members subscribe freely. A series of widows' trust funds has recently been organized in order to increase the usefulness of the club. A movement is now on foot to erect a large building. The purchase-money for the land is being raised by popular subscription, and the house will be erected on bond and mortgage. By this means the club expects finally to own its building. The club room is now at No. 120 Nassau street.

The literary clubs are well supplemented by the college societies and clubs, the leader among them being the University, which started as the Red Room Club in 1862. It was incorporated as the University Club, in 1865, "for the promotion of literature and art, by establishing and maintaining a library, reading-room, and gallery of art, and by such other means as shall be expedient and proper for such purposes." It opened in East Tenth street with one hundred and fifteen members, a college diploma of five years' standing being required for admission. A greater percentage of the membership came from Yale College, and this led to an avoidance of the club by the graduates of other colleges. It then became a dining-club; but in 1878 it was reorganized and moved to the corner of Fifth Avenue and Thirty-fifth street with five hundred members. In 1884 it occupied its present home, the Jerome House, formerly the Union League,

on Madison Avenue, at the corner of Twenty-sixth street. The small theater adjoining was turned into the club dining-room; lodging-rooms are furnished to the members; and a larger proportion of the whole membership of sixteen hundred is to be found here at one time than in any other club-house in the city. The Students' Club, at No. 136 Lexington Avenue, corner of Twenty-sixth street, was founded under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association, and it affords a taste of club life to a number of young men who might not otherwise be able to enjoy it. While Dartmouth, Princeton, Hamilton, Yale, Brown University, and many of the other colleges have alumni associations, they meet chiefly at annual dinners. Harvard alone has a club-house, at No. 11 West Twenty-second street, near Fifth Avenue. The club was founded in 1865, incorporated in 1887, and has a membership of six hundred and fifty. The number of college societies, and especially of the secret orders, is large. The Psi Upsilon has a club-house at No. 33 West Forty-second street, and a membership of two hundred. The St. Anthony Club, at No. 29 East Twenty-eighth street, was formerly the Delta Phi Society. The Alpha Delta Phi has a commodious house at No. 266 Madison Avenue, and a membership of three hundred and fifty; and the Delta Kappa Epsilon has a beautiful home at No. 435 Fifth Avenue. The other leading Greek-letter societies are these: Tau Delta Chi, No. 11 East Thirty-fifth street; Zeta Phi, No. 9 East Twenty-seventh street; Delta Upsilon, No. 142 West Forty-eighth street; Delta Psi, No. 29 East Twenty-eighth street. One peculiarity of these societies is that the number of resident and non-resident members is nearly equal, the out-of-town representation being perhaps the greater. Members of the Greek-letter societies throughout the country join the clubs in the metropolis as a matter of pride, and these thus become the national headquarters of the fraternities. The local chapters often meet in the club-houses.

Closely allied to the literary clubs are the ones that make a home for artists and other kindred spirits. Of these the Palette is the veteran, and almost the sole survivor. It was organized in 1869 by a number of artists, nearly all of whom were Germans. Their language was the only one spoken, and the constitution itself was in German. The first anniversary was celebrated in Allemania Hall, at No. 18 East Sixteenth street, and the second in the Arion Building, in St. Mark's Place. By this time the club began to be well known, and its avowed object was the advancement of art. In its early days, in its old club-house on Second Avenue, a life school for the convenience of the members was one of its most characteristic features. But the club was not a success with artists only for a constituency, and a younger and more progressive element determined to change its character by admitting merchants, lawyers, literary men, and men of leisure to its

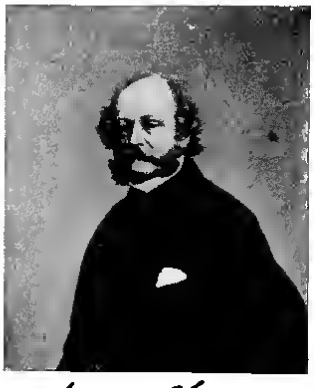
privileges. As soon as this was carried out, the Palette took a new lease of life, and removed from No. 17 Stuyvesant street to No. 7 East Twenty-second street, where it remained for many years. This house had been built especially for the club, and, although small, it was perfect in detail as far as clubs went in those days. Of late the Palette has been somewhat overshadowed by other clubs having similar objects; but it shows signs of a revival, and as it has an excellent charter, it is capable of doing good work. The Salmagundi Club, the only social club of artists in the city, has been in existence over twenty years, and its list of members includes many well-known painters, draughtsmen, sculptors, and crayon-artists. Exhibitions of paintings and water-colors are often given at the home, No. 40 West Twenty-second street. The club gives smoking-concerts and other kindred entertainments dear to the heart of the artist. The Kit Kat Club, founded in 1882, is composed wholly of working artists, who meet at No. 20 West Fifty-ninth street. The Tile Club, of the same age as the Kit Kat, had similar objects; but the Salmagundi and the Kit Kat absorbed most of its members, and it went out of existence in 1890. The same date marked the death of the Renaissance Club, and from the same causes. The Etching Club seems to have no habitation, but it often gives exhibitions in connection with the Water-Color Society, which is also without a home. The efforts of artists in this line find more expression and better appreciation by the public in the new building of the American Fine Arts Society.

A most excellent club that deserved a better fate was the Fellowcraft, which has recently sold out its belongings. The membership partook of both the artistic and the literary elements, being composed of journalists and magazine-writers as well as artists. It was famous for its great dinners and social evenings; but other clubs proved more attractive, and it had to give way. The Camera Club, of No. 314 Fifth Avenue, was chartered in 1888. It has a large membership from both sexes, and has done much to advance the art of photography. The Music Club, at No. 39 West Thirty-first street, is the home of many of the leading musicians; while the Manuscript Society, at No. 1 East Nineteenth street, has been formed not only to advance the interests of American musical composition, but to promote social intercourse also. The building of the American Fine Arts Society, recently finished, in West Fifty-seventh street, near Eighth Avenue, is occupied by the American Architectural League, the Art Students' League, and the Society of American Artists. The gallery only may be rented by other persons when not in use by the two of these societies that alone exhibit. The Architectural League, now about twelve years old, gives special exhibitions of the best buildings in the world, completed and prospective. Its membership of one

hundred and twenty-five includes those prominent in architecture and the kindred arts. A feature of the league is the monthly dinner with postprandial speaking, which often turns on bits of travel rather than on the more professional topics outlined by the objects of the club. The dramatic profession has several clubs, chief among which is the Players', at No. 16 Gramercy Park, the gift of Edwin Booth. The club was chartered in 1888, and has seven hundred and fifty members. Although actors and playwrights form a considerable part of the membership, yet complaint is made that the non-professional element is too strong. The Saturday nights and the annual founder's night are the special attractions of the club. The Mohican, in Twenty-eighth street, west of Fifth Avenue, and the Lambs', of No. 34 West Twenty-sixth street, are more strictly actors' clubs. Both of them feel the influence of the new actors' club known as "The Five A's." The Vaudeville Club has temporary quarters in the Metropolitan Opera House, at Thirty-ninth street and Broadway, but contemplates building a club-house for the next season. It was incorporated in 1892 with the object of giving during the winter and spring seasons a nightly entertainment consisting of music, both instrumental and vocal, and specialty performances of a high class. In addition to this, the club will have the ordinary club facilities for social intercourse among the members. Ladies are admitted to its rooms during entertainments, if accompanied by a member. The entertainments commence at 11 o'clock P. M., so that the members may enjoy them after spending the evening elsewhere. The more quietly inclined lovers of the drama belong to the Goethe Society or to the American Dramatic Club, neither of which is housed.

With the development of literary and artistic clubs came the rise of those purely political, of which Tammany Hall, or the Columbian Order, stands preëminent with its hundred years of life. But the great assembly-hall in East Fourteenth street can hardly be called a club-house. The Union League was really the pioneer of the modern political clubs. Founded in 1863, but not incorporated till two years later, the club at once leased the Parish house on Broadway, at the corner of Seventeenth street. At the beginning it was required that every member must be loyal to the Federal Government. Those were the stirring days of the Civil War, and the club itself was the outgrowth of the United States Sanitary Commission. Within the walls provision was made for sending three regiments of colored troops into the field. A Democratic paper of the day remarked, "The Union League is composed of able-bodied gentlemen, whose purpose is to induce other able-bodied men to enlist." But the efficient service of the Union League during the war cannot be lightly considered. All over the country the dictum of the Union League on the great events

of the day passed for law. It had sober business on hand; and no games of cards or chance were allowed. The club moved in 1868 to the Jerome House, in Madison Avenue, at Twenty-sixth street, and from that time it has been as much a social as a political organization, although in 1885 it announced itself as strictly a Republican club. In 1881 the Union League moved to the present building in Fifth Avenue, at Thirty-ninth street. This was the finest club-house of the day. A lofty hall gives access to suites of reception, reading, writing, and private dining-rooms. The library is most complete and well appointed, and the dining-room on the top floor was a novelty in club-houses. Valuable paintings adorn the walls, and the galleries are often thrown open to ladies. The birthdays of Grant and Lincoln are celebrated with annual dinners. Horace Porter is president of the club, having succeeded Chauncey M. Depew. It is provided that the membership shall not exceed sixteen hundred. Smaller political clubs of the same faith followed in the wake of the Union League. The Lincoln Club, of No. 56 Clinton Place, was incorporated in 1881. The down-town club of the Business Men's Association has quarters at No. 67 New street; and the Republican Club, organized in 1879 and chartered in 1886, has occupied in succession No. 185 Fifth Avenue, No. 33 East Twentieth street, No. 64 Madison Avenue, No. 21 West Twenty-seventh street, and No. 32 West Twenty-eighth street. Its present location is at No. 450 Fifth Avenue, near Fortieth street.



Van Buren

In friendly rivalry to the Union League, the Manhattan Club was organized "to advance Democratic principles." During the height of the Civil War a number of gentlemen who had belonged to some of the then existing clubs agreed, under the leadership of John Van Buren, to found a new club, to be based, like the Union League, on political principles, but to be governed chiefly with an eye to the social comfort and ease of the members, who were to be selected as "thinking the same things concerning the republic." To this club it was determined to give the local name of the Manhattan Club, on the suggestion of Mr. Van Buren; and the club was finally launched in 1865. It purchased the residence built by Charles Parker, at the southwest corner of Fifteenth street and Fifth Avenue, and was organized as a close corporation,—the managers being elected for life, and having the privilege of filling vacancies in their own ranks. There were many withdrawals from the Union to the Manhattan during the Civil War,

and at the latter club-house many of the leading Democrats in the country were entertained. In several instances the national standard-bearers of the party were first named by the club. In 1890 it leased the Stewart house, at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Thirty-fourth street, which is altogether the finest private residence that has ever been used for club purposes in this city. So well was it adapted for club life that very few changes were made by the Manhattan before possession was taken. The membership of the club is limited to fifteen hundred. Frederic R. Coudert is president. Following the lead of the Manhattan, came a club which was organized as an unincorporated organization in 1871, and named the Young Men's Democratic Club. In 1890 it was incorporated, and the name changed to the Democratic Club. The club owns its house, a four-story brownstone front at No. 617 Fifth Avenue, near Fiftieth street. The Narragansett Club, of No. 307 West Fifty-fourth street, was incorporated in 1886. The membership numbers six hundred, and it is closely allied to Tammany Hall. Others of the smaller Democratic clubs are the Sagamore, the Pontiac, and the Cayuga. The New Amsterdam flourished for a while at No. 6 West Twenty-eighth street, but it died easily because of its opposition to Tammany Hall.

Next to the political clubs may be classed those devoted to some form of political economy or forensic effort. Many of them, however, have no permanent homes. The old Washington Club was a pioneer in this work, at No. 5 East Twelfth street. The Civil Service, the Single Tax, the Tax Reform, and the Free Trade clubs represent a roving constituency whose ideas are discovered in their names. The Patria Club meets at Sherry's to discuss the federal constitution, immigration, and other non-partizan subjects; the Commonwealth meets at the members' houses, or at Clark's, to settle economic questions; and the Nineteenth Century, for both women and men, gathers at private residences to hear both sides of the discussion on religion and science, liberalism being one of the corner-stones. Only two of the clubs under this classification know anything of club life. The Reform Club, at Fifth Avenue and Twenty-seventh street, had a large share in the nomination and election of Grover Cleveland as president in 1892, by the spreading of literature opposed to the protective tariff. The club was incorporated in 1888 for this express purpose. Its membership numbers among the thousands, a large proportion of which is non-resident. The City Club is wholly devoted to the cause of good government in the metropolis, and is wholly a non-partizan body. Founded in 1891, it now has over seven hundred members, a well-equipped club-house at No. 677 Fifth Avenue, and the promise that affiliated societies will soon be established in various parts of the city.

There have been Bohemian clubs galore, ever since Pfaff carried on

his restaurant at No. 653 Broadway, a generation ago. Some of these clubs, like the Beefsteak, still survive. But the very nature of Bohemianism is not to continue long in one direction; hence the early death of the Pot Luck, of No. 641 Lexington Avenue, where every member brought to the feast a dish cooked by himself or herself. On one of these occasions, the hall was embowered in flowers; on the walls hung large crayon pictures descriptive of "pot luck" under adverse circumstances, and smaller drawings by other artists. In front of the president's plate stood a great solid-silver gipsy kettle and tripod, presented to him by the members, and engraved with an address expressive of their appreciation. A huge black pot, covered with roses, immense knives, forks, and spoons, and other gigantic regalia, also entwined with flowers, adorned the room. At six o'clock the company marched in triumphal procession around the tables to music written for the club, and then began upon the feast of curious dishes. The Ichthyophagous Club began its dinners about 1880, and they continued for about eight years. At every dinner some new species of sea-food was introduced. In this way squids, skates, and razor-clams were made palatable. But the Ichthyophagous dines no more; and many were the disappointed scientists who came expecting to be enlightened, only to find that the members were far from scientific in their tastes. Better luck has attended other of the Bohemian clubs. The Tenderloin, at No. 114 West Thirty-second street, is only four years old, but it has a membership of fifteen hundred. The decorations are not only unique, but they are the result of the best artistic skill in the country. The walls are coated with plaster in the shape of rosettes, and fastened against them are old horseshoes, slippers, bottles, and almost everything that is taking to the artistic eye. The club gives freak receptions, watermelon concerts, crab-bakes, and other peculiar amusements. On these occasions everything is free during the evening, and dress-suits are excluded. The Tenderloinists never begin their festivities till midnight, and when begun they never end till daylight. The Twilight Club exists, or does not exist, just as the president decides. Its dinners are noted for the social and economic questions discussed thereat. To dine simply and early is the motto of the club, whose whole chart of sailing is comprised in the following: No dues, no debts, no by-laws, no president, no constitution, no conventionality, no salaries, no initiation fee, no full dress, no late hours, no gambling, no dudes.

Quite within the realms of Bohemia, and yet with a special mission, is the Thirteen Club, which was founded in 1882 as a protest against the popular superstition of thirteen at the table. Having proved the foolishness of that, it is now turning its attention to the overthrow of other superstitions. It openly defies fate, and bids welcome to grim

Death to join in its festivities and to partake of the cup that doth both cheer and inebriate. Its thirteen coffins, thirteen candles, thirteen seats at each table, thirteen wines, thirteen toasts, dinner at thirteen minutes past the hour, usually seven o'clock, are some of the peculiarities of the club. At the entrance of the banquet-room a ladder is suspended over the door, and those entering the room must first pass under it and thereby initiate their evening's enjoyment by defying the gods of adversity. The menus of the annual dinner of the Thirteen Club are printed on a gravestone, and the wine lists on a coffin-lid. Other Thirteen Clubs have been founded, both in the United States and in Europe, since this one has demonstrated that it was not fatal to belong to such an organization. The Quaint Club, which has no home, is composed of journalists and artists who make a feature of stated dinners which are enlivened with caricature and song. A Bohemian club in nothing except the name is the Owl, of No. 448 West Fifty-first street. It was organized in 1882, and it now has about two hundred members. In its early days, the club's unique entertainments attracted so many recruits that new quarters were sought. The club is wholly a social and recreative one. Among its yearly enterprises are a Rhode Island clam-bake, an excursion, a ball at the opera-house, and a number of winter entertainments at the club-house. The present house is a handsome four-story structure, fitted with all the usual accessories of a first-class club.

The religious side of the city also has its clubs. Many of the denominations, like the Presbyterians, Universalists, and Congregationalists, have their organizations, with stated meetings, but they have no permanent homes. The clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church has a club home at No. 29 Lafayette Place. The rooms are a part of the Diocesan House, and comprise reception and reading rooms and sleeping-apartments. The Clergy Club was organized in 1888, and was designed for the general convenience of the clergy of the diocese of New-York. The Church Club, of No. 146 Fifth Avenue, is composed of laymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who hold meetings every month for the purpose of discussing church work. In its membership are many prominent business and professional men. The most ambitious of the religious clubs is the Catholic. The Xavier Alumni Sodality was established in 1863 to encourage virtue and Christian piety among the educated Catholic men of this city, to promote Catholic interests, to unite the members more intimately, and to effect other desirable ends not strictly within the scope of a purely religious body. The Xavier Union was formed from the sodality in 1871, and in January, 1888, the name was changed to the Catholic Club. It occupies a large building at No. 120 West Fifty-ninth street. The membership is nearly a thousand, and it has one of the largest

club libraries in the city. Of professional clubs there seem to be none among the clergy, each member being attracted to the club of his own church. The Quill Club, of one hundred and fifty members, is unique in requiring an applicant to be a church member. This is a natural outcome of its origin in the Religious Press Club. Still it can scarcely be called a religious club, if the word is used in the sense of denominational differences of opinion or creed. The building of the Young Men's Christian Association at Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third street might be called a club-house in one sense; but the Railroad Men's Building, at No. 361 Madison Avenue, corner of Forty-fifth street, has all the elements of a club-house conducted on temperance principles. It was erected and furnished by Cornelius Vanderbilt for the benefit of the employees of the various companies whose lines enter the Grand Central Station. It is managed by the railroad branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, and it has about two thousand members. The committee of management is composed of prominent railroad officials. The library and the lunch-room are two of the leading attractions of the house. The physicians have the New-York Academy of Medicine, which owns its own building; but it cannot be defined as a club. The Engineers' Club has a house at No. 10 West Twenty-ninth street, and the American Society of Mechanical Engineers at No. 12 West Thirty-first street. The house of the latter is used by the New-York Railroad Club for the scientific discussion of railroad building and equipment. The Bar Association was long domiciled at No. 7 West Twenty-ninth street. The leading professional club of to-day is the Lawyers', with a complete club outfit in the Equitable Building, No. 120 Broadway. Its object is to provide a suitable meeting and lunch room and library for the use of, and to promote social intercourse amongst, the members, who now number over one thousand. Its president is William Allen Butler, Jr. This club was among the first to allow ladies to patronize its restaurant.

The breaking away of the clubs from social lines gave an opportunity for the origin of what may be called geographical clubs. The first of these, the Travelers', was organized in 1865, and for three years occupied the house at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Fourteenth street. It then moved to No. 222 Fifth Avenue, and subsequently to the Cunard house, No. 124 Fifth Avenue, where it ceased to exist several years ago. To enter the Travelers' a member must have traveled extensively outside of the United States. In this respect the club followed closely the Travelers' Club of London. It was in the days of its power a great resort for foreigners. In the early years of the club the leading feature was a series of lectures given by eminent travelers, many of whose names were to be found in the list of honorary members; and when at No. 222 Fifth Avenue the club gave

a brilliant entertainment to the Japanese Embassy, which attracted great attention at the time. A closely allied club, though on a smaller scale, was the Stanley, which was organized in 1878 by several Americans in Paris. It was at once moved to New-York city. This club had no home, but it gave dinners to distinguished travelers, including Stanley himself, for several years, when it also was dissolved.

Pride of nativity and locality finds expression in many ways. The Dutch have the annual dinners of the Holland and St. Nicholas societies; the Puritans, of the New England Society; the English, of the St. George's Society; and the Scotch, of St. Andrew's Society. The Canadian Club had a house in West Twenty-ninth street, but the club is no more. The Ohio Society has a floor at No. 236 Fifth Avenue, while the Southern Society has a house at No. 18 West Twenty-fifth street. The Germans have their combinations of singing and social clubs. The Arion, at Park Avenue and Fifty-ninth street, has a membership of two thousand and a well-appointed club-house. The Liederkranz, in Fifty-eighth street, near Park Avenue, is a smaller club; but, like the Arion, it has a large ball-room. The three thousand members of the Central Turn Verein in Sixty-ninth street, near Third Avenue, devote themselves to athletics. Among the Hebrews the oldest club is the Harmonie, of No. 45 West Forty-second street. The Freundschaft, at Park Avenue and Seventy-second street, is less conservative than the Harmonie. One of the best club-houses in the city is that of the Progress Club on Fifth Avenue, at the corner of Sixty-third street. The other leading Hebrew clubs are the Washington Irving, at No. 56 East Sixty-ninth street; the Fidelio, in Fifty-ninth street, near Park Avenue; and the Gotham, at No. 624 Madison Avenue. The Spaniards have the Circulo Colon-Cervantes, on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Nineteenth street; and several of the other nationalities have headquarters scattered all over the city.

The pioneer of the athletic clubs was the Racquet, which was founded in 1868. The club-house, at Sixth Avenue and Twenty-sixth street, had all the appliances of a modern gymnasium, together with large racquet-courts. It is now housed at No. 27 West Forty-third street. The University Athletic, with a large membership, has recently taken the old building of the Racquet Club. The Manhattan Athletic, which has become financially embarrassed and has been put in the hands of a receiver, was chartered in 1876, and had a membership of three thousand. It owned the Manhattan Field, on the corner of Eighth Avenue and One Hundred and Fifty-fifth street. The club-house is on the corner of Madison Avenue and Forty-fifth street. The façade of the building is imposing, and the general architectural design — of the Renaissance period — is dashed with flamboyant Gothic. It is absolutely fire-proof, six stories high, with a roof-garden

covered by a high peaked roof of tiling. The frontage is one hundred and twenty-six feet on Madison Avenue; the depth one hundred and fifteen feet on Forty-fifth street, and one hundred and twenty-five feet on the southerly side. The New-York Athletic Club, organized in 1868, and incorporated in 1870, has a membership of three thousand. It has a track and grounds and a fine country house on Travers Island, on the Sound. The club-house, at Sixth Avenue and Fifty-fifth street, is said to be the most completely appointed in the country. August Belmont is the president. It is the leading athletic organization in this country. The Berkeley Athletic Association, of No. 19 West Forty-fourth street, is a well-appointed club of smaller pretensions, but the Berkeley Oval has made it famous for out-of-door sports. The Berkeley Ladies' Athletic Club, of No. 23 West Forty-fourth street, has a membership of over three hundred. It has all the facilities of any gymnasium, including fencing, bowling, and swimming. Among the clubs that have athletic specialties may be named the Fencer's, at No. 8 West Twenty-eighth street; the Manhattan Bicycle, at No. 1790 Broadway; the Tennis, at No. 212 West Forty-first street; the Cricket, at No. 208 Third Avenue; and numerous others devoted to skating, bowling, and base-ball.

The sporting and out-of-town clubs are numerous. The American Jockey Club was organized in 1866, and the Turf Club in 1880. The former for many years occupied the building at the southwest corner of Madison Avenue and Twenty-seventh street. The Coney Island Jockey Club is at No. 173 Fifth Avenue. The New-York Riding Club was organized in 1873, and incorporated in 1883. Its club-rooms are located in Durland's Riding Academy, at Fifty-ninth street and Eighth Avenue, and are the handsomest riding-club rooms in New-York. It was the first club in the city to provide accommodations for the female friends of its members. The club affords to its members and their guests, especially in winter, a horse-show on a small scale. Some fine saddle-horses are kept in the club stables, and riding takes place in the ring every afternoon and evening. The club has a worthy rival in the Riding Club, of No. 5 East Fifty-eighth street, which was incorporated in 1883. The New-York Driving Club and the Coaching Club, while they have no club homes, are important in showing another phase of horsemanship. The Tuxedo Club and the Country Club combine good horsemanship with out-of-town sports, while the Meadow Hunt Club, like the former two, has its rural club-house. The Jekyl Island Club hunts and fishes along the coast of Georgia; and the Adirondack League owns two hundred thousand acres and two club-houses in the northern mountains.

Sports upon the water are led by the New-York Yacht Club, the object of which is to encourage yacht-building and naval architecture,

and the cultivation of naval science. The membership is eight hundred and fifty. The club was organized in 1844, and incorporated in 1865. It had long before been recognized by the United States Government; it had a flag and a uniform of its own; and it was counted among the leading societies of the kind all over the civilized world. The club had its first cottage at the Elysian Fields, Hoboken. In 1868 it moved to Staten Island; and again, in 1872, to the city, in the building formerly occupied by the Jockey Club, at the corner of Twenty-seventh street and Madison Avenue. The club is chiefly famous as the custodian of the America's Cup, which was won over the English yachts in 1851, and has been the object of several international contests since that time. The club was also the moving spirit in the race across the Atlantic in 1866, which was won by the Henrietta. Of scarcely less prominence is the American Yacht Club, organized in 1883, its object being to promote social recreation in yachting, and to encourage yacht-building, especially with regard to the development of steam yachting. The club owns a fine club-house, with about fifteen acres of land, at Milton Point, Rye, N. Y. It has about two hundred and fifty members. The Seawanhaka Corinthian Yacht Club has club-houses at No. 7 East Thirty-second street, and at Bay Ridge, on Long Island. It was organized in 1871 and incorporated in 1887, and has over four hundred members. The object of the club is "to encourage its members in becoming proficient in navigation, in the personal management, control, and handling of their yachts, and in all matters pertaining to seamanship." Amongst the boating clubs, all of which find homes on the Harlem River, the oldest is the Atalanta, which was organized in 1848, incorporated in 1866, and has rooms at No. 574 Fifth Avenue. The Nassau, organized in 1867, and incorporated the following year, has an excellent membership and unsurpassed accommodations. The Dauntless, the Nonpareil, the Union, the Metropolitan, and the Wyanoke, the Columbia College, the Friendship, and the Gramercy, are others which are always represented on the river. The canoe clubs are the Knickerbocker and the New York, both of which have won the international championship. The Canoeists' Club, at No. 75 West Twenty-sixth street, has a complete home for the lovers of the frail craft.

The clubs for women are noted last of all because they mark the latest, and the most significant, phase of club life in the city. The pioneer was Sorosis, which, like the Century Club, requires "brains and achievement" as the open sesame. There are no ornamental members of Sorosis, no drones, and few leaders in the social world. Name, wealth, and position go for nothing unless the bearer has accomplished something of merit. The club was formed, in 1868, by several of the more thoughtful and earnest women of the city, who were in no sense

"strong-minded," as has often been said in describing them. They were ready for such a movement when a certain event happened that made their undefined plans take a more definite shape. In March of that year the former Press Club, composed of the leading editors and writers of the day, gave a dinner to Charles Dickens at Delmonico's. The wives of three of the members—Mrs. David G. Croly, "Jennie June"; Mrs. James Parton, "Fanny Fern"; and Mrs. Charlotte B. Wilbour—applied for admission, on the ground that they were members of the press in good and regular standing. The applications were at first treated as a joke; but afterward the ladies were informed that they could come by paying the price of the dinner, if they would appear in sufficient numbers. This permission came so late, and it was clothed in such objectionable terms, that a curt refusal was given. Mrs. Croly, having approached several of her friends on the subject of a woman's club, called a meeting at her residence, at which she stated that many women, herself among the rest, were hungry for the society of women—that is, for the society of those whose deeper natures had been roused to activity; who had been seized by the divine spirit of inquiry and aspiration; who were interested in the thought and progress of the age, and in what other women were thinking and doing. A few days later Sorosis entered upon its career. The aims, according to the original constitution, were to establish a kind of freemasonry among women of similar pursuits, to render them helpful to each other, and to bridge over the barrier which custom and social etiquette place in the way of friendly intercourse; and it also afforded an opportunity for the discussion among women of new facts and principles, the results of which promised to exert an important influence on the future of women and the welfare of society. Alice Cary was the first president. Compliments, including dinners, were exchanged with the Press Club, and an *entente cordiale* was established between the two clubs. Sorosis advanced rapidly from fifteen members to a hundred, and a charter was secured. Mrs. Croly was elected president in 1869, and Mrs. Wilbour in the year following. In 1873 the club issued a call for a woman's congress, at which many important papers were read by the leading women of thought. Mrs. Croly, again elected president in 1875, served for eleven years, when she was made honorary president for life. Since 1886 Sorosis has had three presidents,—Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, Mrs. Ella Dietz Clymer, and Mrs. Jennie Lozier,—and the membership has grown to two hundred and fifty. The regular meetings are held at Sherry's twice in every month, on the first and third Mondays; the first for social purposes, music, the reading of papers, and discussion, preceded by a lunch. This is known as "social" day, and to this meeting guests may be invited by members. The third Monday is "business" day, when the meetings are simply for the

transaction of club business. They are usually short, beginning at eleven o'clock in the morning, and terminating with, instead of being preceded by, a lunch. Once a year, on the third Thursday in January, Sorosis gives a reception and dinner, to which gentlemen are invited, and in the exercises of which they participate. The club is also famous for its receptions in honor of distinguished women.

The Ladies' New-York Club is more of a social organization than Sorosis, and it is much younger, being founded so lately as 1889. It is, in fact, a complete club home for women, without the sale of liquors,—a decision in which even those who wished the sale gracefully yielded to those who did not. The club first occupied a small house in Lexington Avenue, near Twenty-ninth street, but this proving too small for the membership of about five hundred, the broad old-fashioned house at No. 28 East Twenty-second street was taken, and parts of the adjacent house have since been added. A large proportion of the room is given to non-resident members for lodging purposes, a convenience to ladies from out of town afforded at no other place in the city; and to the demand for a place of this sort the club owes its origin. Members resident in the city were admitted afterward. Men are allowed to enter as far as the reception-room only. The *penetralia* include lunch and dining rooms and an attractive library, besides the sleeping-rooms and an apartment in which lessons are given in the languages. On Thursday, known as "members' day," the forenoon is devoted to a literary or musical programme; while occasional afternoon teas are given, at which some one not a member is invited to lecture. Whist, Browning classes, and exhibitions of needlework also have a share in entertaining or instructing the members. The president, and the originator of the club, Mrs. Henry W. Shelton, resides in the house and attends to all the many details of the management.

An organization of working journalists is known as the New-York Women's Press Club, of No. 126 West Twenty-third street. It was founded in 1889 by Mrs. Croly, who still holds the office of president. The membership numbers one hundred and fifty, and there are standing committees on entertainment, art, literature, journalism, and current topics. The reading and writing rooms are in constant use. Social meetings are held every month, to which each member may bring a woman guest. At the annual receptions the members decorate the rooms, and prepare and contribute the refreshments. Each one is allowed to invite two women guests, and to suggest two others as club guests. The club has recently instituted a "gentlemen's evening," the first of its kind known at any of the women's clubs. Among the literary clubs, the Women's University occupies two rooms in the Manhattan Studio Building, at No. 96 Fifth Avenue. It is exclusively

a social organization of women who are graduates from the colleges, and it nnmbers eighty members. Mrs. Helen Dawes Brown is the president. The Meridian Club, with about thirty members, meets once a month in a parlor in one of the large hotels. The hour is 12 o'clock noon, and a new president is elected at every meeting. A paper is read and discussed, the snbject having been announced at the previous meeting. The Wednesday Afternoon Club, formed in 1889 after the plan of the Fortnightly in Chicago, holds its meetings at private residences, bnt the club will soon have a home. Under the presidency of Mrs. Andros B. Stone the membership has reached the limit of one hnndred. Fortnightly meetings are held for three months in the winter, at which social and historical snbjects are discnssed. The club is now engaged in collecting books written since 1776 by women either born or resident in the State of New-York.

It is required in the constitution of the Twelfth-night Club that any womau shall be eligible for membership who may possess the intellectual, artistic, or business qualifications reqnisite for active service in the club, or who is a patron of the drama. The club has rooms at No. 126 East Twenty-third street, which have been furnished not only by the members, but by gifts from leading actors and actresses. The club was organized by Miss Alice Fischer, the president, in 1890, and it has nearly a hnndred members. The object is "to live, to act, to love all womanhood, and by our living strengthen all that 's good." The Kindly Club, formerly at No. 19 East Sixteenth street, but now of Scarsdale, N. Y., was fonnded by Mrs. Janet Ruutz-Rees several years ago. Its object is the cultivation of kindly thought by kindly words, by the suppression of "evil speaking, lying, and slandering," and the practice of kindly acts. Branch clubs have been formed in all parts of the United States. A general meeting takes place once a month. The correspondence is practically unlimited, and it includes letters from leading clergymen, educators, Sunday-school teachers, philanthropists, and missionaries, and from inmates of penitentiaries and jails. The affairs of the club are managed by a standing committee of three, and the badge of the society is a simple pin, with the design of a bridle, and the motto, "The Law of Kindness." The suffrage and other rights claimed for women are the objects of the New-York City Woman Suffrage Leagne, at its rooms, No. 125 East Twenty-third street. The president, Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake, takes charge of the stated meetings which are held every month. On these occasions lectures are delivered by noted leaders of the movement The Working Girls' Clnb, the Working Girls' Society, the Women's Professional Leagne of No. 29 West Thirtieth street, and the Far and Near Club of No. 40 Gonverneur street, are all filling an important mission among the yonng women of the city.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEW-YORK MILITARY

FROM the earliest period, the organization and preparation necessary for the protection of life and property and the preservation of public order have been among the most important of the cares and duties of the inhabitants of Manhattan Island. The few regular and professional soldiers stationed in the fort in colonial days, and in the fortifications of the city and harbor since the Revolution, have never been relied upon as sufficient for public defense against foreign and domestic enemies. Military organizations, composed of patriotic and public-spirited citizens, have been at all times necessary to the public safety, and their valuable services deserve a prominent place in the history of New-York. The attacks of hostile Indians in 1609 upon Captain Hendrick Hudson and his crew of the yacht Half Moon from the banks of the river which bears the name of the discoverer of Manhattan Island, were a warning to all future colonists in this part of the New World that they must be prepared to defend their lives, property, and homes. The traders and adventurers who occupied the post established in 1613 at the lower end of the island, and the settlers who followed, were soldiers from necessity, and upon their own armed vigilance often depended their safety. They were not relieved from military duty when Peter Minuit, the first Dutch governor, erected the fort called Fort Amsterdam on the triangle formed by the southern part of the island; nor when his successor, Wouter Van Twiller, garrisoned it in 1633 with one hundred and four soldiers from Holland. During the administration of Van Twiller peace was maintained with the native tribes, and no resistance was offered to English encroachments from the Connecticut and Delaware, and the only warlike expedition of note was the despatch of troops to Fort Orange for the arrest of an English trader who, regardless of remonstrances, had sailed defiantly up the Hudson to trade with the Indians.

The Dutch West India Company required all men able to bear arms, whether traders or colonists, to provide themselves with mus-

kets, and to aid in the public defense. They were duly enrolled, and were allowed to select their own officers, subject to the approval of the governor. This military organization was called the burgher corps, and, except in periods of danger, paraded only for muster and inspection of arms. The arms of the Dutch militiamen were of various styles and caliber, and were numbered, stamped, and registered, to prevent their sale to the Indians. Military uniforms were unknown to the citizen soldiers of Manhattan Island at this period, and they appeared upon parade or for military duty in the dress worn in their several daily pursuits. When danger was apprehended from the Indians, the burgher corps was obliged to assist the garrison of the fort in the performance of sentry duty, and the "Burgher Guard or Watch" had an imperative claim upon the services of all able-bodied Dutch citizens. In 1638, William Kieft became director and governor of New Netherlands, and his reckless imprudence soon involved the colony in war with the surrounding tribes of Indians. For several years there was no peace or rest for the officers and members of the burgher corps. They were often mustered and sometimes drilled; they toiled with pick and spade to strengthen the fortifications; they stood guard by night and by day; and were sometimes enlisted in the hostile expeditions to the surrounding country. So serious and universal was the hostility of the Indians in 1643, that all male colonists on Manhattan Island were enrolled as soldiers under pay. The army collected at New Amsterdam for aggressive operations against the Indians numbered about three hundred officers and men, of which two hundred were burghers or "armed freemen," commanded by Joachim Pietersen Kuyter, fifty regulars from the fort, and the English contingent under the gallant Underhill, the whole commanded by John de la Montagne of the Governor's council. The expeditions against the Indians in Connecticut, Long Island, Westchester, and Staten Island were completely successful, and in the spring of 1644 peace was established with most of the hostile tribes, and in the following year the pacification was complete. In the summer of 1644 the small army of Manhattan was reinforced by one hundred and thirty regular Dutch soldiers.

In 1647 a new director and governor, Peter Stuyvesant, arrived at New Amsterdam. He was an old soldier, and one of the first acts of his administration was an attempt to improve the drill and discipline of the burgher corps. Arms were issued from the fort to such citizen soldiers as needed them, a guard-house was erected, and frequent parades for drill and inspection were ordered. The corps was divided into two companies, one distinguished by a blue flag, and the other by an orange. But Governor Stuyvesant had a poor opinion of citizen soldiers, and was so disgusted with the indifference of the Dutch

burghers to their military duties that he soon abandoned all hope of making them useful in warfare. One of the charges preferred by the people against the new governor to the States-General, in 1651, was that "the Burgher arms had not been inspected every three months, nor the Burgher Companies mustered under arms, as their High Mightinesses directed; and when the officers of the Burgher Companies, through good disposition for the public service, requested the Director to allow them to drill the corps once under arms, they received for answer, 'When I want you for that purpose, I shall send for you.'" But when war was declared between England and Holland, in 1652, and New Amsterdam was threatened by a hostile expedition, the governor ordered a muster and inspection of the militia, which only confirmed the opinion of the old warrior in respect to the soldierly ardor and accomplishments of the burgher companies and of Dutch militiamen. The citizen soldiers of New Amsterdam continued indifferent to the demands of Governor Stuyvesant for their military service. When he attempted to enlist volunteers for his famous expedition against the Swedes upon the Delaware, in 1655, few of the burghers responded to his summons. It was fortunate for New Amsterdam that so few of its burghers enlisted in the expedition to the Delaware, as during its absence the town was seriously threatened with destruction by the Indians, and its safety was mainly due to the efforts of its citizen soldiers. In 1664 the ships and soldiers of the Duke of York appeared before New Amsterdam and demanded its surrender, and the brave old governor appealed in vain to the disaffected Dutch militiamen. The burgher corps was indifferent to the result, and on the 8th day of September the fort was surrendered, and New Amsterdam became the city of New-York.

The first English governor, Colonel Richard Nicolls, having no great confidence in the loyalty of the Dutch citizens, disarmed the people and disbanded the burgher corps. Though not distinguished for military accomplishments, the burgher corps had served a useful purpose during the Dutch colonial period. Its members were not overfond of the labors of drill, and submitted reluctantly to discipline; but when their homes were threatened by the Indians they faithfully stood guard and bravely defended their families and property. But no blandishment or word of persuasion could allure the average Dutch citizen from his fireside to engage in warfare with enemies on the Connecticut or Delaware, and so long as peace reigned within the horizon of Manhattan Island, he was content, and oblivious to whatever transpired beyond. The officers of the burgher corps were chosen from the most distinguished citizens of the period, and many of them achieved political distinction. Captain Arent Van Hatton and Martin Kregier of the burgher companies were the first

burgomasters of the new city, and Ensign Cornelis Steenwyck subsequently became its mayor. Among the laws established by James, Duke of York, for the government of the province of New-York, and published March 1, 1665, was one relating to military affairs. This law provided that every male person between sixteen and sixty years of age should furnish himself with a good gun and the necessary ammunition, and duly attend military exercise and service, when required by the officers; that the officers be chosen by election, subject to the approval of the governor; that fines for neglect of duty be imposed and collected and employed for necessary military purposes; that persons unable to furnish the arms or ammunition required by law may pay their value in corn, or may be put to work until the amount is earned; and that specified penalties be imposed for disobedience, desertion, sleeping on post, absence from the watch, and other military offenses. Such were the principal provisions of the first militia law for the province of New-York; but the law was not strictly enforced by Governor Nicolls or his successor, Colonel Lovelace, nor was the organization of military companies encouraged. Although grateful for comparative exemption from military duty, the reoccupation of New-York by the Dutch in 1673 was a welcome event to a large majority of the people.

One of the first acts of the new Dutch governor, Captain Anthony Colve, was to organize four burgher companies, and to place them under the command of Major Jacobus Van de Water. For a considerable period their duties were onerous, but were cheerfully performed. They worked upon the fortifications, they drilled daily, and detachments in turn mounted guard at night. The guard assembled at the call of the drum in front of the Stadt Huys, Coenties Slip, and was mounted with due ceremony at sunset, when the city gate was closed. Among the officers commissioned in the burgher companies by Governor Colve in 1673, were Nicholas Bayard, Cornelis Steenwyck, Gabriel Minvielle, and Stephanus Van Cortlandt, who became mayors of the city under subsequent administrations of the English. On February 9, 1674, a treaty was signed between England and Holland, restoring New-York to the English, and in November following the city and fort were surrendered to Major Edmund Andros, who had been appointed governor by the Duke of York. Governor Andros continued the burgher companies organized by his predecessor, subjecting them to English regulations for drill and discipline, and generally encouraged their military improvement. At this period every inhabitant, when duly warned, was liable and required to perform watch or guard and police duties, which were semi-military in character, and the military companies of the city performed their full share of this service. Colonel Thomas Dongan succeeded Governor

Andros in 1683, and the Duke of York conferred upon him extraordinary powers in respect to the militia; and when the duke ascended the throne as James II., in 1685, these powers were minutely detailed and largely amplified. Such of these provisions as were intended to deprive the military companies of New-York of the privilege of selecting their own officers, and to enable the governor to send the militia beyond the limits of the province, were not acceptable nor always enforced. On the contrary, Governor Dongan was liberal and considerate in his treatment of the military, and during his administration the number of companies, or train-bands, was increased to six, which were organized as a regiment, and on the 8th of October Nicholas Bayard was commissioned as "Colonel of the Regiment of Foot." Measures were at once taken to uniform the regiment in the English style of the period; it was supplied with arms of uniform pattern and caliber; and a great improvement in drill and discipline was accomplished. The regiment under Colonel Bayard numbered among its officers many of the most prominent citizens, such as Gabriel Minvielle, Abram De Peyster, John De Peyster, Nicholas De Meyer, Charles Lodowick, Francis Rambouts, Isaac De Reimer, Jacobus Van Cortlandt, and William Merritt, all of whom became mayors of the city at various periods of its history, and Captain Jacob Leisler, the leading historical figure in English colonial times. In August, 1688, Governor Dongan was succeeded by Francis Nicholson, and this event was soon followed by the news of the abdication and flight of James II., and that William of Orange and Mary had been proclaimed King and Queen of England.

The importance and influence of the military companies or train-bands of New-York upon its affairs at this period are illustrated by their part in the events which followed the accession of William and Mary. The people at once divided into two hostile political parties: the one was composed of those who were in favor and in office under James II., and the Papists generally, and contained many prominent and wealthy citizens; the other, by far the largest, comprised the mass of the people, and the Protestants. So great was the danger to the public peace that the governor, April 27, 1689, called in council the officers of the regiment and its train-bands, and it was deemed advisable and necessary that one company should mount guard daily at the fort, and be charged with the duty of maintaining order in the city. The results of this arrangement were satisfactory until May 31, when an officer of Captain De Peyster's company, then on duty, was dismissed from the service by Governor Nicholson without trial or hearing. This arbitrary act angered the train-bands and their officers; the drums were beat; citizens excitedly assembled in the streets to denounce the outrage; and a part of Captain Leisler's company

hastened to reinforce the fort. The few regular soldiers in garrison were disarmed, and the fort was henceforth held in the name of William and Mary. On June 3, Colonel Bayard assembled the officers and soldiers of the regiment, and protested against the action already taken as disloyal to the existing authorities; but his advice was disregarded, and his authority repudiated, and they at once repaired to the fort, where a memorial to William and Mary, drawn by Leisler, the senior captain, and pledging loyalty and obedience, was signed hy all the captains and hy four hundred soldiers and citizens. The officers of the train-hands having declined to again meet the governor in council, he departed for England. On June 10 the six captains called a convention of delegates from the several counties of the province, which assembled Juue 26, and organized a committee of safety. This committee appointed Captain Leisler to the permanent command of the fort, and in August made him military commander of the province. For nearly two years the people of New-York depended upon its military train-hands for the preservation of order, and Captain Leisler, as acting governor of the province, faithfully maintained the authority of the Prince of Orange. His devotion was rewarded hy arrest and imprisonment hy a new governor, Colonel Henry Sloughter, who arrived in New-York in March, 1691; a speedy trial by a court composed of bitter political enemies; conviction for treason, and condemnation to immediate death. On May 17, Leisler, the people's representative, and the defender of their faith, bravely died.

The Assembly of the province of New-York passed, May 6, 1691, an act entitled "An Act for Settling the Militia," the first law upon the statute-books on this suhject, and it was printed by William Bradford in 1694. Its provisions were the same generally as those contained in the law established by James, Duke of York, in 1655, and specially recognized the regiment of militia in New-York city as a lawful and a regularly organized military body. During the entire period of the English administration in New-York, the military act of 1691 was not materially changed or amended. The colonists were already jealous of their rights and liherties, and the English governors could rarely induce the provincial Assemhly to extend the operations of a military law for more than one year; and at some periods, wheu the governor and Assemhly were not in accord, there was no law in existence governing the militia. But "the Regiment of Militia in the City and County of New-York" did not disband in the absence of military law, and its active existence continued until the American Revolution. Two additional companies and a troop of horse were organized and attached to the regiment at this period; and iu 1693 its colonel, Abram De Peyster, officially reported its

strength to Governor Fletcher as "Eight Companies of Foot and one Troop of Horse, numbering 477 men." The only advantage of active membership in the military train-bands of New-York at this period, apart from patriotic and public considerations, was exemption from work on the fortifications, to which was added, in 1697, relief from duty on the night watch. During the century preceding the American Revolution, there were frequent calls for troops upon the governor of New-York for service in the wars with the French and Indians, and the quota of the province was generally filled by volunteers. The danger to the city from French men-of-war and privateers was a sufficient reason for retaining the regiment of militia at home. Moreover, it was claimed at all times that the military duties of citizen soldiers were local and defensive; that there was no legal or proper authority for the English governors to send them to the frontiers, and that regular soldiers or volunteers should be despatched upon all military expeditions to distant parts. The first and last occasion when the regiment of New-York city volunteered for distant service was in February, 1693, when Albany and Schenectady were threatened by the French and Indians. The governor accepted one hundred and fifty men and three captains with their subalterns, together with the colonel and lieutenant-colonel, and the expedition proceeded to Albany under his command. The enemy having retreated, the detachment, after ten days' absence, returned to New-York and was received with many honors.

The arrival in New-York of a new governor, Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, in August, 1692, was the occasion of a great civic and military display, and similar honors were generally extended to his English successors. It is an interesting fact that from 1692 dates the custom in this city of celebrating important events and honoring distinguished soldiers and statesmen by great military parades, a custom which has continued without interruption for two centuries, and was doubly honored by the celebration, in 1892, of the discovery of America by Columbus. The official authority and influence of Governors Sloughter and Fletcher were used as far as possible to officer the New-York regiment with the enemies of Leisler. Lord Bellomont, the successor of Fletcher, strongly favored the Leislerians, made many changes among the officers of the regiment in their interest, and encouraged its military improvement by frequent parades and reviews. Of the officers appointed by Lord Bellomont, Captains John De Peyster, David Provoost, Isaac De Reimer, and Robert Walters were at various periods mayors of the city; its colonel, Abram De Peyster, and lieutenant-colonel, William Merritt, had also held that high office; but so violent was party spirit at this time, that among the charges against the governor by the anti-Leislerians, May 11,

1700, it was alleged that "he has displaced most of the militia officers and put in mean and indigent fellows, and most of them Dutch."

The death of Lord Bellomont in 1701 was followed by a violent controversy between the friends of Leisler and his opponents, during which Colonel Bayard was convicted of treason and rebellion and condemned to death. During the great excitement attending these events, a detachment from the regiment was constantly on duty to preserve order and prevent the rescue of the prisoner by his friends. The arrival of a new governor, Lord Cornbury, and the release of Bayard, relieved the military from long and onerous public service. Lord Cornbury sympathized strongly with the enemies of Leisler, and displaced many of the military officers appointed by Lord Bellomont and filled the vacancies with his own favorites. The governor made no effort to maintain or improve the drill and discipline of the regiment, and neither relied upon the loyalty of its officers and members, nor possessed their respect and confidence. But in 1706, when the danger of an attack from a French fleet was imminent, the city troops were held in readiness for immediate action, were drilled daily with small arms and at the batteries, and performed laborious guard duty for a considerable period. Greater dangers to English power in America at this period were the constant conflicts between the governor and the Assembly in respect to taxation and appropriations for the support of the government and the control of the militia, and this antagonism between the representatives of the crown and the people only ended with the American Revolution.

During the administration of Lord Cornbury "the First Independent Company of the Militia of the City of New-York" was organized, with Lieutenant-Governor Richard Ingoldesby as the captain; and it was the pioneer of other similar military companies afterward organized by gentlemen of wealth, influence, and distinction. In the independent companies were generally enlisted men in the higher walks of life, and whose loyalty to the crown was undoubted. The liberal expenditures of the officers for company maintenance and entertainment, and their handsome distinctive uniforms, were among the attractions of the independent companies; but the regiment continued to be the favorite of the people, and the representative military organization of New-York. In 1710, the regiment of New-York consisted of eight companies, and was commanded by Colonel William Peartree, who had been mayor from 1703 to 1707. As the officers were commissioned by the governor, they were supposed to be loyal and devoted subjects of the king, but the rank and file were known to sympathize with the Assembly in its resistance to the encroachments upon the rights of the people. During the administration of Governor Hunter (1710–1720) the Assembly would only enact a militia act

from year to year, and for a considerable part of the time there was no law for the regulation or government of the military of the city. Under these circumstances, it gradually lost its importance in public affairs; its drills for instruction and parades of ceremony were less frequent, and finally the activity and spirit of the regiment of the city of New-York had almost disappeared.

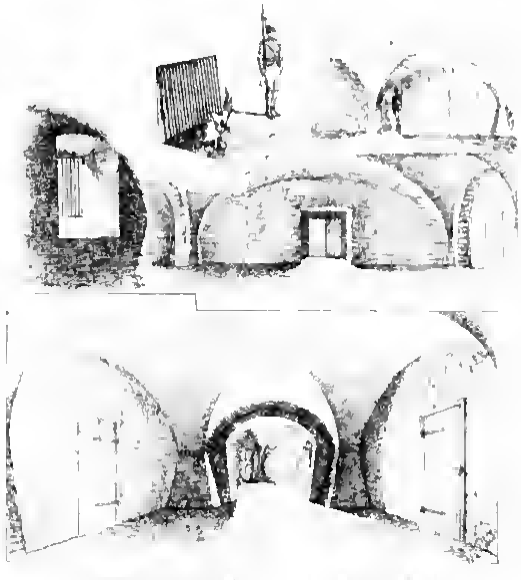
Under Governor William Burnet an effort was made to revive the militia, but with indifferent success; and during the next twenty years there was no material change or improvement. In 1737 Lieutenant-Governor Clarke officially reported the number of militia in the city and county of New-York as follows: "Officers of Regiment and Independent Companies, 30. Number of private men, Sergeants, Corporals, and Drummers, 904. Officers of Troop, 5. Number of men, 50. Officers of the Blue Artillery Company, 5. Number of men, 85." There were few meetings for drill and instruction at this period, and in addition to the general musters the occasions for parade of the military were the arrival of a new governor from England, and the anniversaries of his Majesty's birth and of his accession to the throne. During the year 1741 the excitement and mad transactions of the people and their officials in connection with the supposed "Negro Plot" severely taxed the time, labor, and patience of the military of the city. When the excitement culminated in a panic (April 13), the regiment was hastily called to arms, and sentries were posted to guard all avenues leading from the city, while the civic authorities searched for suspicious characters. Throughout the summer the services of the military were in constant requisition. The streets were patroled at night by a strong military guard, and the duty became so burdensome to the citizen soldiers that the assembly passed an act, June 20, "to oblige the people of this Town to a Military Night-Guard," and another act, August 20, "for the more equal keeping military watches in the city of New-York." Throughout the extraordinary and sad events of 1741, the military alone in all New-York seems to have performed its duties without cause for future regret or reproach.

War was apprehended between France and England during the year 1744, and by order of Governor George Clinton the military of the city was more frequently exercised and inspected, and in December, when the declaration of war was officially promulgated, it paraded to participate in the ceremonies of the day. In the martial excitement incident to King George's War (1745), and the French and Indian War (1755–62), several independent companies were added to those already in existence; and these organizations became a prominent part of the New-York military, and were recognized by the laws of the province. They were supposed to be more loyal to the crown than the city

regiment, but when, in 1745 and in 1755, New-York was called upon for troops for active service, neither the regiment nor any of the independent companies responded; and on both occasions the quota required from New-York city was raised by bounties to volunteers. In 1747 the Assembly refused to further pay the troops raised for the expedition against the French, and when they were discharged from the service, Governor Clinton ordered the colonels of militia throughout the province to hold their regiments in readiness for service in the field. The regiment of New-York was assembled, and when the orders of the governor were read, "every man unanimously refused to obey any order from the Crown, unless an Act of the Assembly was passed in the Province for that purpose." This was the last attempt of an English governor to enlist the military of the city in a body for service beyond its borders.

From 1755 to 1765, the regiment and the independent companies continued to exist, with or without authority of law; but the history of the military of this period is without material interest. The mayor of the city occasionally summoned one or more companies to preserve order, and a serious riot, caused by an attempt of British soldiers stationed in the fort to liberate one of their officers from the city jail, was promptly suppressed by a detachment of citizen soldiers. During the great excitement which followed the passage of the Stamp Act, in 1765, the Sons of Liberty took the lead in public resistance to this odious measure of taxation, and the new governor, Sir Henry Moore, upon his arrival issued an order to Colonel Oliver De Lancey, then commanding the regiment, and to the captains of the independent companies, requiring each company in turn to furnish a guard "for the preservation of the peace of the city." As the Sons of Liberty had already prevented the distribution and use of the English stamps, and the Stamp Act was repealed in February, 1766, no collision occurred between the city military and the people in the performance of their respective duties. For several years after the controversy in respect to the Stamp Act, no militia law was passed by the Assembly, and the regiment and independent companies maintained only a nominal existence. In 1772 Governor William Tryon secured the passage of an act under which were organized the regiment of the city (eight companies), and a battalion of militia (six companies), a troop of light horse, and nine independent companies. They were reviewed by the governor in November, and he expressed great satisfaction with their military appearance. The English statesmen, however, were not enthusiastic on the subject, as they doubtless apprehended that in the military instruction of disaffected colonists there was a considerable element of danger, and that at some future day they might appear in hostile array against the king.

When the news of the battle of Lexington reached New-York, April 24, 1775, the Sons of Liberty took possession of the City Hall and Custom House, and distributed arms from the arsenal to the people. New military companies, composed of patriotic young men, were speedily organized, and selected their own officers and actively engaged in military exercises. Meantime the position of the regiment and independent companies organized in 1772 by Governor Tryon was anomalous. A large majority of the rank and file sympathized with the opposition to English rule, while most of the officers were loyal to the crown. On June 26 the military of New-York made its last parade under officers commissioned by English authority, and the occasion and circumstances are memorable. General Washington arrived in New-York on the 25th, *en route* to Cambridge to take command of the American army, and upon his departure on the following day was escorted by several military companies as far as the Harlem River. Governor Tryon landed in New-York the same evening, and was also received with military honors. But such armed neutrality could not long be maintained by the militia of New-York, while the troops of General Wooster were in camp at Harlem by order of Congress, and the guns of the British frigate Asia frowned upon the city from the harbor. With the departure of Governor Tryon from the presence of the hostile patriots, the existence of the colonial militia and of the Regiment of the City of New-York and its independent companies finally terminated. Many of the officers and men enlisted in the Continental army and shared its varied fortunes; some died upon the battle-fields of the Revolution or languished and expired in British prisons, and others lived to enjoy the blessings of peace and of American freedom.



DUNGEONS IN THE HALL OF RECORDS.

At the first session of the legislature of the State of New-York, held at Poughkeepsie during the Revolutionary War, an act was passed April 3, 1778, entitled "An Act for regulating the Militia of the

State of New-York." Its provisions were adapted to the wants of the State in a period of war, and to encourage and secure the reinforcement of the Continental army. Under this act John Morin Scott, a distinguished leader of the Sons of Liberty, was commissioned, June 25, 1778, as brigadier-general for the city of New-York, although it was at that time, and for several years thereafter, in the possession of the British troops. Military companies and associations were formed in New-York soon after its evacuation by the British in 1783; but the city militia was not organized by law until 1786. The act for that purpose passed by the legislature of that year contained such provisions of the colonial militia laws and of the act of 1778 in respect to enrolment, court martials, fines, etc., as were applicable to a military peace establishment in an independent State. The law provided that to each regiment of infantry should be attached two light infantry flank companies, composed of volunteers, to be uniformed at their own expense, and that to each brigade of infantry should be attached a company of artillery. The artillery companies were also to be composed of volunteers, uniformed at their own expense, and a regiment of artillery in the city of New-York, to consist of not more than four companies, was also authorized by the same law.

Oben Stevens

Under the act of 1786 a brigade was organized in New-York city, commanded by Brigadier-General William Malcolm, of the Revolutionary War, which consisted of four regiments of infantry, numerically designated and for the most part not uniformed. The artillery regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Sebastian Bauman, at once became the public favorite, and attracted to its ranks the prominent young men of the city. Its headquarters were "Old Fort George" until that colonial landmark was demolished in 1789, and there it paraded for inspection, and fired salutes in honor of the anniversary of American independence, and on other important occasions. Its drills with heavy guns were held at the fort, and with field-pieces and small arms at the race course or in the fields beyond the city, and whenever it paraded in the streets it attracted great attention. The field-pieces used by the New-York Artillery Regiment had seen service in the Revolution, its muskets were of the ancient smooth-bore and flint-lock pattern, and its uniform the blue artillery coat,

trimmed with red, and the three-cornered hat and tall feather, as worn by artillerymen of the Continental army. On all great public occasions this regiment had the post of honor, and it was regarded by the press and the people as the military organization to be relied upon in case of public disturbance or danger. The National Guard of this city in 1883 is the offspring and lineal descendant of the New-York Regiment of Artillery organized in 1786.

The public celebration of July 4, the anniversary of American independence, commenced in the year following the evacuation of the city by the British, and the military was always the most notable feature of the occasion. National salutes were fired at the Battery at sunrise, noon, and sunset, and the military paraded at an early hour at the same place for review by the governor of the State, or the mayor of the city. The usual line of march of the military for many years was up Broadway to Wall street, and through Wall, Pearl, Beekman, Vesey, and Greenwich streets to the Battery, where line was again formed and the parade was dismissed. After the parade the officers of each military organization usually dined together at one of the public houses of the city, and in the evening military balls often concluded the festivities of the day. The 25th of November, the anniversary of the evacuation of New-York in 1783, was also a holiday, and was always celebrated at this period by a military parade. On all public days the military parade closed with a discharge of musketry and artillery called a *feu de joie*.

The first opportunity after the Revolutionary War of demonstrating the value and importance of the military of New-York was in 1788, when a riot occurred, popularly known as the "Doctors' Mob." The desecration of the graveyards in the vicinity of the city, for the purpose of supplying medical students with subjects for dissection, excited the people to an attack upon the New-York Hospital, and several physicians and medical students, who were in danger of mob violence, were, by order of the mayor, placed in jail to secure their safety. On the following day the mob again assembled, and after various acts of violence attacked the jail, which was protected by a company of citizen soldiers, and put to flight a small detachment of soldiers which had been ordered to reinforce the guard. Late in the afternoon a second and larger detachment was ordered to the jail to raise the siege, and was accompanied by Governor Clinton, Mayor Duane, and Baron Steuben. The governor gave the order to fire, and one volley, by which several were killed and wounded, dispersed the rioters. After the dispersion of the mob, detachments of infantry and artillery were for several days on guard at the jail and in other parts of the city.

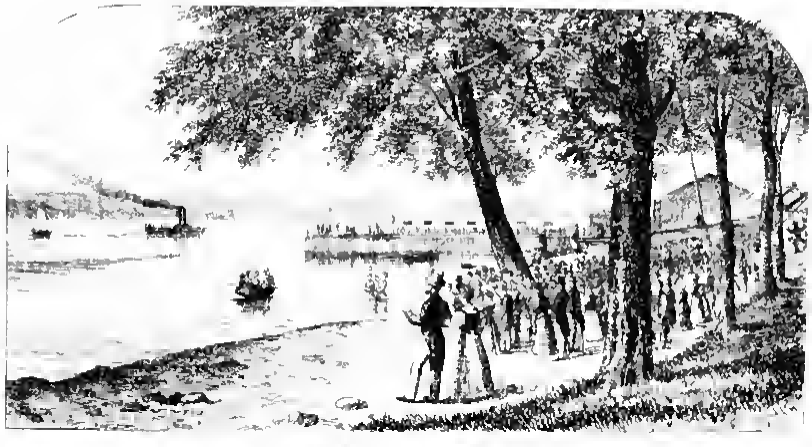
The first memorable parade in New-York after the Revolutionary War was in July, 1788, in honor of the adoption of the Federal Con-

stitution, when a procession, consisting of ten grand divisions, of which the military was the first, formed in "the fields," and marched through Broadway, Great Dock, Pearl, and Chatham streets to the Bayard farm, where a pavilion had been erected and plates laid for the entertainment of six thousand people. Not less memorable were the parades in 1789 in honor of the first President of the United States. On April 23 Washington arrived in New-York, and was received with an artillery salute, and escorted by the military of the city. The troops also paraded, April 30, at the inauguration of Washington as first President of the United States, were formed in line in Wall street, facing Federal Hall, during the inauguration ceremonies, joined in the acclamations which followed, and were a conspicuous feature of this interesting event.

The duties of the military of New-York during the last decade of the eighteenth century were not confined to drills for instruction and parades of ceremony. In June, 1794, in consequence of the political disturbances in this country caused by the French Revolution and the war between France and England, the governor of the State, upon a requisition of the President, ordered six hundred and fifteen officers and men to be detached from the New-York City Brigade, to be fully armed and equipped, and to be held in readiness for military duty; but the active services of the detachment were not required. In 1797 the military was on duty at the public execution of John Young for murder, and preserved order among the thousands of excited people present. In June, 1799, also, the military was hastily assembled to suppress a formidable revolt among the convicts, and to prevent their escape from the State prison, situated at the foot of Christopher street, near the North River.

The First Division of Militia, as organized in 1786, included all the troops of the State south of Columbia County, and was commanded by Major-General Lewis Morris, whose successor, in 1798, was Matthew Clarkson. To the New-York Brigade was added soon after its organization a new company of artillery, called the Brigade Company of Artillery, commanded by Captain John Van Dyke, and another regiment of infantry, the Fifth, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James Miles Hughes. In 1791 Colonel James Alner succeeded to the command of the New-York Brigade, and was succeeded in 1796 by Lieutenant-Colonel Hughes; and Ebenezer Stevens, a distinguished officer of the Revolution, was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the New-York Regiment of Artillery, *vice* Bauman resigned. Under acts of the legislature of 1795 and 1798 "for the encouragement of artillerymen in the city of New-York," officers and members of the artillery were exempted from jury duty, and from taxation upon their property to the amount of two hundred dollars, which amount was increased

in 1801 to five hundred dollars. An addition of four companies to the Regiment of Artillery was authorized, making two battalions of four companies each. The four additional companies were rapidly recruited, and were attached to the regiment in 1799. The nation mourned the death of Washington in December, 1799, and on the 31st day of that month New-York city paid a tribute of respect and affection to his memory. The military led the great procession, and in reverse order, with arms reversed, and to slow music, and while the bells tolled and minute-guns were fired at the battery, marched through the principal streets to St. Paul's Church. "The reverend clergy walked in full dress, with white scarfs, and twenty-four beautiful girls in white robes, scarfs, and turbans, strewed laurels as they



SCENE AT PORT CANSEVOORT

went along." The bier supported a funeral urn, and was followed by Washington's favorite charger with heavy mourning decorations. At the conclusion of the solemn ceremonies at the church, the funeral urn was deposited in the cemetery, and at sunset the military of the city of New-York discharged three volleys of musketry in St. Paul's churchyard, in honor of the immortal Washington.

In 1805 the first brigade of artillery was organized in New-York city, and consisted of the Regiment of Artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel Curtenius, to be thereafter designated the First Regiment of Artillery; a recently organized regiment of infantry, the Sixth, Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob Morton commanding, designated the Second Regiment of Artillery; and the Brigade Company of Artillery, Captain Ten Eyck, which was raised to a battalion. Under this reorganization Lieutenant-Colonel Morton was appointed to the command of the New-York Brigade of Artillery. The five infantry regiments of the

city were also organized as a brigade, but as they were mainly composed of ununiformed men without military instruction, their history is without interest. For many years "Morton's Brigade of Artillery" was the pride of the New-York militia, and the favorite of the public; the privileges and exemptions conferred by law upon its members attracted the best citizens to its ranks; and upon its drill, discipline, and organized strength the people relied for military protection. The practice now became general of drilling one battalion (four companies) of each artillery regiment almost exclusively with muskets, and frequently both battalions paraded with small arms. The first military band in New-York was also organized and permanently attached to the Brigade of Artillery. An interesting military parade at this period was the funeral, in May, 1800, of General John Lamb, a distinguished Revolutionary soldier and an active leader of the Sons of Liberty, who was buried with military honors. In May, 1803, the corner-stone of the present City Hall in the park was laid, and the Regiment of Artillery and a detachment of infantry were the escort to the mayor, the civic societies, public officials, and citizens, and fired a national salute at the conclusion of the ceremonies. At the funeral of Alexander Hamilton, in July, 1804, which was conducted with much ceremony and great display, the Regiment of Artillery held the post of honor, and at the conclusion of the ceremonies fired the funeral volleys in Trinity churchyard over the grave of New-York's most distinguished and lamented citizen.

Jon Williams[1]

The right claimed by Great Britain to search American vessels and take British seamen therefrom frequently endangered at this period the friendly relations between the two countries. In April, 1806, great excitement was caused in New-York by the death of one of its seafaring citizens from the guns of a British man-of-war lying off

[1] Jonathan Williams was born in Boston, May 26, 1750, received a good education, and made several voyages to England. He was secretary to his granduncle, Benjamin Franklin, while the latter resided in France as American ambassador, and studied military science in Paris. Returning to this country, he was appointed, February 6, 1801, major of the Second Regiment Artillerists and Engineers in the regular army, and soon afterward inspector of fortifications, taking command at West Point. When the present military academy was established in 1802, Major Williams was made superintendent, resigning in the following year. At President Jefferson's request he rejoined the army in April, 1805, as lieutenant-colonel and chief engineer, and resumed the superintendency of the academy. He designed and erected most of the inner forts of New-York harbor, including Fort Clinton (now Castle Garden) and Castle Williams (which was named for him) on Governor's Island. At the beginning of the war of 1812, Col. Williams claimed the command of the latter fort, and, being refused by the Secretary of War, resigned July 31 of that year. He wrote several military works, was called the "father of the corps of engineers, and his portrait is in the library of the U. S. Military Academy." He died in Philadelphia, May 16, 1815. EDITOR.

Sandy Hook for the purpose of searching incoming vessels, and it resulted in the rapid recruiting of existing military organizations and the formation of new ones, among which were the four companies now known as the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Companies of the Seventh Regiment. The new companies were temporarily attached to the Battalion of Artillery, which in 1807 became the Third Regiment, and another regiment, designated the Fourth Regiment of Artillery, was also organized. The four regiments of artillery were uniformed, armed, and equipped for active service, and were frequently drilled, and the ununiformed militia (the infantry regiments) were enrolled and mustered for the public defense in an emergency. Under a call of President Jefferson, in 1807, for troops to be organized and held in readiness, the quota of the city was promptly filled by patriotic volunteers. The Brigade of Artillery furnished its quota (327) of uniformed men, which in November was organized as a regiment for the United States service. This provisional regiment was thoroughly drilled, and until relieved in April, 1809, was at all times in readiness for immediate service, although its members were not required to leave their homes or abandon their business pursuits. The laying of the corner-stone of a tomb for the bones of the martyrs of the Revolution who died in prison-ships at Wallabout Bay was an occasion for a great military and patriotic parade and display in April, 1808. In June the corner-stone of a new State arsenal, corner of Elm and White streets, was laid with military honors, and for many years thereafter the arsenal yard was a favorite place for the drills of the New-York military.

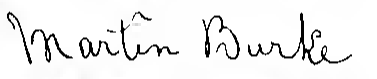
Under the Militia Act of 1811, the artillery regiments of the State were numbered by lot, and in New-York city the First became the Second, the Second the Ninth, the Third the Eleventh, and the Fourth became the Third. Early in 1812 war seemed imminent, and the New-York Brigade of Artillery promptly furnished for immediate service its quota, which was organized into two battalions. When war was officially declared with Great Britain, in June, the two battalions were at once stationed in the batteries about the city, and at the Narrows, remaining until relieved by other troops. In July the Eleventh Regiment patriotically tendered its services to the governor of the State, and in September it was mustered into the United States service at the Battery, with the other regiments of the New-York Brigade of Artillery, for three months. Detachments of the brigade occupied the fortifications at the Narrows, upon the islands in the harbor, and in the city, and were the model military organizations of the period, and, after serving their allotted time with distinction, were honorably discharged in December. In July, 1814, the city was thoroughly alarmed by rumors that it was to be made the object of at-

tack by a large British fleet, and the First Brigade was notified to be in readiness for active service, and all regiments of ununiformed militia were ordered to he inspected and mustered. Work was commenced in August upon the immense field-works at Brooklyn and Harlem, and the several regiments of artillery voluntarily performed their full share of labor upon these important city defenses. In September the militia of the city, consisting of the First Brigade of Artillery and three brigades of infantry, composed mostly of ununiformed and drafted men, were mustered into the United States service for three months. To the Brigade of Artillery was assigned the immediate defense of the city, and its officers and members, who were quartered at their homes, were required to drill four hours daily when not upon guard duty at the West, North, and Gansevoort batteries. In October it was satisfactorily ascertained that New Orleans was the object of attack by the British fleet, and on November 29 all the militia in the United States service in the vicinity of New-York were ordered to be mustered out and discharged. The anniversary of the evacuation of New-York by the British, November 25, was celebrated hy a grand parade in Broadway of over twenty-five thousand troops, the Iron Grays being at the head of the column. New-York never witnessed so large and imposing a military display until the centennial celebration of the inauguration of Washington in 1889.

D. Morton

The news that a treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent was received in New-York, February 15, 1815, with great rejoicing, and was celebrated, February 27, hy a military parade, and hy illuminations and fireworks in the evening. But the military of the city ceased to thrive with the restoration of peace. Many of its most valuable officers and men, who had enlisted from patriotic motives, retired at the close of the war, and the service had few attractions for the young men of the city. General Morton having heen promoted in 1815 to the command of the division, Colonel Curtenius was appointed to the command of the Brigade of Artillery, and was succeeded in 1817 hy General Horatio Gates Stevens. By an act of Congress in 1816, the old English regulation in respect to the rank of field-officers was abolished, and since that date the commandant of a regiment has ranked as colonel, instead of lieutenant-colonel. For several years all efforts to arouse an interest in military affairs were fruitless; drills were at long intervals and poorly attended, and the annual parades, often limited to July 4 and November 25, at-

tracted little public attention. The governor of the State at least once in his term of office reviewed the military of the city, and this custom, which originated with Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, and was continued by Governor De Witt Clinton, has been honored by their successors, with hardly an exception, from that day to this. Though unappreciated by the public in the years following the war, the military was often useful and necessary to the civic authorities in preserving order at the public executions of criminals, which took place in the fields beyond the city, and which were witnessed by large and riotous assemblages of people. The only noticeable military parades at this period were at the funeral of General Richard Montgomery, whose remains were brought from Quebec in 1818, and deposited, with imposing ceremonies, in St. Paul's Chapel, near the beautiful memorial; and at the celebration, in 1822, of the adoption of the new Constitution of the State of New-York.



At the time of the adoption of the new State Constitution, the military of New-York city consisted of the First Brigade of Artillery (uniformed), containing four regiments, and a division (the Third) and a brigade (the Forty-fifth) of infantry, mostly ununiformed. The militia acts of 1819 and 1823 revived military interest and encouraged enlistments by defining and extending the privileges and exemptions of artillerymen, and by the election of military officers by their subordinates, a popular and democratic usage which has continued to the present time. In 1824, four companies of the Eleventh Regiment of Artillery were detached, and became the "Battalion of National Guards," with a new, attractive, and distinctive gray uniform, which, in 1826, became the Twenty-seventh Regiment of Artillery, now the famous Seventh Regiment. In 1825, the First Brigade of Artillery was divided into two brigades, and in 1826 the uniformed troops of New-York and vicinity were included in two divisions, the first commanded by Major-General Morton, and the second by Major-General James Benedict. In 1829, the First Brigade of Artillery was transferred from the Second to the First Division, and thereafter the uniformed and instructed troops of the city were mainly in the First Division under the command of General Morton. The large number of ununiformed regiments of infantry which nominally existed at this period and until 1847, do not figure in the military history of New-York. Scott's work on "Military Tactics" was introduced at this period, and for thirty years was the authorized text-book. With the great military revival between 1825 and 1830 came the adoption of distinctive uniforms in place of the time-honored artillery uniforms which had been worn with pride and pleasure since the Revolution by the troops of New-York, and with which were connected so

many patriotic and historical associations. The principal occasions for military parade between 1820 and 1830 were the reception of Lafayette in 1824, the semi-centennial celebration of the anniversary of American independence, July 4, 1826, and the funerals of Adams and Jefferson in 1826, and of De Witt Clinton in 1829.

It was in the fourth decade of the century (1830–40) that it was fully demonstrated to the people and civic authorities of New-York that a strong military organization of citizen soldiers, well drilled and disciplined, and fully armed and equipped, was absolutely necessary for the preservation of order and the protection of life and property; and since that time its value and importance have been appreciated. At the city election in April, 1834, a serious political riot occurred in the Sixth Ward, during which the Whigs seized and fortified the State Arsenal, corner Elm and White streets, and held it against the assaults of their Democratic assailants. The civic authorities were powerless, and peace was not restored, and the State arms and property abandoned by the belligerents, until the Twenty-seventh (now the Seventh) Regiment, under order of the mayor, appeared upon the scene and dispersed the mob. In July of the same year occurred the famous riot caused by the hostility of a considerable part of the people to the advocates of the abolition of American slavery, and by an unreasonable animosity to the negro population of the city. For three days and nights the riotous demonstrations continued; churches and the stores and dwellings of prominent abolitionists were attacked and injured, and quiet, law-abiding citizens terrorized. All efforts of the civic authorities to restore order and protect property having failed, the military was called upon, and in a few hours, by vigorous action, dispersed the rioters. In February, 1836, the military was assembled to suppress a riot occasioned by a strike of the stevedores for higher wages, and in February, 1837, it was called upon to disperse a mob which, on account of the high price of provisions, had attacked the flour-stores of the city, and had com-

Ed D Baker[1]

[1] Edward Dickenson Baker was born in London, England, February 24, 1811; came to the United States when a child, settled in Springfield, Ill., and became a lawyer. Distinguished for oratorical powers, he entered politics, and was successively elected to the State Assembly in 1837, to the State Senate three years later, and in 1844 to the House of Representatives. At the beginning of the Mexican War he raised a regiment and fought with distinction; and upon his return was again elected to Congress. In 1851 he settled in San Francisco, where he was renowned for his eloquence. In 1860, having removed to Oregon, he was sent to the United States Senate. Upon the outbreak of the Civil War he raised the California Regiment in New-York and Philadelphia, and at Ball's Bluff, while leading a charge of the brigade which he then commanded, he fell mortally wounded, and died on the battle-field October 21, 1861. EDITOR.

menced to destroy or remove their contents. The military was also ordered under arms to protect property during and after the great fire in December, 1835, and to guard the banks during the money panic in May, 1837, caused by the suspension of specie payments. The Twenty-seventh (Seventh) Regiment, the most prominent military organization in this important public service, was held in readiness by special orders for such military duty, and was the subject of many compliments from the mayor and common council and the press for its promptness and gallantry. By an act of the legislature, in 1836, the regiments of the First and Sixth Brigades of Artillery, located in New-York, were made subject to the orders of the mayor when required for the enforcement of law and order.

The principal military parades of this decade were in celebration (November, 1830) of the French Revolution of that year; the funeral of President Monroe in 1831; the centennial of the birth of Washington in 1832; the reception of President Jackson in 1833; the funeral of Lafayette in 1834; and the funeral of General Morton, the veteran commandant of the New-York military, in 1836. Colonel Charles W. Sandford succeeded General Morton in the command of the First Division in 1837. During the "anti-rent" disturbance in the vicinity of Albany in 1839, a part of the New-York military was under arms, and prepared to proceed to the seat of war; but the orders were countermanded by the governor of the State, peace having been restored in the riotous districts. With the increased activity and efficiency of the New-York military at this period is noticed the introduction of the knapsack as part of the equipment of the citizen soldier, and of fatigue uniforms as a necessary addition to the full-dress uniforms worn by the regiments of the First Division. In recognition of their valuable military services, the city, in 1839, provided its citizen soldiers with drill-rooms over Centre Market, in Grand street; and though of modest proportions, a precedent was established for suitable quarters for the military organizations of the city at the public expense. Target-shooting was the favorite pastime of the New-York military from 1825 to 1850, and the annual target excursions of uniformed companies to popular resorts near the city gave officers and men a delightful holiday, and were a source of some considerable military improvement.

The First Division (New-York city troops), Major-General Sandford commanding, which contained (1840–46) three brigades, was reorganized by a special act of the legislature in 1847. As reorganized the division contained four brigades, numbered from one to four, the new Fourth containing the uniformed infantry companies previously attached as flank companies to nonuniformed regiments. The regiments (three to each brigade) were numbered from one to twelve, and

were assigned to districts, with the duty of inspecting and mustering once a year the ununiformed militia. The term of service continued to be seven years, and the exemptions from taxation and from jury duty were not changed. Prior to 1843 all citizen soldiers were required to furnish the necessary arms and equipments at their own expense, and these, being private property, were deposited and cared for, after drill or parade, at their residences. But in that year the State recognized the increasing importance of the New-York military by furnishing all uniformed troops with the necessary number of muskets of the flint-lock and smooth-bore pattern of the period. The prominent military parades between 1840 and 1850 were at the reception of Vice-President Richard M. Johnson in 1840, the funeral of President Harrison in 1841, the celebration of the introduction of Croton water to New-York in 1842, the reception of President Tyler in 1843, the funeral of General Jackson in 1845, the celebration of the victories of the United States armies in Mexico, and the reception of President Polk, in 1847; the funeral of John Quincy Adams, and the reception of General Scott, in 1848; and the funeral of General Worth in 1849. Important service was rendered by the New-York military in April, 1840, in suppressing a dangerous riot among the workmen on the Croton aqueduct in the upper part of the city, and guarding the public property in that locality. During and after the great fire in July, 1845, citizen soldiers patrolled the streets, and for three days were engaged in protecting property and preserving order. But the most memorable event in the military annals of this period was the Astor Place riot, May, 1849, in which the Seventh Regiment, Colonel Duryee, achieved great distinction by its prompt action and gallant conduct in dispersing a large and dangerous mob, although not without a considerable loss of life to the rioters. The moral effect upon the dangerous class of the summary and complete vindication of law and order on this occasion was valuable and lasting, and since that time the citizens of New-York have confidently relied upon its military organizations for protection and safety whenever the police power of the city government proved insufficient.

The principal military parades from 1850 to 1860 were upon the following occasions: the funeral of President Taylor in 1850; the reception of President Fillmore in May, and of Louis Kossuth in December, 1851; the funeral of Henry Clay in July, and of Daniel Webster in November, 1852; the reception of President Pierce in 1853; the inauguration of the Worth monument in 1857; the removal of the remains of President Monroe, which were escorted by the Seventh Regiment to Richmond, Va., in July, 1858, and the celebration of the completion of the Atlantic cable in September of the same year; the reception of the Japanese Embassy in June, and of the Prince of Wales

in October, 1860. The services of the military were in urgent demand in June, 1857, to preserve order during the controversy between the mayor and the metropolitan police commissioners for the control of the police force of the city, and the consequent conflicts between the adherents of the respective claimants. Twice in the month of July part of the city troops were under arms, and were successful in suppressing dangerous riots in the Sixth and Seventeenth wards. In September, 1859, part of the quarantine hospitals and buildings on Staten Island were destroyed by a mob, and for over three months the property of the State at that place was guarded by detachments of the New-York military.

It was not until 1851 that military overcoats became a part of the uniform of New-York citizen soldiers. This innovation was followed in 1854 by the introduction of the United States muskets, altered from flint to percussion lock, which were accepted as a wonderful improvement in firearms and an important addition to the efficiency of the soldier. Since the Revolutionary War the Battery had been the favorite place for military formations, but the First Division was compelled to recognize the great extension of the city northward, and its line was formed for parade at this period in Fourteenth street. In 1858 "Hardee's Light Infantry Tactics," adapted from the French, became the authorized text-book of the New-York military. The first building erected by the city for the use, in part, of any regiment for military purposes, was the Tompkins Market Armory, Third Avenue and Sixth street, occupied by the Seventh Regiment in 1860.

The fall of Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, inaugurated a long civil war, in which the New-York military had an important part. Well organized, armed, equipped, and drilled, its regiments were ready to respond without delay to the call of President Lincoln for troops to retake and hold the forts, and protect the property of the national government. The Seventh Regiment was the first to volunteer, and to march to the rescue of the national capital; and the patriotic excitement and enthusiasm which distinguished its departure on the 19th of April, were a guarantee of New-York's loyalty to the Union. Other regiments followed: the Fifth and Eighth, April 20; the Twelfth and Seventy-first, April 21; and the Sixty-ninth on April 23. The Seventh Regiment was the first of the New-York troops to reach Washington, and with its arrival the safety of the capital was assured. The prompt and patriotic action of the New-York military secured the seat of government to the friends of the Union at a period when its loss might have decided the contest, and would certainly have prolonged the great struggle for national unity. Most of the New-York militia regiments in the United States service at Washington in 1861, participated in the first advance into Virginia in June, and several of them were actively engaged at the battle of Bull Run in July. Many regiments of volun-

teers having been enlisted for three years or the war, the New-York militia regiments were honorably discharged after three months' service. Three New-York militia regiments, the Ninth, Fifty-fifth, and Seventy-ninth, were mustered into the United States service for two years, and served the country with honor and distinction.

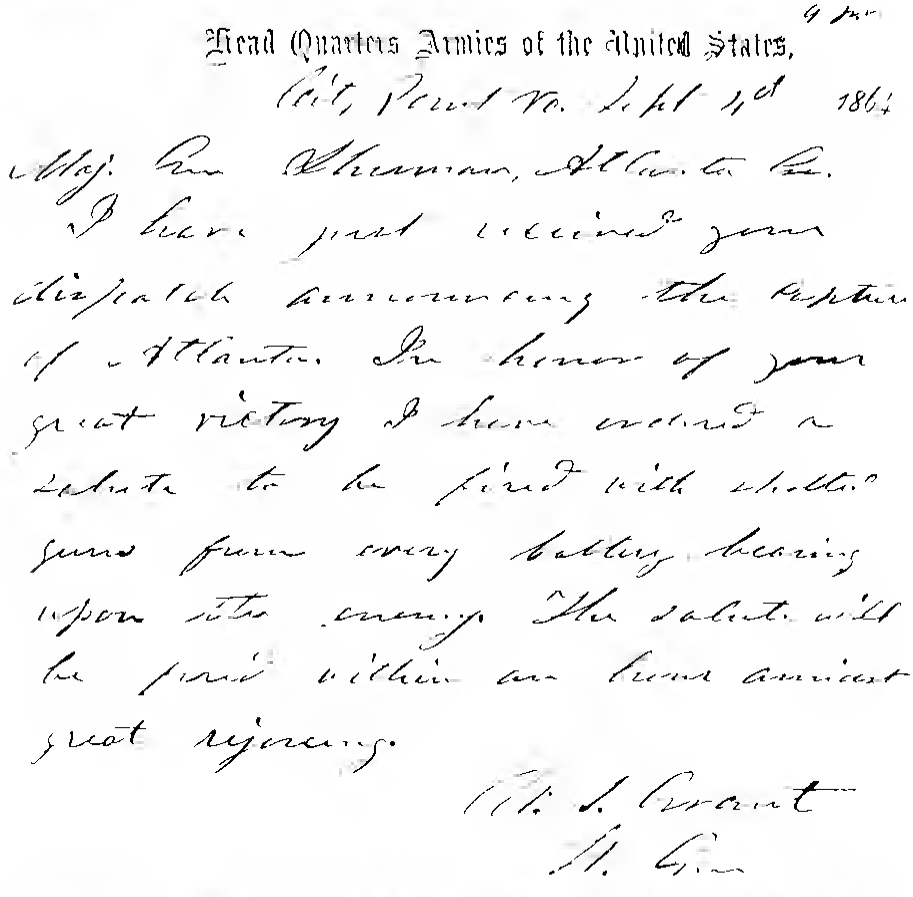
The services of the New-York military did not end with the tour of duty for the defense of the national capital. Many officers and members became officers of the volunteer regiments of New-York and other States, and by their military knowledge and experience, and by their gallantry on every battle-field, south and west, materially aided in achieving victory and preserving the Union. The Seventh Regiment alone furnished over six hundred and sixty officers to the regular and volunteer army and navy, many of whom became generals and field-officers. Although depleted in numbers, the New-York militia regiments maintained their organizations intact, and by regular and thorough drill were prepared for another call in case of an emergency. "Casey's Tactics" at this time became the text-book of citizen soldiers as well as of the army in the field. A new and important militia law was enacted by the New-York legislature in April, 1862, which required annual enrolment of all persons liable to military duty, provided for drafts of the militia when necessary, encouraged the maintenance and formation of regiments and companies by making it the duty of the State to furnish them with arms and equipments and with uniforms or a money allowance for uniforms, and required the counties to provide them with suitable armories and drill-rooms. To the uniformed militia of the State this law gave the name "National Guard," a title which had belonged exclusively to the Seventh Regiment since 1824.

Chas. P. Stone[1]

The defeat of the Union forces in the Shenandoah Valley, and their retreat into Maryland, in May, 1862, threatened the safety of

[1] Charles Pomeroy Stone was born in Greenfield, Mass., September 30, 1824, and was graduated at West Point in 1845; served in the artillery during the Mexican War, was brevetted first lieutenant September 8, 1847, for gallantry, and five days later received the brevet of captain. In May, 1861, he was appointed colonel of the Fourteenth infantry, and took charge of the defenses of Washington. Later he took part in numerous engagements, notably the disastrous affair at Ball's Bluff, in October, 1861, where Col. E. D. Baker was killed. He was suddenly imprisoned in Fort Lafayette in February, 1862 (see Chap. I, page 44). He served in the Department of the Gulf from May 3, 1863, to April 17, 1864, being chief of staff to General Banks during most of that period, and participating in the Bayou Teche and Red River campaigns. He was mustered out as brigadier-general of volunteers in 1864, resigning his commission as colonel in the regular army. In 1870 he accepted a commission in the Egyptian army, and was made chief of the general staff, returning to this country in 1883. The same year he was appointed engineer-in-chief of the Florida Ship-canal and Transit Company, and on April 3, 1886, engineer-in-chief to the committee having in charge the construction of the pedestal of the statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World." General Stone died in New York, January 24, 1887. EDITOR.

Washington, and the New-York military (National Guard) promptly volunteered its services to the national government. The Seventh Regiment left New-York, May 26, for the seat of war, and was followed by the Eighth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Sixty-ninth, and Seventy-first regiments, and the Twenty-second and Thirty-seventh regiments, recently organized. They were mustered into the United States service for three months, and during the disastrous campaign of the Union army against Richmond, guarded the line of the Upper Potomac, and occupied the fortifications at Washington and Baltimore.



Head Quarters Armies of the United States,
City Point Va. Sept 4th 1864

Maj. Gen Sherman, Atlanta Ga.

I have just received your dispatch announcing the capture of Atlanta. In honor of your great victory I have ordered a salute to be fired with shotted guns from every battery bearing upon the enemy. The salute will be fired within an hour after receipt of your dispatch.

U. S. Grant
Lt. Gen

They performed a great variety of necessary military duty, and their services were recognized by the government as of great value and as indispensable at this period. After their honorable discharge in September, several of the regiments were detailed to preserve order in the Spinola Brigade, at East New-York, and to perform guard

duty at that place. To pay appropriate military honors to soldiers who had bravely died upon the battle-field was a frequent duty of the National Guard at this period.

Upon the invasion of Pennsylvania by the Confederate army under General Lee, in June, 1863, President Lincoln called upon the governors of the adjacent States for one hundred thousand militia for immediate service, and the National Guard of New-York promptly responded. The Seventh Regiment marched June 17, and on the following days the entire military force of the city (twelve regiments) was hastening to the front. Some of these regiments were ordered to Harrisburg, and from that and adjacent points checked the advance northward of the Confederate cavalry; others aided in the defense of Baltimore, also seriously threatened by the enemy. The decisive victory of the Union army at Gettysburg relieved the North from the invaders, but another dangerous enemy unexpectedly appeared. The enforcement of the Conscription Act in New-York by a draft of the enrolled militia, commencing July 11, precipitated a riot as remarkable as any in history for its length, extent, violence, and atrocities. In the absence of the National Guard, the police, although distinguished for activity and bravery, was unable to restore order and protect life and property. The Seventh Regiment was the first of the returning troops to reach New-York, July 16, and after some serious conflicts with the mob, which for several days had been in possession of the city, order was restored and the reign of terror was at an end.

During the draft in 1864, the National Guard was subjected to a long and tedious tour of guard duty, to prevent a recurrence of the violence and disorder of the previous year. Four new regiments, organized in 1863, were mustered into the United States service, and served for three months in 1864, but were disbanded soon after the close of the war. In March, 1865, the victories of General Sherman and his triumphal march northward, were celebrated by a joint parade of the National Guard of New-York and Brooklyn. The general rejoicing at the close of the war, in April, was clouded by the death of President Lincoln. New-York was draped in mourning, and the funeral ceremonies, April 25, in which the military bore a prominent part, were impressive and memorable. The volunteer regiments, upon their return to New-York at the end of the war, were received by the National Guard with military honors, were entertained by the city, and were heartily and gratefully welcomed by the people. In the five years following the war (1865–70) the strength of the National Guard was increased by the return to its ranks of many who had served in the Union armies, and by new regiments and companies organized from the returned volunteers. General Alexander Shaler succeeded General Sandford in the command of

U. S. Grant

the First Division in 1866. The division contained in 1870 fifteen regiments of infantry, divided into three brigades, two regiments and two troops of cavalry, and four batteries of artillery. "Upton's Tactics" became the text-book of the United States army and of the National Guard in 1867. Tompkins Square was at this period the most eligible place in the city for regimental and brigade drills and reviews. A new militia law was enacted in 1870 by which the term of service, which for over half a century had been seven years, was reduced to five years. The only notable military parades of the period were for the reception of President Johnson in 1866, and the funeral of Admiral Farragut in 1870.

In 1872 the National Guard was armed by the State with the Remington breech-loading rifle, which proved a safe, reliable, and valuable arm, and is in use at the present time. Rifle-practice at once received a great impetus, and from that day to this marksmanship has been a most important military accomplishment of the citizen soldier. The National Rifle Association was organized at this time; an appropriation was obtained from the State for the purchase of suitable grounds for an extensive rifle-range; and Creedmoor became the favorite resort of American riflemen. Since the inauguration of Creedmoor, the New-York military has annually visited that place for rifle-practice; it has been open during the season to officers and members of the National Guard ambitious to become expert riflemen; and it has been the scene of many memorable international and interstate rifle contests and matches for State, division, and brigade prizes. With Creedmoor, and the rifle-ranges in the regimental armories, and liberal encouragement from the State, the National Guard of this city has gradually become more proficient in rifle-practice than any similar organization in the country. There were two important and dangerous riots in New-York during the decade (1870–80) in which the services of the National Guard were invaluable. An organized and determined effort in 1871 to prevent by force the usual parade of the Orangemen of the city, on the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, July 12, compelled the mayor of the city to call upon the military to preserve order and to protect those who marched in the procession. The First Division was under arms during the day; the Orangemen were successfully escorted by the military over their designated line of march, though not without considerable bloodshed and loss of life, and the equal right of New-York citizens to the use of the public streets was fully assured. The great strike of railroad employees for higher wages in various parts of the country in July, 1877, made it necessary for the governor to order the National Guard to assemble at their armories prepared for active service. Some of the regiments were sent to cities in the

interior of the State, and others were on duty for a week in New-York. The police was able to disperse the rioters and maintain order, but the fact was none the less apparent that the presence of a large force of citizen soldiers, ready for action, saved New-York from the serious violations of law and the destruction of property which occurred in many other large cities in the United States. The important military parades at this period were for the reception of the Grand Duke Alexis in 1871; the funeral of General Anderson in 1872; the inauguration of the Lafayette statue in Union Square, and the centennial of the battle of Harlem Heights, in 1876; the reception of President Hayes, and the unveiling of the Halleck statue, in 1877; and the funeral of General Hooker in 1879. Several of the New-York regiments paraded in Philadelphia, July 4, 1876, the centennial anniversary of American independence, and the remainder of the First Division celebrated the day in New-York. The parade was memorable as the last in this city upon July 4, and although a military display on Decoration (Memorial) Day was an acceptable substitute, not a few regretted the discontinuance of a patriotic custom one hundred years old.

The regiments organized in New-York in the years following the war were from time to time disbanded, and in 1880 the First Division consisted of two brigades containing nine regiments of infantry, three batteries of artillery, and one troop of cavalry. In accordance with law, the city, since 1862, had provided its military organizations with armories and drill-rooms, but they were generally in buildings unsuitable and inadequate for the purpose. The Seventh Regiment was the first to occupy an armory constructed expressly for military purposes, and in 1880 removed from Tompkins Market to the large and elegant building at Park Avenue and Sixty-seventh street, which had been erected from a fund contributed by its own members and by the liberal citizens of New-York. Since that time the city has munificently provided suitable armories for all its regiments, or such public buildings are in course of construction. In recent years the necessity and value of a strong, well-equipped, and well-drilled organization of citizen soldiers has been frequently recognized by the city and State authorities in liberal appropriations of money and important measures to promote its efficiency. In 1882 a State camp of instruction was instituted near Peekskill, and the grounds have since been purchased and fitted up with all the necessary appliances for the purpose. Since that time the military organizations of the city

have each occupied this camp for one week in alternate years, and the result has been a marked improvement in drill and discipline, and especially in such military exercises as cannot be practised in the regimental armories. For many years the necessity for a large and suitable parade-ground for the troops of New-York city was recognized, and under an act of the legislature in 1871 a site for this purpose was secured on the Harlem River near Kingsbridge. With the acquisition by the city of the lands for new parks beyond the Harlem, the site was changed to Van Cortlandt Park, and the extensive and admirable parade-ground at that place was occupied by the First Division for military purposes in 1891. A new military code was adopted in 1885, which provided for a regulation uniform for the National Guard, to be furnished by the State in lieu of a money allowance. The State uniform adopted and issued was generally accepted as serviceable, if not handsome or soldierly, although two New-York regiments elected to retain their distinctive full dress, and other National Guard organizations have since adopted distinctive uniforms. Under a reorganization of the National Guard of the State, in 1886, the New-York troops became the First Brigade, and General Louis Fitzgerald was elected to command the new brigade. Two regiments of infantry and a battery of artillery having been disbanded, the brigade now contains seven regiments of infantry, two batteries of artillery, and a troop of cavalry, and, though not as strong in numbers as in former years, is an organization of citizen soldiers perhaps unsurpassed in the world in any particular.

In 1881 the officers delegated to represent the French republic at the Yorktown centennial were received in New-York with military honors, and many of the National Guard organizations of the city visited Virginia on that occasion. In 1883 the military paraded as escort to President Arthur at the celebration of the completion of the New-York and Brooklyn Bridge. In October of the same year the New-York troops paraded at Newburg at the centennial celebration of the end of the Revolutionary War, and in November they bore an important part in the magnificent centennial parade in commemoration of the evacuation of the city by the British. The military parades for the reception of the remains of General Grant, and for their burial at Riverside, August, 1885, were memorable for their magnitude and solemnity, and the parade for the inauguration of the Bartholdi statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, October, 1886, attracted great at-

tention. In the grand parade, April, 1889, for the celebration of the centennial of the inauguration of Washington, the New-York military was joined by the National Guard of many other States, and the number of troops in column (about forty thousand) was larger than on any other occasion in the history of the city. In the Columbus year (1892) nearly all the New-York regiments were ordered to Buffalo to protect property and preserve order during a strike of railroad employees, and in October the entire National Guard of New-York and adjacent States paraded in honor of the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America.

This brief record of the public services of the New-York military demonstrates its value in the past, and no eulogium is necessary. In the War of 1812 it faithfully guarded the city from attack, and at the beginning of the Civil War (1861–65) it saved the national capital from the enemies of the Union, and throughout the great contest, in divers ways and on many occasions, contributed to the final victory. Whenever life and property have been endangered by riot and disorder, New-York has relied upon its citizen soldiers for protection and safety, and they have gallantly responded to every call, and always with success. To receive and escort with appropriate honors the distinguished guests of the city, to parade on all great occasions and in commemoration of important historical events, and to pay the last tribute of respect to the honored dead, have been among the manifold duties devolving upon the New-York military, and have been performed with distinction and to the satisfaction of the public. To maintain a strong and efficient force of citizen soldiers, so indispensable to the life of a great city, and to the existence and permanence of free institutions, will be as necessary in the future as in the past, and there is no reason to doubt that with the fostering care of the State, and the support and confidence of the people, its career will continue to be both useful and honorable.

CRUGER ARMS.

Account of Moneys
Furnished by Lewis Pintard to the following American Officers, Prisoners of War on Long Island.[1]

OFFICERS.	RANK.	CORPS.	AMOUNT.		
William Allison	Colonel	Militia	£131	12	4
Henry Brewester	Lieutenant	Allison's	114	8	4
James Bruyn	Lieutenant-Colonel	Dubois'	146	19	0
Nehemiah Carpenter	Quartermaster		113	6	10
George Combs	Captain	Drake's Militia	36	10	10
Joseph Crane	"	Volunteer Company	100	7	7
Isaac Crane	Adjutant	Field's	135	1	7
John Cudner	Lieutenant	Drake's Militia	26	9	2
Samuel Dodge		Dubois'	96	8	3
Ephraim Fenno		Lamb's Artillery	132	17	10
John Furman		Dubois'	130	19	6
Oliver Glean	Quartermaster		114	8	6
Henry Godwin	Captain	Dubois'	127	3	10
Benjamin Halstead	Lieutenant	Allison's	116	11	7
Israel Honeywell	Captain	Drake's	26	9	2
James Humphrey	"	McClaughry's	115	17	1
John Hunter	Lieutenant	"	119	0	2
Pattin Jackson		Dubois'	116	11	6
Isaac Theeler		Drake's Militia	26	9	2
James Thronkhytt	Captain		26	9	2
Abraham Legget	Ensign	Dubois'	60	13	9
Samuel Logan	Major		132	4	3
Daniel Marlin	Captain	Graham's	51	4	5
Alexander McArthur	Lieutenant	Dubois'	120	11	10
James McClaughry	Lieutenant-Colonel	2d Militia	131	12	1
John McClaughry	Ensign	Dubois'	115	12	3
Ebenezer Mott	Lieutenant		124	9	10
Henry Pawling			116	13	10
Solomon Pendleton			121	18	5
Isaac Requaw	Adjutant	Drake's Militia	80	12	7
Nathaniel Reynolds	Lieutenant		27	9	2
Cornelius Swartwout		Lamb's Artillery	116	13	10
Henry Swartwout	Ensign	Dubois'	113	6	3
James Teller	Captain	Drake's Militia	26	9	2
Thomas Thomas	Colonel	Westchester Militia	46	12	11
Leonard Van Bureu	Lieutenant	Drake's Militia	31	3	4
Jacob Van Tassel		Hammond's	35	4	4
Samuel Whiting		Lamb's Artillery	134	18	9
Daniel Williams	Captain	Graham's	91	6	9

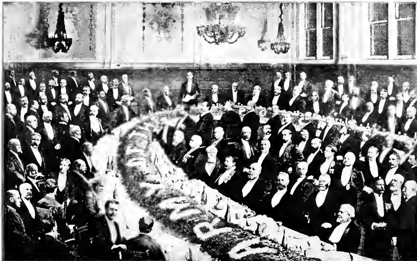
[1] Mr Pintard was the commissary for American prisoners in New York, filling the office with economy and fidelity. From the original document in his handwriting are copied the above New York names. It is believed they appear in print in 1843 for the first time. EDITOR.

DINNER TO THE COMTE DE PARIS

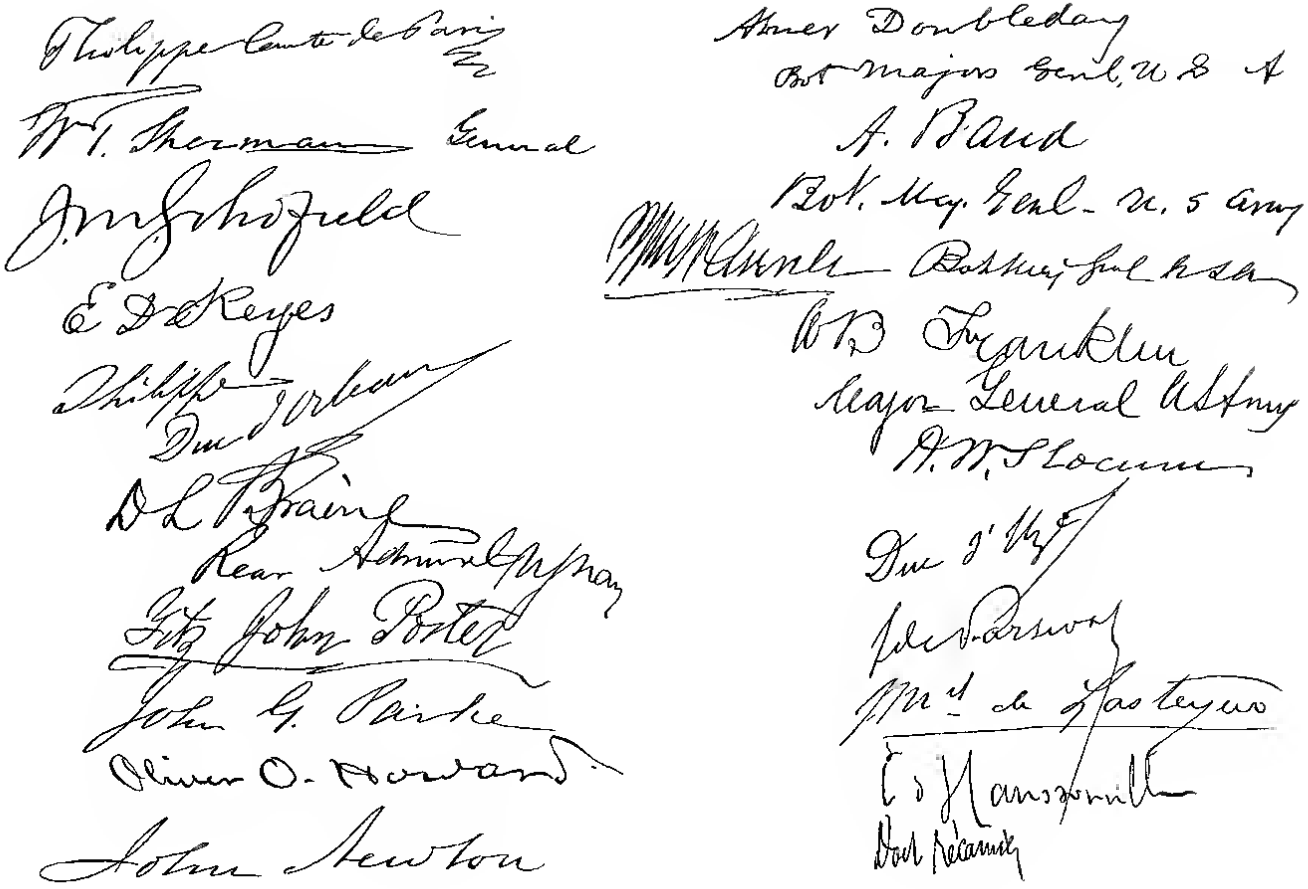
Louis Philippe Albert d'Orleans, Count of Paris, was born in the palace of the Tuileries, August 24, 1838, his father, who was thrown from his carriage and killed at Neuilly, being the Duke of Orleans, eldest son of Louis Philippe, King of France. Upon the abdication of the throne by that monarch in 1848, he claimed recognition for the young Comte de Paris as his successor, who was acclaimed Louis Philippe the Second; but the National Assembly decided adversely, and the Comte, with all the other members of the Orleans family, was driven from France. The Duchesse d'Orleans and her two sons settled at Claremont, England, where the Comte and his brother, the Duc de Chartres, were educated, and where they remained for about ten years. Upon the death of their mother in 1858, their grandfather, the king, having died in 1850, the young princes traveled for several years in Europe. In September, 1861, a few months after the breaking out of the Rebellion, being desirous of seeing war in its stern reality, they came to the United States, accompanied by their uncle, the Prince de Joinville. Almost immediately after their arrival they accepted positions as volunteer aides on the staff of General McClellan, then commander of the Army of the Potomac. They were known as Captain Louis Philippe d'Orleans and Captain Robert d'Orleans, serving without either pay or emolument whatsoever, and they were present at the siege of Yorktown, and in the numerous engagements around Richmond. The princes resigned their commissions after General McClellan's retreat in July, 1862, owing to the unfriendly relations existing between France and the United States on account of the former's interference in Mexican affairs. In the event of war between the two countries the young Frenchmen could not, of course, be expected to take up arms against the flag of their native land. They returned to France with their uncle in May, 1864, when the Comte married his cousin Marie, daughter of the Duc de Montpensier, and by whom he has had six children. Of these, the eldest is the Queen of Portugal, and the second is the Duc d'Orleans, who accompanied his father to this country in 1890, and who was imprisoned for several months for returning to France in defiance of the expulsion act of 1866.

The Comte offered his sword to France at the beginning of the German war in 1870, but it was declined. He, however, obtained in 1871 a seat in the National Assembly, was commissioned colonel, and placed on the retired list of the army. In 1873, as chief of the Orleans branch of the royal family of France, the Comte met the Comte de Chambord, chief of the Bourbon or elder branch, at the latter's castle of Frohsdorf, near Vienna, and formally recognized him as the representative of the royal house, and *de jure* King of France. Ten years later Chambord died, and the Comte de Paris, succeeding to his rights, was acknowledged generally by the Legitimists. In June, 1889, the Comte and Comtesse celebrated their silver wedding at Sheen House, near Richmond, on the Thames—their English residence since their exile from France under the expulsion bill—a notable gathering, at which were present most of the Orleans family, many of the old *noblesse* of France, members of the English royal family, and about a thousand ladies and gentlemen, including numbers of the most distinguished personages of London society.

In October, 1890, the Comte and his son, with six companions, reached New-York, and before returning to England, a month later, visited Gettysburg and the scenes of other battles of the Civil War in which he had taken part, and had also seen Philadelphia, Washington, and Niagara Falls, as well as Quebec and Montreal. Perhaps the most notable among the many public and private entertainments extended to the Comte



ARMY OF THE POTOMAC DINNER TO THE COMTE DE PARIS, OCTOBER 20, 1890



FAC-SIMILES OF SIGNATURES OF SOME OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED THE DINNER.

and his party was the dinner given at the Plaza Hotel, New-York, by one hundred and four of his comrades of the Army of the Potomac, including nine corps commanders.[1] Generals Sherman and Schofield were present as guests, and made speeches, as did also several corps commanders, and the Comte delivered an admirable address. Each of the officers present afterward received as a souvenir of the occasion a large photograph of the Comte, with his autograph. The "History of the Civil War in America," by the Comte de Paris, is considered the best history of the late struggle which has as yet appeared. Issued in Paris, in eight octavo volumes, in 1874–87, it has been excellently translated and published in four volumes in this country; and although not complete, it is still a monumental work, the author having devoted to it much of his leisure time during the past twenty years.

EDITOR.

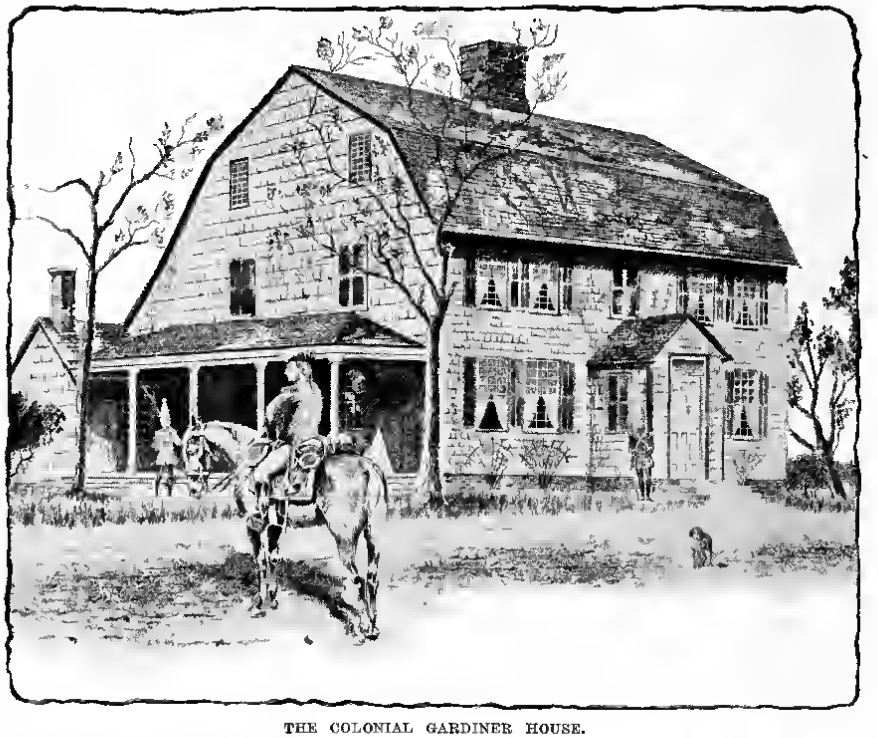
[1] The five score and four officers who gave the dinner were as follows:

Amberson, Finley, Lt. Col.	Floyd Jones, Delancey, Col.	McKeever, C., B B G.	Sickles, D. E., M G.
Averell, W. W., B M G.	Greene, Geo. S., B M G.	Milham, J. T., B B G.	Sweitzer, N. B., P B G.
Auchmuty, R. T., Bt. Col.	Gibbs, Theodore K., Maj.	McClellan, A., Col.	Sherman, H. W., M G.
Asch, M. J., Brevet Major.	Griffin, E. B., B B G.	Mais, H. W. T., Maj.	Sharp, Alex., B M G.
Barlow, F. C., M G.	Gardiner, A. B., Maj.	Mason, W. P., Capt.	Sewell, W. L., B M G.
Barnum, H. A., M G.	Grant, Gabriel, Maj.	Newton, John, M G.	Stryker, W. S., B M G.
Baird, Absalom, B M G.	Greene, F. V., Capt.	Nicholson, J. P., B B G.	Sharpe, G. H., B M G.
Beckard, James, Capt.	Hammond, W. A., B G.	Norton, C. B., B B G.	Swayne, Wager, B M G.
Best, Clement L., Col.	Howard, O. O., M G.	O'Bourne, J. R., B B G.	Stahl, Julius, B G.
Butterfield, D., M G.	Harrison, W. H., B B G.	Oliver, Paul A., B B G.	Townsend, E. D., B M G.
Carr, L. B., B M G.	Hayes, Joseph, B G.	Oakley, Thos. B., Col.	Townsend, F., B B G.
Cochrane, J., B G.	Higginson, H. L., Col.	Parke, Inbrett, M G.	Tremaine, H. E., B B G.
Custer, J. H., Capt.	Heckscher, J. G., Lt.	Porter, Fitz-John, M G.	Tompson, W. H., B M.
Collis, C. H. T., B M G.	Irwin, B. B., Lt. Col.	Page, J. P., Capt.	Tompkins, C. H., B B G.
Candler, W. L., Bt. Col.	Jay, William, Col.	Porter, Josiah, M G.	Tyler, M. W., Bt. Col.
Connor, L. G., B., Col.	Keyes, E. D., M G.	Palmer, I. N., B M G.	Upham, John J., Col.
Church, W. C., B L Col.	King, H. C., Bt. Col.	Plume, J. W., B M G.	Viele, Egbert L., B G.
Clarkson, Floyd, Col.	Kingsbury, H. P., Capt.	Pratt, C. E., B M G.	Whipple, W. H., B M G.
Clarke, A. J., Col.	Kip, Lawrence, Col.	Pinto, F. E., B B G.	Webb, A. S., B M G.
Doubleday, A., M G.	Kirkland, J., Maj.	Pierson, P., B B G.	Walker, F. A., B B G.
Eckert, Thos. T., B B G.	Keyser, P. R., Maj.	Pennington, A. C. M., Col.	Wilson, J. Grant, B B G.
Erhardt, I. B., Col.	Kelly, F., Bt. Capt.	Powell, B., Lt. Col.	Weber, J. H., B B G.
Ehlers, F. M. L., Bt. Col.	Locke, P. T., B B G.	Rodenbough, T. F., B B G.	Weeks, H. A., Col.
Franklin, W. B., M G.	Langdon, L. L., Col.	Rawle, W. B., Col.	Wright, F. H., Col.
Fitzgerald, L., B G.	McMahon, M. T., B M G.	Ripley, Edward H., B B G.	Wadsworth, J. W., Capt.
Fairchild, L., B G.	Martin, A. P., B B G.	Robbins, S. H., Lt.	Weld, S. M., Lt. Col.

THE GARDINER HOUSE AT EASTHAMPTON

During the Revolutionary War a detachment of British troops was quartered on the east end of Long Island, and the men were billeted on the inhabitants. In Easthampton the mansion of Colonel Abraham Gardiner, being at that time the finest in the town, was used as headquarters by Governor Tryon, Sir William Erskine, and Sir Henry Clinton, and their staffs, which comprised Lord Percy, afterward Duke of Northumberland, Lord Cathcart, Major André, and other young officers. Major André was quartered at the house of Colonel Gardiner several weeks, and his gentlemanly deportment and generous feelings won the esteem of the family. Dr. Nathaniel Gardiner, the son of Colonel Gardiner, was a surgeon in the First Regiment New Hampshire Continental Infantry, and was on a visit to his father at that period. Having come within the British lines, he was liable to be seized as a spy, and though the family took every precaution to conceal his presence, it was soon perceived that André was not without knowledge of it. He forbore, however, any allusion to it, and subsequently expressed a regret that their relative situations had prevented him from soliciting an interview. André afterward repaired to New-York, and his ultimate fate is well known. On the night preceding his untimely death, the young surgeon whom

he had thus encountered enjoyed by a strange coincidence the melancholy pleasure of his society. He left with the Gardiner family several memorials of friendship, notably two wine-glasses from his camp-chest, which he exchanged on parting for two belonging to Colonel Gardiner. One of them is at present owned by John Lyon Gardiner, present proprietor of Gardiner's Island, and the other by Frederick Diodati Thompson,



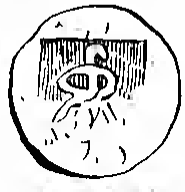
THE COLONIAL GARDINER HOUSE.

of New-York. Tradition relates how on one occasion, at the command of Sir Henry Clinton, he entertained them with a recital of the inimitable ballad of Chevy Chase. In the attic of the old mansion prisoners of war were confined until they could be tried by court martial. There were several secret closets for hiding valuable jewels and documents, and it is thought that if the house were demolished some treasures at present unknown would be brought to light. EDITOR.

CHAPTER X

COINS AND CURRENCY OF NEW-YORK

THE Rev. Jonas Michaelius, the first Christian minister known to have taught the gospel on New-York soil (of whom another chapter will tell more), writes to some friend in Holland from the Island of Manhatas on August 11, 1628: "The Indians bring some eatables, but one who has no wares, such as knives, beads and the like, or Seewan, cannot have any good of them." Here we have the first mention of what later caused a great trouble to the merchants and to the authorities of New Netherland, having attained the dignity of colonial currency in its capacity of "fiat money." The difficulties mentioned have been told in a former chapter,[1] and it is only necessary to explain what wampum, also called "wampumpeage" or "sewant," was. The Northern Algonquins and the Iroquois or Five Nations of Indians used for ornament and as currency in their commercial intercourse with each other white and black beads, chiefly made at the eastern end of Long Island and in the region around Sandy Hook. The white, or wampumpeage, was made from the conch or periwinkle; the black, or rather purple, called "suckanhock," from hard-shell clams. The shell was broken in pieces, rubbed smooth on a stone till about the thickness of a clay-pipe stem, then cut and pierced with a drill. How the Indians, who had no iron or steel tools before the arrival of Europeans, could perforate the hard shell must remain unexplained, unless we adopt the theory that they knew how to give to copper the hardness of steel. When cut into the proper length, three sixteenths of an inch, these beads were strung on thin strips of deer leather, and then frequently made into belts. The belts were used on all public occasions, such



AZTEC COIN.[2]

[1] Chap. VII, Vol. I, Governor Stuyvesant's Administration.

[2] The illustration represents a coin of pure copper, of about the diameter and thickness of an old-fashioned United States penny. It was presented to an American artist by a Mexican with the assurance that it was struck by the Aztecs; and it is supposed to be the earliest American coin. The Aztecs, like the Egyptians, made symbolic use of the serpent in their sculpture and decorations, though what their representations of the serpent signify is not clearly known. EDITOR.

as treaty-making, etc., and a belt or string was given to bind each article of a treaty. Figures were elaborately worked with different-colored beads according to a recognized system, so as to form a record of the event that could be read. Isaac de Razières, treasurer of New Netherland, first introduced this currency into the New England colonies, where it was called "an invention of the devil," or "the devil's currency"; but in the chapter mentioned above we have seen that in their thriftiness they had no objections to draw advantage from his satanic majesty's gift. The General Court of Massachusetts declared wampum legal tender up to forty shillings by an enactment in 1643.

The absence and uselessness of coin required other circulating mediums for the trade with the Indians. Of these the most important one was gunpowder, after the Indians had been provided with fire-arms. The mode of paying in powder was by the handful, which led to the complaint that when the natives had to receive payment, they would always send the men with the biggest hands. In their internal trade among themselves and neighboring colonies, the merchants of New Amsterdam used beaver-skins, wheat, tobacco, lumber, and other articles of barter. Although the laws and ordinances of New Netherland apparently only recognize wampum and beaver-skins as the currency of the colony, their value being expressed in guilders and stivers, we learn from commercial papers that Carolus guilders were occasionally passed in payment. This was probably what is called the "thaler of Charles of Egmond of 1530," a coin bearing on the obverse the legend "Carolus, Dux Gelriæ, etc."[1] A resolution of the Amsterdam department of the West India Company mentions (May 10, 1652) another coin as circulating here. The owners of ships trading to New Netherland had represented that their agreements with New Amsterdam parties required that the freight of goods shipped there should be paid in beavers at eight florins the piece, or in silver; but now they are informed that Stuyvesant had fixed the value of pieces of eight at three florins ($1.20), and in consequence many light pieces of eight, forbidden in Amsterdam, were brought over, which caused them a loss of at least fifty per cent. The directors resolved to write to Stuyvesant about it, but no letter is now in existence telling the sequel of this movement.[2] When New Netherland was changed into New-York, the new rulers made at first no alteration in the currency, except giving the respective equivalent in English values. The first order mentioning the currency of the province was given by Governor Richard Nicolls in February 1664–5. It says: "The Payments for goods imported shall be paid as formerly in Bever Pay at 8 guilders or 13sh. 4d. a Bever. All tobacco shall pay

[1] Matthews, "Coinage of the World." [2] New York Colonial MSS., XI. 67.

2 pence a pound English weight in wampum, which is 1½ penny Sterling, or in Bever at 8sh. a pound."[1]

But wampum held its place as the most important currency, and retained it until near the end of the seventeenth century; for on November 7, 1692, the House of Representatives for the province of New-York took notice of the "Compdaints made to this House by ye Inhabitants of this Province of obstructions made to ye Currency of wampum, which this House Conceives to be in Contempt of ye Proclamation made authorizing ye Currant paym^t^ thereof, and doe therefore humbly Pray his Excell^y^ y^t^ he would be pleased to Isseue out his Proclamation ye all Wampum might goe Currant In all Payments, according to the value ways and Costumes formerly usod."[2] The governor and council, upon reading this "messuage,"[3] immediately saw the necessity of such a proclamation, and it was issued November 19, declaring "that all wampumpeage Comonly known & Called by the name of black wampum Shall be valued after the rate of three black wampums to one Styver, and twenty such Styvers Shall be valued & taken for one guibler or Sixpence Currant money of this province." Six white wampums were made equal to three black ones. "And for the more regular paym^t^ of the Said wampumpeage Currant money aforesaid," the proclamation further directs "that all Sum & Summs of money to ye value of £5 & upwards in wampum Shall be String upon Some thred and the number of guilders or Sixpence therepon Contained Shall be Indorsed in writeing togither with the persons name who payeth the Said wampum,—all wch wampum So String & paid as aforesaid, Shall be good Sufficient & merchantable wampum and not other wyse." Sums from ten shillings to five pounds could be paid or tendered in payment in loose or unstring wampum, "so that the number of guibbers or Sixpences So offered to be paid be put togither in a Certaine paper not exceeding the number of tenn guilders or five Shill in each paper, upon wch paper there Shall be Indorsed in writeing the number & quantity of guilders or Sixpence therein Contained togither with the persons name who payeth the same." Payments under ten shillings were to be made in loose wampum without any restriction, according to the value given above.[4] This was not yet the last official appearance of wampum, for an act of Assembly "for Encouraging the City of New-York," passed October 18, 1701, still speaks of eight stivers in wampum as equal to one silver twopence, and four stivers as equal to one silver penny.

The peace with Spain and her American colonies opened to the merchants of New-York a new field for their mercantile operations.

[1] General Entries, I. 125. [2] Not on record. [3] N. Y. Col. MSS., XXXIX. 5.
[4] Council Minutes, MSS., IX. 185. [5] N. Y. Col. MSS., XXXIX. 51.

the results of which brought to their cash-boxes a lot of outlandish coins. A rule of the Court of Assizes, acting then in a quasi-legislative capacity, made October 5, 1672, gives the first intimation of the value at which these coins were current in New-York: "A good piece of $\frac{8}{8}$ of Spanish Coyne, of Mexico, Sevill or Pillar shall be valued and goe for 6 shill., a Boston Shilling for one shilling currant pay."[1]

On the road from the famous watering-place Carlsbad in Bohemia to the Saxon frontier is a little village called Joachimsthal, which, with the castle of Freudenstein, of which the ruins only exist to-day, belonged to the Counts of Schlick. The head of this family, in 1519, received from the Emperor Charles V. the privilege to coin "gulden groschen," which were usually called "Joachimsthaler," then "thaler," and then, by filtering through the Dutch "daalder," became the English "dollar." They were of 451 grains Troy weight, and the mint-master of Count Schlick was under orders always to keep the coins at the same weight and fineness. The result was that they circulated freely everywhere, and were always taken at the same value. Charles V., who was also King of Spain, Lord of Burgundy, of the Netherlands, of America, and many other places, observed this stability of value of the Joachimsthal coin, and desiring to have a coin which would as readily pass in all his wide-spread dominions, he ordered eight reals of silver to be coined into one piece, containing 400 grains of fine silver. In allusion to the design of pillars and a scroll upon them, these pieces of eight of Charles V. were called in Spain "colonatas," in the English colonies "pillar dollars." As they were first coined at the mint of Seville, they also went by the name of "Seville pieces of eight." Later they were known by the appellation of "milled pieces," or "Spanish milled dollars." When the United Netherlands had thrown off the yoke of Spanish dominion, and thereby stopped the source from which their country was supplied with honest money, they set to coining a dollar of less value, with the effigy of a lion upon it, and hence called the "lion dollar." An assay of the middle of the last century gives to these Dutch lion dollars 226 grains fine silver. These coins found their way to Constantinople, thence to the Red Sea, to Madagascar, and finally to New-York in a manner told below. When Charles V. coined these pieces of eight, the two pillars of Hercules and a scroll, forming the letter S, were placed upon them. The pillars and the scroll form the figure $, and this soon became the written sign for the piece of eight, afterward for the United States dollar. The pieces of eight, which, as will be seen, we meet under various names, caused to the English authorities of New-York as much trouble as the native grown and manufactured wampum had to the Dutch.

[1] Court of Assizes, 324

In 1675 Governor Sir Edmund Andros proposed to the Duke of York a partial recoining of these p^{s}[1] by stamping the shilling value upon them, at which he desired them to pass current. But Sir John Werden, the duke's secretary, a man who knew a little more of English law and of political economy than Sir Edmund, discountenanced this project in a letter of September 15, 1675.[2] The difference in value of the pieces of eight in New-York and the neighboring colonies was a cause of great trouble and inconvenience to the New-York traders; and although Governor Andros had not been allowed to create a Spanish coin of New-York, he persisted in giving it a value thought by him to equalize it with that in the other colonies. His well-meant action was neither approved nor countermanded by his superiors. Sir John Werden contents himself with doubting the advisability of the step, and writes on January 28, 167$\frac{7}{8}$: "Your raising the value of p^{s} is what I am not able to judge of."[3] More than a decade passed before the question of the currency was again brought to the attention of the ruling powers. It does not appear from contemporaneous evidence that Sir Edmund Andros meddled again with the value of the coins circulating in New-York. But the authorities in England also wanted to prevent all such unauthorized interference in matters of trade, and therefore inserted in the instructions given to Governor Fletcher, March 7, 169$\frac{1}{2}$, a clause peremptorily forbidding "any alteration in the value of the current coin either foreign or belonging to any of our Dominions."[4] The same injunction was repeated in the instructions to Lord Cornbury in 1697.[5]

About this same time the old names for money values, as Carolus guilders, guilders, and stivers, inherited from the Dutch predecessors, began to fade out in New-York city to make room for the English pounds, shillings, and pence. Accounts of Dutch traders in the city and in the interior were still kept in guilders, but when they had bills against the government the amounts were generally expressed in pounds. But it was the pound New-York money, of which $4 was then equal to £1 sterling.[6] The order given by the Court of Assizes in 1672 had not been explicit enough, for it did not mention Peru pieces of eight, hence the council directed, March 23, 169$\frac{8}{9}$, that "forasmuch as all p^{s} of 15 pwt., except Peru are current at six shillings and Peru pieces of the same weight at five shillings," pieces of greater or less weight should pass current for more or less in proportion, allowing for each pennyweight more or less, if Peru pieces four pence, if others four and a half pence, and that a proclamation to that effect should be published. Two days later the same body resolved "that a certain coin lately come into the province, known by the name

[1] This is the sign used in Col. MSS. for pieces of eight. [2] N. Y. Col. Hist., III. 234.
[3] Ibid., 236. [4] Ibid., 824. [5] Ibid., IV. 290. [6] Ibid., III. 236.

of the *dog dollar*, pass current at five shillings six pence per piece."[1] It has been stated above that the lion dollar came to New-York from Holland by way of Constantinople, the Red Sea, and Madagascar. With it came a more important visitor in the shape of Arabian gold coins. Although gold is probably in all civilized communities a not unwelcome apparition, the way in which it was brought to New-York threatened to bring the importers into trouble. Governor Fletcher's administration of the American colony placed in his charge had given so much cause for dissatisfaction that the Lords of Trade ordered an investigation of it. Peter de la Noy, a New-York merchant, says about his conduct, June 13, 1695: "We have a parcell of pirates in these parts, which [people] call Red Sea-men, who often get great bootys of Arabian gold. His Excellency gives all due encouragement to these men, because they make all due acknowledgment to him."[2]

Illegal though this piratical trade of New-York was, it was undoubtedly profitable and made money plentiful, as the following extracts from letters of Governor Lord Bellomont to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations tell. He writes from Boston, July 22, 1699: "They write from New-York, that Arabian Gold is in great plenty there, and indeed till there be a good judge or two and an honest, active Attorney-Generall to prosecute for the King, all my labours to suppress piracy will signify even just nothing. . When Frederick Phillips's ship and the two others come from Madagascar, New-York will abound with gold;"[3] and a month later he says: "Captain Giles Shelly, who lately came from Madagascar with 50 or 60 pirates, has so flushed them at New-York with Arabian gold and East India goods, that they set the government at defiance."[4] Before these letters could reach England, the matter had already been laid before the Lords Justices by the Lords of Trade, for the devising of means to put a stop to proceedings which were not only a disgrace to the government, but also threatened to involve it in a quarrel with friendly powers who did not relish such depredations on their legitimate trade by ships sailing under the English flag. The Lords of Trade submitted to the Lords Justices a letter written by Giles Shelly, the master of the Nassau, fitted out from New-York for Madagascar, to Stephen de Lancey, and said, in regard to it, that Shelly's was one of four ships fitted out from New-York in June, 1698; that his cargo outward bound, according to an extract sent by Lord Bellomont, was very small and inconsiderable; "but the returns, which the master mentions in his letter, and especially the freight for twenty-nine men (which seem to he the number brought to America, after landing forty-six others in India), vizt 12000 pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ and 3000

[1] Council Minutes, IX. 182, 183. [2] Ibid., 223. [3] Ibid., 532. [4] Ibid., 551.

Lion dollars for their passage, are exceeding great and must be computed to be many thousand pounds."[1] When the government measures to suppress piracy and thereby cut off the influx of Arabian gold had proved successful, Lord Bellomont found time to turn his attention to the currency in the province of New-York, and compare its value with that in other colonies. He inquired of Nicholas Meers, master of a vessel trading to South Carolina, about the value of money there, and learned that "Dog dollars, Rix dollars, Seville, Pillar and Mexico pieces of 8 had a currency there, but that it was sixteen per cent. worse than in New-York, while New-York currency was thirty per cent. worse than sterling, so that by that rule the money in Carolina must be forty-six per cent. worse than sterling."[2]

This diversity in value of the same coin when circulating in different localities led William Penn to suggest in October, 1700, "that there should be one standard for coin or that money should be made of the same value, for a piece of 8 which went in Boston for 6 shillings represented in New-York 6s. 9d., in Jersey and Pensilvania 7s. 8d., in Maryland 4s. 6d., in Virginia and Carolina 5 shillings." He adds that "it would be much for the dispatch of trade and business, if a mint for small silver to the value of 6d. were allowed in the City of New-York for prevention of clipping and filing."[3] The coining of money and determining the value of foreign coin was and is considered a royal prerogative. Hence the General Assembly of New-York hesitated to pass any act interfering with this prerogative, and waited for an expression of the supreme will; but when sufficient time had elapsed to hear of such an utterance and when it did not come, the Assembly reminded the home government of the matter by passing an act (November 27, 1702) against forging, counterfeiting and clipping foreign coins which are current money in New-York. It is a well-known saying that great bodies move slowly, and this saying may be applied to the body which from the other side of the Atlantic tried to rule the English colonies on this continent. Colonel Robert Quary, Judge of Admiralty in Pennsylvania since 1699, joined the Governor of New-York, Lord Cornbury, in June, 1703, in approving William Penn's suggestion of 1700, to reduce all the coins of America to one standard; one using as argument that such a measure "would prevent the carrying of money in specie out of her Majesty's governments into the proprietary colonies"; that it "would make most of the money center in England, for the difference of exchange is in some places thirty, forty and in Pennsylvania fifty per cent. worse than sterling."[4] The other one (Cornbury) complains that "a piece of eight weighing seventeen pennyweight, goes for 6sh. 9d. in this place (New York), but at Philadelphia it goes for 7sh. 6d., so

[1] Council Minutes, IX, 545. [2] Ibid., 665. [3] Ibid., 737. [4] Ibid., 1017.

that no heavy money is to he found here."[1] These urgent appeals finally brought about the royal proclamation of June 18, 1704, for settling and ascertaining the rates of foreign coins in her Majesty's plantations in America, which directed that after January 1, 1705, no Seville, pillar, or Mexico pieces of eight, though of full weight, should pass above six shillings current money. All Peru pieces, dollars, and other foreign silver coins, whether of the same or of baser alloy, should after that time stand regulated according to their weight and fineness in proportion to the rate before limited for Seville pieces, so that no foreign silver coin of any sort should be permitted to exceed that proportion upon any account whatsoever.[2]

ROSA AMERICANA FARTHING.

Before the proclamation had officially been received and published in New-York, copies had reached private hands and had aroused a storm of indignation. The proclamation of June 18, 1704, was published in New-York on Monday, February 5, following, and immediately after the publication several merchants, acting under directions given by their Boston correspondents, sent away as much coin by the mail-carrier, then starting for the East, as he could carry. For four or five days all trade was stopped, no market was held, and nothing could be bought for ready money. On the day following the proclamation, a petition, signed by most of the merchants of the city, was presented to Lord Cornbury, setting forth the many inconveniences that would attend the strict execution of the directions given in the proclamation, as such a measure would bring about the infallible ruin of the province of New-York, as the neighboring colonies did not obey her Majesty's commands. Pennsylvania had raised the value of pieces of eight weighing seventeen pennyweight to 7*s.* 6*d.*, and lighter money in proportion. This had drained New-York of its money, while New England had done the same by clipping, "which they don't scruple to do openly."[3] The committee of the council, to whom the aforesaid petition of the merchants had been referred, reported on February 8 that they found the allegations of said petition to be true; that upon perusal of the proclamation and considering that it had been received and published in the neighboring charter and proprietary governments before Lord Cornbury had received the same, that these governments had paid no attention to it, but had since advanced their money by passing pieces of eight of thirteen pennyweight for six shillings, the committee therefore were of opinion "that until her Majesty's pleasure be herein further known the putting in execution the said

[1] Council Minutes, IX. 1059. [2] "Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain," by Rev. R. Ruding.
[3] N. Y. Col. Hist., IV. 1131, 1133, 1135.

proclamation according to the letter thereof would frustrate her Majesty's most gracious intentions and instead of preventing the inconveniences, which her Majesty does thereby design to remedy, it would most manifestly increase the same to the decay of trade and indeed the utter ruin of this province, which is most immediately under her Majesty's care and government and is the bulwark against the French of Canada and their Indians."[1] Lord Cornbury listened to the advice of his constitutional counselors, but had to defend his course against his superiors, the Lords of Trade, who blamed him for allowing the representatives of the people to encroach upon "her Majesty's undoubtful prerogative."[2] In his defense he says: "The only effect of suspending execution of her Majesty's proclamation relating to the coin is, that this colony has by that measure had money enough circulating in it to carry on the trade of this province, which otherwise would not have been."[3] The circulation of foreign coins in the American colonies at different values in different places was not prevented by the proclamation of 1704, and it now became necessary to enforce the proclamation by a law, passed in 1707, threatening parties acting contrary to it with severe fines and imprisonment.

ROSA AMERICANA
HALFPENNY

The New-York act of 1702, mentioned above, had of course no force in the neighboring colonies, where unscrupulous persons continued their illegal practices and foreign coins were as much defaced by clipping and filing as before. To correct this abuse, which "generally diminished the value of these coins by more than one third," the General Assembly passed (October 6, 1708) an act "to revive" the one of 1702, after a conference committee of the house, sitting with members of the council, had expressed it as their opinion "that by Act of Assembly all money usually passing in payment within this colony, shall be declared current at the following rates: Spanish half ryalls [reals], that are fair and not clipped or defaced, at four pence halfpenny each, Spanish whole ryalls or the eighth part of a piece of eight at nine pence each, double Spanish ryalls at eighteen pence each: the same coins, if clipped or defaced, as also all whole and half pieces of eight of Pillar, Mexico or Seville coinage shall be current at eight shillings an ounce and so in proportion: Peru whole and half pieces of eight to pass for six shillings and eight pence an ounce, Lion dollars, not defaced, for five shillings and six pence."[4]

[1] Council Minutes, IX. 490 *et seq.* [2] N. Y. Col. Hist. IV. 1139. [3] Ibid. 1180.
[4] Journal of General Assembly of New York, I. p. 196.

This act required, however, the royal assent; but the Lords of Trade found that an act of Parliament (6 Anne, 30) repeating the aforesaid proclamation directed that the ounce Troy should not pass for more than six shillings and ten pence farthing. They argued that if this New-York act were confirmed, it might reasonably be presumed that the other American plantations would also enact laws of the same nature, and thereby raise the value of such coins as they thought most to their particular advantage; that such a method would entirely defeat the intent of the act of Parliament, and reproduce the former inconveniences.[1] The result was a royal veto of the New-York act on March 3, 170$\frac{8}{9}$, notwithstanding the urgent address to the queen forwarded by the speaker of the Assembly after the passage of the act for regulating and preventing the corruption of the current coin, October 6, 1708. The act in behalf of which this address was sent reaffirmed the rates at which money was and had been current for twenty years past in Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and New Jersey.

The fact that the New-York council, as well as the General Assembly, was composed of business men of the province, mostly merchants, who knew the subject of which they were speaking in their address probably better than the financiers of England could know, had no weight with the Lords of Trade, as we have seen before. When the veto of the New-York act became known, the merchants considered that they might be saved from the financial ruin staring them in the face by a measure intended to prevent the exportation of gold and silver coin out of the province, and such a law was enacted in the legislative session of 1709. But when Lord Cornbury was asked for his assent to the act, he replied that he was sorry "he could not do as they wished, in putting the act in execution, until the Queen's pleasure was known, but by his instructions was obliged to enforce the act of Parliament."[2] A clause in the just mentioned act of Parliament said: "Provided, that nothing in this act shall be construed to restrain her Majesty from regulating the several rates of the species of foreign silver coins within any of the said colonies in such other manner and according to such rates and proportions . *from giving her royal assent to any law hereafter to be made in any of the said colonies, for settling and ascertaining the current rates of such coins within the said colonies.*" This was a loophole, of which the legislative bodies of New-York and New Jersey

ROSA AMERICANA HALFPENNY.

[1] N. Y. Col. Hist., V. 67. [2] Journal of the General Assembly.

quickly availed themselves to regulate the currency of foreign coin according to their necessities. This ignoring of the home government placed Governor Ingoldesby in an embarrassing position, of which he gives a hint in a letter to the Lords of Trade of July 5, 1709: "The Act of Parliament for ascertaining the rates of foreign coins, was published in this province (New-York), and in New Jersey, yet the people of either province pay no obedience thereto. Indeed, Mr. Cockrill, who pays the forces here, has paid them according to that act, and the public officers conform to it, but nobody else does, that I hear of. Shall I cause the Attorney-General to prefer an information or indictment against one or two persons, and try if that will bring the people to the necessary obedience to said act, or what shall I do?"[1]

ROSA AMERICANA PENNY.

Governor Ingoldesby was not called upon to take such vigorous steps against people whom he thought defying an obnoxious law which lawgivers ignorant of the conditions of affairs and trade in the American colonies had made; but his successor, Governor Robert Hunter, was told by his instructions[2] to take care that the act of 6 Anne, chapter 30, must be duly observed and put in execution. It required a decision of the colonial Court of Chancery, dated December 11, 1724, to settle this vexatious question for the present. The decision was rendered upon a paper written by Cadwallader Colden, then one of the Masters of Chancery, later lieutenant-governor of the province, ordered to report how the currency of foreign coin was really legally settled. He gives in his report a short historical sketch of the matter, which, as it supplements what has been said on the subject, is repeated here. "Sir Edmund Andros, the first time he was Governour, encouraged several persons residing in the Province, to trade to foreign parts, by which means gold and silver coins were first imported and from that time Spanish coins became current, i. e. Pieces of Eight at 6 shill., half Pieces at 3 shill., Double Reals or Double Bits at 18 pence, Single Reals at 9 pence, Pistols at 24 shill. Sometime before the year 1693, the current money in the Province began to be very much diminished in its intrinsic value by clipping, the light and heavy money then passing indifferently in common payment; the merchants began to give an advanced price for heavy pcs in order to export them to other parts, where they disposed of

[1] N. Y. Col. Mss., V. 83. [2] Ibid. 130.

them at a higher rate according to their weight and they likewise made an advantage in exporting light pieces which they passed hy tale. These practices occasioned the lessening as well as dehasing of the then current coin in the Province and several other inconveniences, To remedy which an order of Council of March 23, 169⅔, aud a proclamation fixed the currency of pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ in the following words: Whereas, whole p$\frac{8}{8}$ of the coins of Sevill, Mexico and Pillar pieces of the weight of fifteen pennyweight not plugged pass at the rate of six shillings per piece, all pieces of greater weight and not plugged shall pass at the rate of four pence halfpenny for each pennyweight more than fifteen p. weight not plugged over and above six shillings; all pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ of the ahove named coins of lesser weight than fifteen pennyweight not plugged shall pass at the rate of six shillings ahating only four pence halfpenny for each pennywt under fifteen. All pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ of Peru not plugged shall pass at the rate of four pence for each pennyweight. Dollars, called Dog Dollars, are made current at five shilliugs six pence. At these rates pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ continued current until after 1704, reals and douhle reals or quarterpieces at the rate of six shillings per piece of $\frac{8}{8}$ without weighing and pistols at twenty-four shillings each."[1] The Court of Chancery, hy adopting this report, prevented for some time all questioning ahout the rate of foreign coins in New-York. Colden, however, did not mention that an act of the New-York Assemhly, passed Novemher 19, 1720, "for directing and appointing the value that Lyon dollars shall pass current for in this province," made a "Lyon dollar" of seventeen pennyweight, and not counterfeited, equal in value to fifteen pennyweight of Seville, pillar, or Mexico plate. The report just quoted mentions *dog dollars*, hut no encyclopedia, dictionary, or manual of coin-collectors tells what a dog dollar was. They made their first appearance at New-York in 1692–3. When Governor Fletcher was induced to make the hefore mentioned proclamation, an additional resolution of the council said, that as a certain coin had lately come into the province, known by the name of "dog dollar," the proclamation should say that its value was fixed at five shillings and sixpence per piece.[2] I suppose that it was a crown or tenshilling piece of 462 grains in weight and $1.20 in value, coined hy the Dutch province of Guelderland for their trade to the East. The lion rampant on the reverse was so badly executed that the Arabs of the Red Sea, into whose hands it came, mistook the lion for a dog,

NEW-YORK COPPER TOKEN.

[1] Orders in Chancery, IV. 118, *et seq* [2] Council Minutes, MSS., IX. 183.

and called it *abukesb*, or dog. When brought to New-York, it was finally made current as a lion dollar. A little volume, "The Sabbath in Puritan New England," lately published, says: "The 'strangers' money,' which was the money contributed by visitors who chanced to attend the service, was sometimes specified as 'all the silver and black dogs given by strangers'; it was usually given to the minister. A 'black dog' was a 'dog dollar.'" So this coin was also known in New England.

NEW-YORK COPPER TOKEN

Many readers will remember the time when copper pieces were hardly ever seen west of the Mississippi. This was only a repetition of the conditions under which the early settlers of New-York suffered. The state of affairs resulting from the scarcity of copper coin is best depicted in a letter from Governor Hunter to the Lords of Trade, November 12, 1715: "There is one hardship which I have observed ever since I came into this country, which falls chiefly upon the poorer sorts: that is, that there being no currency but of silver and bills of credit, the smallest of which is two shillings, they have not the same relief from the ordinary markets as in other places; for this there is an easy remedy if his Majesty would be pleased to grant it, there being a copper mine here brought to perfection,[1] as you may find by the custom-house books at Bristol, where there was imported from this place about a ton in July or August last, of which copper farthings might be coined to answer their ordinary uses, if his Majesty will be pleased to grant a patent for that purpose."

William Wood, of Wolverhampton, England, an expert in metallurgy, represented to George I., July, 1722, that he had "invented a certain composition or mixture, consisting partly of fine virgin silver, partly of superfine brass, made of pure copper, and partly of double-refined lineh, otherwise called tutanaigue or spelter." Twenty ounces avoirdupois of this metal were to contain one pennyweight Troy of fine virgin silver, fifteen ounces avoirdupois of fine brass, and the balance linck. The Duchess of Kendal, one of the uncrowned queens of George I., "for a consideration" assisted Wood in obtaining from the king the privilege of coining "tokens," to be used as currency in Ireland and America, he paying to his Majesty, for his private purse, the yearly sum of £100, and to the commissioners of the treasury, who were directed to test the coin, £200 per annum. The test required that the coins, of which Wood was authorized to strike "half-pence, pence, and twopences," were to be of the composition as rep-

[1] Arent Schuyler's mine near Elizabeth, N. J.

resented, and of such quality that, when heated red hot, hammering would spread them thin on the anvil without cracking. Although the necessity for small coins was very great in the American colonies, "Mr. Wood's copper money" was not well received there. A complaint was made that "he had the conscience to make thirteen shillings out of a pound of brass." Disturbances in Ireland over Wood's coins, in which Dean Swift was a leading spirit among the opponents, led to a recall of the privilege for Ireland in 1725, the king paying for it by a yearly pension of £3000; but Wood was allowed to assert his rights in the American colonies, for which the "Rosa Americana" pieces had been struck. The latest issue of this coin bears the date of 1733, and it seems that it was for all concerned an unfortunate and ruinous enterprise.

Somehow, copper coins continued to pour into New-York, so that in 1738 a law "to prevent the further importation of copper money" was enacted. This was an infringement of the royal prerogative mentioned above, which Lieutenant-Governor George Clarke should not have approved; he therefore defends his action of signing the bill by making a statement to the Lords of Trade, which we must consider a good sketch of the financial situation in New-York in his day. "Many years," he says, "have not passed since copper money was first known in this province; at first necessity, either for change or market, gave it a currency at one hundred per cent. advance on the value it has in England, an English halfpenny passing here for a penny, whereas the difference of money in bills of exchange is but sixty-five per cent., or £165 this money for £100 sterling; this put the merchants upon sending to England for it as the best commodity they could import, which has filled the province so full of it that it becomes a grievance, large payments at this time being tendered in it, and if a stop be not put to it, it will become too great a burthen, and the more of it a merchant imports, the less of the English manufactures will be imported, for we have no merchants here who leave their money in England."[1] It seems as if the law just mentioned, which made it a felony to bring into the colony more than ten shillings in copper money at once, had not been very effective; for, sixteen years later, his honor Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey acquainted the council that a great number of people had assembled that day (January 11, 1754), in the morning, on account of a late agreement of the merchants and others not to receive or pass copper halfpence in payment at any other rate than fourteen to the shilling. The mob was not wholly dispersed by two o'clock in the afternoon; some of them appeared with a drum beating before them, hence the governor feared great disorders might follow if not prevented in time.[2]

1 N. Y. Col Hist., VI. 116. 2 Council Minutes, MSS., XXIII 134.

On July 14, 1748, Sir Alexander Cumming suggested that £200,000 sterling should be coined in the English mint to start a provincial bank for all the British plantations in America, which was to be a bank of issue, redeeming its bills on demand, in gold and silver, "the said bills to be made current in all the colonies to the abolishment of local issues of inferior value like those of New England and Carolina, then some time in use. This suggestion was regarded as chimerical, being perhaps too honest and business-like to suit the grasping policy followed toward America by the Lords of the British Treasury."[1]

We have seen above that William Penn in 1700 suggested the establishment of a mint for small coins in New-York, but we have no proof that any action was ever taken in this direction. But there exist several specimens of the "New-York token" in lead, in brass, and in tin, which, under a rudely engraved heraldic eagle, displayed, resting upon a branch, has on the obverse the legend, "* New Yorke In America + ∽." It was probably originated in Holland between 1700 and 1706 for circulation in New-York, but never minted in any quantity. The "Massachusetts and New Hampshire Advertiser" of March 29, 1786, says that New-York, Connecticut, and Vermont had authorized a coinage of copper, the money being already in circulation, and that of New-York especially being of very fine appearance. They were private coins then in circulation, for apparently the State of New-York never authorized the coinage of copper money, although petitions for that purpose were presented to the legislature by John Bailey, Ephraim Brasher, and Thomas Machin, February 11, 1787. The committee to whom the petitions were referred reported that there were various sorts of copper coin in circulation, described as follows: "1. A few genuine British halfpence of George II. and some of earlier date, generally defaced; 2. A number of Irish halfpence, with a bust on one side and a harp on the other; 3. A very great number of pieces made in imitation of British halfpence, but much lighter, of inferior copper, and badly executed; 4. A very considerable number of coppers of the kind made in New Jersey. Many of these are below the proper weight of the New Jersey coppers, and seem to be designed as a catch-penny for this market."

The further consideration of the petitions was postponed and never resumed. The act to regulate the circulation of copper coin, passed by the New-York legislature, April 20, 1787, prohibited the passing of any coppers unless made of pure copper and weighing one third of an ounce avoirdupois each. Such coins were to pass at the rate of twenty to the shilling of the lawful current money of the State. A law of the same legislature, enacted February 7, 1788, declared the counterfeiting of gold and silver coin to be a fel-

[1] Dyer's "Coin Encyclopædia."

ony punishable with death. By the Constitution of 1787 the United States assumed the exclusive right to coin money for the several States of the Union.

Soon after Governor Hunter's arrival at New-York he had to encounter a difficulty for which his before mentioned instructions did not provide. It came in the shape of a new circulating medium. The General Assembly voted that two thousand and five hundred ounces of plate should be levied for the governor's necessary expenses for one year, "which is little more," he says to the Lords of Trade, November 14, 1710,[1] "than half the salary (£1200) appointed by her Majesty."

The name of this new and last metal currency, plate, leads us back to the early years after Columbus's rediscovery of this continent and after the conquests by Cortez and Pizarro. "The Spanish conquistadores found themselves overloaded with silver spoil, which the state however refused to coin at any other rate than its bullion value and rather than submit to a regulation, which they were aware would rapidly lower the purchasing power of their spoil, they resolved not to coin it, but to work it into rough plate and only coin it from time to time, as their needs demanded."[2] This remained the official name of the currency of New-York until the year 1723. It gave to the pound—New-York currency—the value of thirteen shillings and fourpence. But when Governor Hunter complained in the before quoted letter of the insufficiency of the appropriation, plate had probably ceased to be current coin of the colony, having become, like the pound sterling of England and the mark banco of Hamburg, a money of account, for another circulating medium had taken its place.

NEW-YORK COPPER TOKEN.

We look too rarely toward China, which for centuries has not improved its old civilization, as the source of any of our modern conveniences, and the reader will be astonished to learn that the Chinese were the inventors of paper money, bank-notes, or bills of credit. The reader knows that a chronic state of war, occasionally becoming acute, existed between the crowns of England and France, which always reacted on the French and English colonies. Such a war broke out in 1702, and the declaration of war, received in New-York on September 8 of that year, was immediately committed to the mayor for publication. Letters from the home government accompanying it called for the raising of men and money to prosecute the war on this side of the Atlantic; and in obedience to this call the

[1] N. Y. Col Hist., V. 177. [2] Del Mar, "History of Money," p. 250.

New-York Assembly enacted a law "for the levying and collecting £1800 for the raising, paying and maintaining 150 fuzileers for 5 months, etc.," which was signed by Governor Cornbury on November 7 and published at the City Hall on the next day. But, two weeks later, Rip Van Dam, a member of the council and one of the committee directed to collect the before stated sum, had to report that he had done his best to procure £1000 on the credit of the act for the preliminary expenses of the military detachment, but that he found it impossible. However, he, Thomas Wenham, Stephen de Lancey, and Samuel Bayard offered to lend to the government £200 each on bonds bearing interest and signed by the governor and each member of the council individually.[1] When, a few years later (1709), a similar emergency arose and New-York was again called upon to raise men for the purpose of driving the French from Canada, the Assembly enacted, May 25, a law "for levying the sum of six thousand pounds sterling towards defraying the expenses for the expedition against Canada," of which New-York city and county were to furnish £1200, King's County £720, Queen's £1140, and Richmond £240. Taxes were to be laid on real and personal property for this purpose; but the experience of 1702 had taught the legislators a lesson, and realizing that there was not coin enough in the province to make up the £6000 called for by their act, they passed, June 8, 1709, the act "for the currency of bills of credit for five thousand pounds." The treasurer was authorized and directed by this law "to receive, according to the proportional advance, two and one half per cent. for the first payment of the tax imposed by the preceding act, five per cent. for the second, and seven and one half for the third. Whenever £2000 of these bills of credit had accumulated in the hands of the Treasurer, he was to call a meeting of the Commissioners, appointed to sign and issue the bills, and together they were to cancel such an amount. The bills were made current until the last of February 171⅘, but the Treasurer was allowed to receive them until May 31 following." It was indented at the top, dated, and had the arms of New-York city on the left side, toward the bottom. Five thousand four hundred bills of five, ten, twenty, and forty shillings and of five pounds were issued and signed by the commissioners, Lawrence Reade, Robert Walters, John de Peyster, and Robert Lurting, but no account of the number canceled appears to be extant.

NEW-YORK COPPER TOKEN

[1] Council Minutes, MSS., IX. 138.

New-York had followed the example set in the American colonies first by Massachusetts in 1690. Although the New England colonies, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania had the same advantages to expect from crushing out of existence the French neighbor, the burden of expense fell principally upon New-York, the Quakers of New Jersey and Pennsylvania objecting to give money for warlike enterprises. Hence the first issue of bills was not sufficient, and before the year had run its course, two new issues of £4000 (or 14,545 lion dollars) were authorized on November 1 and 12.[1] The first of these issues was in form and description the same as the former, but only 25 and 50 shillings and £5 notes were made, whose currency was limited to November 30, 1712. The bills authorized November 12, 1709, differed in form only in so far that they said, "This indented Bill of . Ounces of Plate, or Lyon-dollars," but the size and make-up of the former were retained. They were divided into 4, 8, 16, and 20 lion dollar bills and allowed to live until February 28, 1713. The value of a lion dollar was then 13 pwt. 8 grs.. The law creating these bills made them receivable at the treasurer's office for their face value, with an advance of two and one half per cent. from the day of issue to the day on which they came into the treasurer's hands. Hence an "Act to retrench the growing interest of bills of credit" was passed on November 25, 1710, and Governor Hunter, in transmitting it to the Lords of Trade, had to justify his assent to it.[2]

NEW-YORK TOKEN.

The necessity for New-York to assist her sister colonies in the war against Canada continued, and made another issue of bills for 25,000 ounces of plate necessary, July 26, 1711. Its form was again the same as the preceding bills, but the denominational value was expressed as ". Coyned Plate," the 6500 bills, with the arms of the city of New-York in the right lower corner, being divided into ¼, ½, 1, 2, 2½, 5, 10, and 20 ounces of plate, and made current until 1724. Every tax-collector was by the law directed to indorse on each bill coming into his hands for taxes the date of payment, which represented the date of its cancellation. Although the establishment of peace in the following year stopped this drain, the finances of New-York did not improve under the blessings of peace. The governor, council, and Assembly went to war on each other about the financial administration. Debts had been contracted with private individuals on

[1] The acts authorizing the new issues were: November 1, an act for the currency of bills of credit for £4000; November 12, an act for the currency of bills of credit for 10,000 ounces of plate or 14,545 lion dollars.

[2] N. Y. Col Hist., V. 210.

behalf of the military service; warrants to pay these debts had been duly signed and issued to the proper officers, but the sums called for by the warrant had been misapplied and the debts had not been paid; the government was almost mill, and the people were groaning under the taxes imposed by the act of January, 1714, "for raising 2855O ounces of plate (£11,420) for the payment of one hundred and fifty men, continued on foot for the defence of the frontiers this winter," and by the act of July, 1712, "for paying 1500 ounces of plate for securing the frontiers of Albany."

Aware of these daily growing complications, and probably suffering through them, the General Assembly of 1712 passed an act appointing commissioners to examine and state the several debts claimed to be due by the province; and when these debts had been thus ascertained, another act was passed in 1713, laying an excise on all strong liquors retailed in the colony, to continue for twenty years, and appropriating the money received from this source for the discharge of these debts. While the subject of relieving the province from its financial burdens was still under debate in the Assembly, Hunter informed them that he could pass no law of any kind until provision was made for the relief and support of government. Then the act of September 4, 1714, was passed. It is known as the "First Long Bill," because it gave to the bills of credit created by it a life of twenty-five years; but it might also be called a "long" bill from its title, to wit: "An act for paying and discharging the several debts and sums of money claimed as debts of this colony, to the several persons therein named, and to make and enforce the currency of bills of credit to the value of twenty-seven thousand six hundred and eighty pounds,' for that purpose; also to make void all claims and demands made or pretended to be due from this colony, before the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and fourteen, and to prevent this colony from being in debt for the future." The long list of debts given in the law, from which the name of "long bill" might also have been derived, were to be paid in these new bills of credit, the creditors to accept them in full satisfaction of their claims. The bills were to be considered as good as gold and silver,—that is, they were made legal tender,—and any one refusing to accept them as such was punished with the loss of his debt and a perpetual bar from its recovery. Persons selling property and insisting on payment in coin were fined from forty shillings to fifty pounds, according to the value of the property. Although dated on the first day of July, 1714, and limited to December 31, 1739, the 14,788 bills, of denominations varying from three shillings to ten pounds, were not issued until the law creating them had been

' The bill, as it came from the Assembly to the council July 22 called only for £27,680 and was by the council amended to the above given amount. Council Minutes XI 272

approved by Queen Anne, which was done June 17, 1715. These are the first bills of which we have an account of what was canceled, namely, £27,406 8*s*. of the £27,680 issued came back into the treasury, so that the unexpected gain of the province was only £273 12*s*.

All creditors of the province who had not been expressly named in the law were debarred from collecting tbeir debts before June 1, 1714, and this cause had been urged as a good reasou for vetoing the act. But an explanatory act of May 19, 1715, provided that nothing in the act of 1714, which excluded all future demands whatsoever, should be construed to exclude any person having any just claim from pursuing and obtaining relief. The most pressing debts having been paid, the government could turu its attention to other calls for money expenditures, such as fortifications to be built in the Indian country and other public necessities, and for this purpose the act "for a supply to be granted to his Majesty for supporting his government in the province of New-York, and for striking bills of credit for that purpose," was passed July 5, 1715. This law authorized the imposition and collection of duties on certain articles and the issue of bills of credit to the value of 15,000 ounces of plate, equal to about £6000, which were to be current for five years, and to be canceled by the treasurer retaining annually 3000 ounces of plate from the revenue arising from taxes. The issue of these bills never received the royal assent, for "it seems to us," say the Lords of Trade,[1] "to be repugnant to the Act of Parliament for settling the rates of foreign coin in the plantations, for by the New-York Act an ounce of plate is valued at 8 shill., whereas by Act of Parliament here a p$\frac{8}{8}$ of Sevil, Pillar, or Mexico of 17½ pwt. is not to pass for more than 6 shillings, and at that rate an ounce of plate will not be above 6 shill. 10$\frac{10}{20}$d. Now the consequence of this is, that if the New-York Act be approved, the Proprietors and all other Governments will immediately do the same thing, and the inteut of the Act of Parliament be thereby wholly evaded." Governor Hunter argued that the bill was "framed after the same manner as to the value of the coin with that for the payment of public debts, which his Majesty by means of your Lordships' generous recommendation has approved; that matter can in no ways affect our neighbours, who have never yet complied with the proclamation for the settling of coin. The bills for the payment for the support of Government are issued, dispersed in both provinces and in some of the neighbouring ones and a disallowance of that act would bring with it a certain ruin to the trade as well as to the possessor of such bills."[2] Notwithstanding the fact that there was no real reason for not sanctioning this issue, and that the bills were already in cir-

[1] N. Y. Col Hist., V. 435 Letter to Governor Hunter, September 7, 1715.
[2] Ibid, 476.

culation, the Lords of Trade remained obstinate in their refusal to recommend an approval; but the paper circulated not only for the five years first given them, but partly until July 1, 1721, as an act continuing them to the amount of 6000 ounces of plate had been passed in November, 1720. This act was made necessary because, as the treasurer complained to Governor Hunter, February 18, 171$\frac{6}{7}$, several of the counties were in arrears of payment of their taxes, so that he could not sink the bills of credit as directed by law; also because, when upon this complaint the attorney-general of the province was ordered to call upon the justices of the peace in the delinquent counties for the proper collection of the taxes, and in case of non-compliance to sue them according to law, the taxes did not come in with any greater regularity.[1] "This act was made upon the deficiencies, that have happened in the produce of duties, laid for to raise a revenue and to sink these bills, which not being sufficient for the revenue alone made it necessary to postpone the other service for two years longer."[2] The bills of 1715, however, refused to die without a further struggle for prolonged life. Bills to the amount of 3000 ounces of plate were still unredeemed, and the sinking of them was a dead weight upon the revenue, which was not sufficient even for the support of government; hence a law continuing the currency of bills for the given amount until July 1, 1724, was enacted in December, 1722, and in November, 1724, a new law became necessary to extinguish these superannuated bills.[3]

The law of July 5, 1715, provided for the appointment of a commission to adjust and state the debts still due by the colony. When the commission laid the result of their investigations before the legislative bodies, it was decided to pay all the outstanding debts and to raise such sums as were required for this and other similar purposes. This was done by enacting, December 23, 1717, the law "for paying and discharging several debts due from this colony, to the persons therein named; and for raising and putting into the hands of the Treasurer of this colony several quantities of plate, to be applied to the public and necessary uses of this colony, and to make bills of credit to the value of 41,517½ ounces [equal to £16,607] of plate for that purpose." For sinking these new bills, the "Second Long Bills," a duty of one and one half ounces of plate was laid on every tun of wine, and of two and one half grains on every gallon of rum, brandy, etc., imported for the following seventeen years. Shortly before the passage of this act, Governor Hunter wrote to Mr. William Popple, secretary of the Lords of Trade, and later governor of Bermuda: "Navigation and trade of this place have vastly increased of late,

[1] Council Minutes, MSS., XI, 394.
[2] N. Y. Col. Hist., V, 631.
[3] Act for supplying the deficiency in the fund for canceling bills of credit, struck in 171[illegible] [illegible] prices £1200; act for paying charges of printing and signing these bills, £108 4s. 0½d.

which in a great measure is owing to the currency of bills of credit upon so good and solid a fund as that of the excise, our bills being on the exchange of Boston 25 p. ct. better than their own."[1] With such positive and favorable testimony of New-York credit before us, it is difficult to understand why objections should have been raised to the new emission of bills, unless some of the opponents were afraid that with a greater volume of circulatiug medium in the province, their own profits would decrease. A passage in the letter of Governor Hunter, in which he transmits the act for approval to the Lords of Trade, January 27, 171⅞,[2] seems to indicate this to have been the true reason for the opposition: "The cry which a few made against striking more bills, has no ground or foundation for their being real funds given for the sinking such bills they can have no less credit than the former, which are at this present time 25 p. ct. better than those of all the neighbouring provinces, and in some 50 p. ct. even in their own trading towns, and I do affirm, that since the circulation of these bills the trade of this place has increased at least above one half of what it was. The truth of the matter is, the circulation enables the many to trade to some small loss to the few, who had monopolized it, and that is the true cause of the cry."

People, and least of all the merchants of England, trading to New-York, had not yet learned that a measure benefiting the majority must be a good measure and upheld as such. Therefore the New-York members of previous assemblies, Messrs. Jacobus van Cortlandt, Stephen de Lancey, Samuel Bayard, and John Reade, had been averse to the increase of bills, but the new Assembly, beginning its legislative life June 5, 1716, to which New-York city and county had returned Lieutenant-Colonel David Provoost, Captain John Jansen, Captain Garret van Horne, and Jacobus Kipp, overcame the sentiments "which," says Governor Hunter to the Lords of Trade, August 7, 1718, "have during all my time strennously opposed all public settlement and support of Government, and if I had not had the good luck to have left them out in the last election for city members there never had been any such settlement." Seeing their efforts to prevent the passage of the law in New-York frustrated, the opponents to it tried a method very common to-day in legislative circles,—lobbying in the Board of Trade,—their agent being Mr. Baker, a London merchant,[3] to whom they remitted money for that purpose. Governor Hunter, on learning of this scheme, immediately informed Mr. A. Philips, the agent of the province of New-York in Loudon, thereof.[4]

The efforts of the lobbyist were unsuccessful, although he had been strengtheued in his position by a petition of the London merchants

[1] N. Y. Col. Hist., V. 494. [2] Ibid., 500. [3] Ibid., 514. [4] Ibid., 516.

trading to New-York, who represented that the new bills would be to the prejudice of the New-York trade. They claimed that the bills of 1714 had decreased in value, since the issue of 1717, by nine to ten per cent., while the governor and council of New-York stated that the difference against gold in New-York and in Pennsylvania, "where there is no paper credit," was little more than one half per cent., and against current silver little or nothing. The Lords of Trade took another view of the case; they thought that if the credit of these bills were maintained according to the tenor of the act creating them, the trade of the province would be greatly encouraged and facilitated, as that appeared to have been the case since the first bills were issued. They therefore recommended the approval by the king of the New-York act, but they also suggested that henceforth "the Governour should be enjoyned by his Majesty's command not to give his assent to any other bill of this nature and to transmit to . . this board accounts of the produce of the funds appropriated for sinking the bills of credit and of the amount of the bills accordingly sunk."[1] Both recommendations of approval and suggestion were favorably acted upon in council, May 19, 1720, and the 21,921 bills, of denominations varying from 5 pennyweight to 10 ounces of plate and representing the sum of £16,607 or 41,517½ ounces of plate, which had already been circulating for two years, became legal tender by royal assent. They differed in form and description very much from former bills. The arms of the city of New-York were printed in the middle of each bill, the quantity of plate represented by it being given at the top. Their currency was limited to 1740, hence "long bill," and of the whole amount issued £16,351 were canceled.

The first assembly meeting under the administration of Governor Burnet granted a supply to his Majesty for supporting the government during five years, November 19, 1720, and directed the issue of 19,715 bills, in value from 2 pwt. 12 grs. of plate to 8 pwt. 18 grs., amounting to 5000 ounces (£2000). It was expected that the revenues during these five years would enable the treasurer to cancel all these bills, but as the receipts from taxes and duties were also required for the cancelation of previous emissions, the bills of 1720 were kept in circulation until September 1, 1733, and £1896 8s. 6d. were finally canceled. The treasurer was prohibited to reissue bills which had come into his hands, and as the cash current in the province consisted only of such bills and a few lion dollars, we need not wonder that he found it impossible to pay what was due by the government. This necessitated new bills, which were authorized by the act of July 6, 1723, for "raising and levying the quantity of 5350 ounces of plate

[1] N. Y. Col. Hist., V, 572.
[2] Cadwallader Colden's "Account of the Trade of New York," Col. Hist., V, 686.

(£2140) . and for striking and making bills of credit of that value." Governor Burnet justifies giving his consent to this act by saying that it was "altogether for the public charge of the Government, the greatest part to supply a deficiency in the revenue, which arose by the arrears of fees due to the Auditor General, amounting to £2232."[1] This was the last bill with the expression of its value in plate. It was divided only in two denominations, 243 bills of 11 ozs. 5 pwt. of plate, and 299 of 8 ozs. 15 pwt.; their currency was limited to July 1, 1726, and about 5088 ounces, or £2122 10*s.* 6*d.*, of them were canceled. In the following year it became necessary to make provisions for the redemption of bills which, belonging to former issues, had by long use become torn and defaced. For this purpose two issues were placed in the hands of the treasurer for exchange. Their currency was limited to July 1, 1729, when the commissioners for canceling them reported that of the issue of July 22, which comprised 19,400 bills, representing £3000, in value from one to twelve shillings, and of the 14,925 bills of July 24, of one shilling and threepence to three pounds twelve shillings denomination, representing £6630, altogether £9469 16*s.* 6*d.* had been canceled. What Governor Burnet says to the Lords of Trade, November 21, 1724, in comment on the two last mentioned acts, namely, "The constant use of these bills in the market and among common people had destroyed so many of them, that it was necessary in common justice, to find a way to exchange them when no longer fit to pass,"[2] applies also to the law of November 11, 1727, which directs the emission of 18,200 bills in the same denominations and form as those of July 22, 1724, amounting to £3000, of which £2858 18*s.* 6*d.* were canceled, and of October 17, 1730, authorizing the making of 9000 bills in denominations of two shillings and sixpence to twenty shillings, to the amount of £3000, of which £2999 10*s.* were redeemed. Both these issues bore the imprint of the first printing-house in New-York, William Bradford's.

The financial activity of the General Assembly confined itself during the eight years next following the issue of 1724 to acts for continuing bills of credit formerly made. The laws of November 10, 1725, of June 17, 1726, of August 31, 1728, of July 12, 1729, of October 17, 1730, and of October 14, 1732, were all in favor of gradually prolonging the life of the bills of 1720 until the year 1733. The reason given by the governor for these acts was always a "deficiency in the revenue." The last-named act, of October 14, 1732, "to repeal the act and to cancel the bills of credit therein mentioned," met with opposition by merchants of Bristol, who thought certain clauses in it, relating to duties on slaves, European and East India goods, pre-

[1] Cadwallader Colden's "Account of the Trade of New York," Col. Hist., V. 700.
[2] N. Y. Col. Hist., V. 753.

judicial to the trade and navigation of the kingdom; but, "considering the inconveniencies and confusion to arise in New-York if this act, which settles funds for the support of government, were repealed, the Lords of Trade proposed to let it ly by for the present and to desire the Governour and Assembly of New-York to repeal the objectionable clauses and make provisions for other funds."[1]

"In the present situation of affairs in Europe we are not without apprehension that Great Britain may find it necessary to take part in the wars," says the preamble to the act "to strike and make current bills of credit to the value of £12,000," passed November 28, 1734. This sum was principally to be used for building fortifications, and the bills of credit representing it, being smaller in size than those of any former issues, required a new stamp. Charles le Roux was, by the law, intrusted with the engraving of ten new stamps of adequate size, all with the arms of the city of New-York, for which he was to receive £25 in the new bills; William Bradford was allowed for printing and for the paper for the same, for pens and ink used by the signers, £8; and the signers, John Cruger, Frederick Philipse, Cornelius van Horne, and Stephen Bayard, might have also £8, "if they please to receive the same." Such an allowance of £8 had been made to the signers of all previous emissions, excepting the bills of November 11, 1726, when the act creating them directed that the service of signing the reissues should be gratuitous. The emission of 1734, bearing the arms of the city on the left side, was divided into 6200 bills of from five-shilling to ten-pound denominations, to be current until March 25, 1746. For their final redemption the act laid duties on the tonnage of vessels, on goods, and on slaves, and the amount of bills canceled was reported to be £11,576 15s.

The decay of trade, and other difficulties under which the colony had the misfortune to labor, created such a deficiency in the funds granted for the support of government, that not only the salaries of the public officers, but also other debts, remained unpaid for two years. The merchants suggested a tax on lands, but were opposed by the country members, who had a majority in the house, while a disposition to increase the currency by a new emission of paper money was met by the argument that the province was already too poor to bear additional taxation. The solution of this vexatious question was in reality opposed or made impossible by the moneyed men, who feared that the legal rate of interest would be reduced to seven per cent., as it was done in 1738, when the Assembly wanted to make it six, but gave way to the council's amendment to seven. Even the lieutenant-governor's (George Clarke) threat that he would dissolve the Assembly and send them home like naughty school-boys, if they

[1] N. Y. Col. Hist. VI. 72.

did not make provisions for paying the salaries in arrears, amounting then to £9000, and the debts of the government, had no effect. But when the newly elected Assembly, which had met only for a few days in the spring of 1737, met for the fall session, they acted upon the lieutenant-governor's recommendation to grant an honorable revenue for the support of the government, and on December 16, 1737, passed an act "for emitting bills of credit for the payments of the debts and for the better support of the Government, etc.," which authorized the emission of 32,000 bills of credit, representing, in from five-shilling to ten-pound denominations, the sum of £48,350. Care was taken by the lawmakers to prevent counterfeiting, by having twenty-eight new dies for the sides of the bills engraved by Charles le Roux, which, after delivery to the treasurer, were by that officer to be handed, with the ten stamps of the arms of the city, to John Peter Zenger, intrusted with the printing of the bills. The issue of more bills had become a political question, and therefore the new Assembly tried to make this law appear as a benefit to the country in general, by reserving £40,000 of the new emission for the purposes of a loan, and by creating loan officers for every county, to whom the foregoing reserved amount was distributed, New-York city and county coming in for £10,000, King's County for £2400, Queen's for £6000, Westchester for £4000, and Richmond for £1600. The loan officers were authorized to loan the sums placed in their hands on good mortgages, in amounts from twenty-five to one hundred pounds, at five per cent. interest, for twelve years. The currency of these new bills was, by an act passed December 17, 1743, extended to the third Tuesday in April, 1754, but only £43,153 15*s.* ever returned into the hands of the officers—the justices and supervisors of the respective counties—charged with their cancelation. It is possible that the counterfeiting trade had something to do with this failure to pay the bills for a legal equivalent. In July, 1739, the council of the province was informed that several of the bills of five and ten shillings of 1734, and "large parcels" of forty-shilling bills of 1737, were counterfeited, the latter having been printed in Ireland and imported.[1] Five-pound bills had been made out of five-shilling bills by "raising out" the word "shillings" and pasting over the erasure a slip with the word "pounds," in a different type, at the top as well as in the body and at the foot; while the true five-pound bill had the word "five" in letters at each corner of the escutcheon or "flourishing" in the top, "separate and apart each from the other, and in the circle of the castle, in the middle of the 'flourishing,' the numeral V, which does not appear in the forged bills." Ten-pound notes were counterfeited as clumsily, for the description given in the indicated record of the forged bills shows that

[1] Council Minutes, MSS., XIX. 21 *et seq.*

the falsifiers omitted the most essential marks and inserted letters where there were none in the true notes.

The act of 1713, laying an excise on all strong liquors sold in the province, to provide for a fund to cancel bills of credit, had expired by its own limitation in 1734, but had annually been revived without material amendments; but now the time approached when the issues of 1714 and 1717 were legally required to give up their lives. About one half of the original amount of £44,287 was still uncanceled. The Assembly showed an inclination to extend the act of 1713 as well as the currency of the bills of credit, but Lieutenant-Governor Clarke was not satisfied with so small a concession; he wanted them to abrogate the system of granting only yearly supplies to the government and specifying the application of the funds. As the Assembly then elected and sitting was not amenable to the governor's views, he dissolved them, October 20, 1738, with the words: "I offered to continue the sinking fund, if you would give such a revenue as former assemblies have done. You sent yesterday two of your members to acquaint me that it was unanimously resolved by you not to pass any bill for the grant of money for support of government, but with the assurance that the bills issued in 1714 and 1717, as also the excise act, should be continued from November 1, 1739, for a sufficient number of years to cancel and destroy them [sic!] bills." He also told the Assembly that they had taken such "presumptuous, daring, and unprecedented steps" that with honor he could not suffer them to sit any longer.[1]

The newly elected Assembly met March 27, 1739, but could not be led, any more than the former, in the ways the lieutenant-governor had pointed out. Convinced that a new appeal to the voters would only result in the election of members of the same mind as their predecessors, he reluctantly gave his assent to the act of October 25, 1739, "further to continue the duty of excise and the currency of the bills of credit emitted thereon; and to strike some new bills for exchanging such old ones as are or may be unfit to circulate." The duties were continued to November 1, 1757, the currency of the bills for ten years more,—that is, to 1767.—and the amount represented by the 9600 new bills ordered to be issued was £10,000, divided into notes of from five shillings to ten pounds. Although the credit of New-York was so little impaired by this new issue of paper money that the exchange, "which was last year seventy per cent.," says Lieutenant-Governor Clarke to the Lords of Trade, August 4, 1740, "is now sixty-five, and silver which was then 9 3 per ounce, is now 8 10 or 9 at the most," the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol were made afraid by it and induced Parliament to pass in

[1] Council Minutes, MSS., XVIII. 146. [2] N. Y. Col. Doc., VI. 169.

June, 1739,[1] resolutions asking for the preparation of a statement showing the rate at which gold and silver coins were current in the English colonies on the American continent, the amount of paper money issued there since 1700, the provisions made for sinking these bills, and the amount canceled. The result was a revival of the instruction to the governors not to give assent to any act for issuing bills of credit, unless a clause therein declared that it should not take effect until approved by the king. As these instructions were not strictly enforced in New-York, a bill was introduced in Parliament, in 1744, to prevent the issue of paper money in the British colonies in America, but it never became a law.

The French looked upon the purchase made by Pennsylvania at Lancaster in 1744 as an invasion of their own territory, and resented it by a declaration of war. During the first two years of this war, which lasted until 1748, New-York did not make great efforts to assist her sister colonies. The Assembly passed in February, 174$\frac{5}{6}$, an act "for emitting bills of credit to the value of £10,000 for the uses therein mentioned, and for raising and collecting the sum of £10,000 for sinking and cancelling said bills." The council found it necessary to make some amendments to it, and asked the Assembly for a conference; but this body refused it, saying, "The bill is a money bill, therefore we cannot consent to any conference with the council about it." The council then published their reasons for rejecting the bill.[2] When, however, the eastern settlements became involved, the anti-Gallican furor was also strong enough in New-York to make the Assembly think of "the honor of his Majesty and the security of this colony," and to "provide means for the best defence" thereof. An act "for raising £13,000 by a tax on real and personal estates for the more effectual fortifying this colony, for the emitting bills of credit for the like sum, etc.," was passed May 3, 1746. The amount thus appropriated was to be canceled in three years by an annual tax, of which New-York city and county was to raise each year £1444 8*s*. 11*d*., King's County £254 18*s*. 0½*d*., Queen's £487 9*s*. 5½*d*., Richmond £131 6*s*. 3½*d*., Westchester £240 14*s*. 8½*d*. Their currency was limited to the first Tuesday of January, 1748, and they were printed by James Parker. Of the amount issued, £12,618 12*s*. came back for cancelation.

Within a few weeks (July 15) the Assembly "was constrained, but with the greatest regret" (to quote their own words), to order a further issue, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the war. The act "for raising a supply of £40,000 by a tax on estates real and personal, for carrying on an expedition against the French in Canada; for emitting bills of credit for the like sum, and for sinking and can-

[1] Journal of House of Commons. [2] Council Minutes, XX. 334.

celling the said bills in short periods," authorized the issue of 11,161 bills of from ten-shilling to ten-pound denominations, which were to be current until January, 1756, and to be canceled by an annual tax levy of £5000. They were, like the last and all following up to the issue of March 24, 1758, printed by James Parker, and were the first bearing under the impression of the city arms the motto, "Its death to counterfeit this bill." But even this additional grant of £40,000 proved inadequate to meet the expenditures caused by the war, by the bounties paid to volunteers, and by the presents made to the Indian allies. The war was popular among the people; therefore, "willing rather to exceed than to fall short in supplies on this important occasion," the Assembly enacted, November 25, 1747, a law "for raising a supply of £28,000 by a tax on estates real and personal, for defraying the expense of several services necessary for the defence of the frontiers and annoyance of the enemy; for emitting bills of credit for the like sum, and for sinking and cancelling the said bills in short periods." The twenty-eight thousand pounds thus granted were divided into 8450 bills of twenty-shilling, two-, three-, five-, and ten-pound denominations, and were given currency until November 25, 1756, when £27,098 were reported as canceled by a yearly tax levy of three thousand five hundred pounds.

Governor George Clinton did not give his assent readily to these three bills, as his instructions directed him "not to give his assent to or pass any act, whereby bills of credit may be struck or issued in lieu of money, without a clause being inserted in such act, declaring, that the same shall not take effect until it has been approved by his Majesty." Upon consulting the council in this dilemma,—for he recognized the necessity of "putting the colony into a proper posture of defence,"—he was told that, as a general rule, it was best to obey the royal instructions, but in these cases they would advise him to deviate from them, and consider the necessities of the service good reasons for giving his assent.[1] In transmitting this act to the Lords of Trade, November 30, 1747, Governor George Clinton gives vent to the bitter feeling occasioned by the position which the Assembly was assuming. He says: "The assemblies of this province have long since taken hold of every necessity or want the Government is in of their assistance, to incroach on the king's prerogative, and to assume to themselves new powers. . . I can think of no method to remedy these attempts of the Assembly on the administration, but either by the interposition of Parliament or his Majesty's disallowing all or a great number of the money bills, by which paper bills are made current money, because it is in these bills, and in the application of the money, that they incroach on the prerogative and reward their

[1] Council Minutes, MSS., XXI. 86, 128, 283.

friends. But if instructions were given to assent to making such quantities of those bills current again as shall be found necessary, under such conditions as his Majesty shall think proper, in order to have a sufficient fund always for the support of his Government during the currency of those bills, it might in some measure check this growing power."[1] Lieutenant-Governor Clarke had already for other reasons suggested something similar, when directed to enforce the act of Parliament, 6 Anne 30, for ascertaining, etc. Payments had been made, and were being made, in paper money and silver sent to England for the purchase of goods, but the act mentioned obliged nobody to take silver in payment; his advice, therefore, was to put all the money in the plantations on the sterling footing,—that is, to make it almost irredeemable,—and then the merchants on both sides of the Atlantic would be satisfied.[2]

The four years of peace following the close of the war in 1748 did not require any more sums to be raised by bills of credit for expeditions against the French, and the revenues were sufficient for the support of the government. Therefore the legislature resolved that former issues of paper money had not been canceled as the laws directed, because the persons charged with that duty had neglected to perform it, had died or removed from the province, and "to the end that the estimation and value of the bills of credit may not be lessened and no person may suffer for the want of a due, strict and orderly cancelling," they passed, April 8, 1748, an act "for the more effectual cancelling of the bills of credit of this colony." David Jones, Paul Richard, Cornelius van Horne, and Henry Cruger, appointed commissioners under this act,[3] were to meet in the treasurer's office, in the first week of June and November each year, and there see that the bills accumulated in the hands of the treasurer and ripe for cancelation were burned to ashes. The treasurer was directed to draw up a statement of the bills he had ready for the holocaust, and the speaker was to publish annually in the votes of the Assembly the state of the funds for canceling the bills. The *causa movens* of this act or of some of its clauses may be found in the political situation, in the disagreement between the governor and the Assembly, some of the higher officers siding with the latter; hence the accusation of Governor Clinton against the treasurer, Abraham de Peyster, November 22, 1749: "After considerable sums are brought into the Treasury to be cancelled, the Treasurer has it in his power to send these bills abroad again for his own benefit or the benefit of his friends. That he actually does this, is put out of question by numbers of bills now

[1] N. Y. Col. Hist., VI. 412.
[2] Ibid., 179.
[3] This act was so amended July 3, 1753, that the speaker of the House and the four New-York city and county members were made commissioners.

passing current, which by the acts by which they are emitted ought to have been cancelled several years since and it is likewise confirmed by the Treasurer's disobedience to an order, which I sent him in June last."[1] As the order was only to furnish the governor with a statement of the accounts of the colony, or of the bills of credit, for the purpose of answering some questions from the home authorities, the refusal by the treasurer may be interpreted as Governor Clinton does. Although about £70,000 of all the emissions since 1709 had not yet been canceled, the credit of New-York had not been as badly impaired as that of the eastern colonies. The rate of exchange for £100 sterling, which had been 160 in 1740, had risen to 190 in 1748, while in New England it had advanced from 525 in 1740 to 1100 in 1748. The act of October 25, 1739, had already continued the excise act of 1713 until 1757, but as the time for its expiration drew nearer, the legislature discovered that it had long been their intention to establish a seminary in the colony for the education of youth in the liberal arts and sciences,[2] and "as at present no other means can be devised, than by a further continuance" of the before-mentioned act of 1713, they passed a law, July 4, 1753, "further to continue the duty of excise and the currency of the bills of credit emitted thereon." The said duty was extended to the year 1767, and for seven years to follow £500 yearly were to be paid out of this revenue to the trustees of the college, and all the residue to be used for the cancelling of notes issued on the credit of the excise fund.

COPPER CENT STRUCK AFTER TREATY OF PEACE.

The English invasion of territory first discovered and taken possession of for his king by a Frenchman, led to a renewal of the struggle for supremacy in 1752. New-York, one of the colonies whose special interest it was to keep the French out of the territory along the Ohio, did at first nothing, although Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey had in May, 1754, asked the Lords of Trade for leave to pass a bill for emitting £20,000 in bills of credit, "to be put out at interest for the space of ten years at six per cent. and then to be paid into the Treasury and sunk." He intended to apply the interest (£1200) in building and supporting the fortifications on the frontiers. "The Assembly," he continues, "are averse to taxes at this time; those of the last war not being yet at an end, it seems to me this measure is most likely to go down with them and I cannot think it will have a bad effect on the credit of our paper currency, for from the best in-

[1] N. Y. Col. Hist. VI. 534. [2] King's (now Columbia) College.

formation I could obtain, we have about £115,000 paper currency and we now sink annually by the funds appropriated for that purpose £9500."[1]

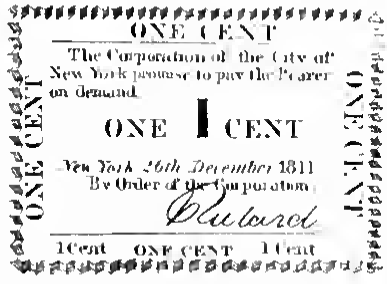
But when news came of the great number of French troops passing Oswego on their way to the Ohio, and of the surrender to them of the English fort in the forks of the Monongahela, the inhabitants of the city of New-York became greatly alarmed for their own safety. A deputation, headed by the New-York city and county members of the Assembly and Colonel Beekman of Duchess County, called upon the governor, January 10, 1755, asking him to convene the legislature for taking measures for the defense of the city and province. They admitted that a sum sufficient for present emergencies could not be raised as quickly as needed, and that therefore a new emission of paper bills was required. The governor told them that at their last session the Assembly had refused to pass any law for the issue of

MEDAL COMMEMORATING TRIUMPH OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

bills of credit subject to the royal restrictions, but "if the Assembly should still persist in such refusal, he would think himself justified in giving his assent to a law for striking £40,000 in bills of credit." The council, informed of these proceedings, gave it as their opinion that they should be "averse to the advising such a step," but in this case necessity would compel them not to offer any objections; on the contrary, they suggested that £50,000 would be required.[2] An act was passed, February 19, 1755, "for raising a supply of £45,000 by a tax on estates real and personal, for putting this colony into a proper posture of defence, for furthering his Majesty's designs against his enemies in North America, for emitting bills of credit for the like sum, and for sinking and cancelling the said bills in short periods." It had required long negotiations between the governor and the Assembly to bring about this law. The governor needed money to

[1] N. Y. Col. Hist., VI. 840 [2] Council Minutes, MSS., XXIII. 260.

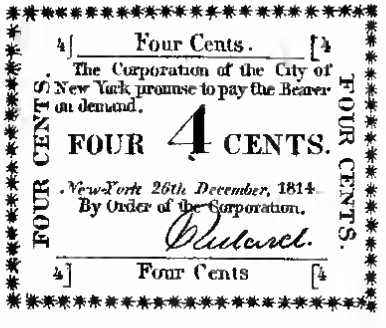
build a fort on the upper Hudson and other fortifications on the frontier, but an act of Parliament passed in 1751 forbade a new issue of paper money. The members of the Assembly, when at home, were constantly hearing of the heavy taxation made necessary by former issues, and said these circumstances "render it impracticable for us to raise such further sums as appear necessary in any other manner than by a paper emission. But to emit bills of credit without making them a lawful tender, we are confident will be absolutely useless, for no man in the province will be willing to accept that for money which he knows that another may refuse to receive as money from him, and if a law even under this restriction must have its execution suspended till his Majesty's pleasure can be known, this his Majesty's loyal colony may fall a prey to some enemy." Then the governor suggested the insertion of a saving clause, that the bills should not be legal tender for debts contracted in Great Britain. The Assembly, refusing to adopt this suggestion, adjourned. Before their reassembling such advices were received from England that they soon passed the above-quoted act, authorizing the emission of 12,555 bills in from ten-shilling to ten-pound notes, to be current until the first Tuesday of November, 1761. Only £36,325 of this issue were ever canceled, a smaller percentage than previously redeemed, which may again have been caused by the interference of counterfeiters. Owen Sullivan confessed, in the summer of 1756, that there were several plates engraved in imitation of the official plates, and that he had used them in forging colonial bills of credit. He was executed for the crime, but the plates were not recovered, so that a law "more effectually to suppress and prevent the counterfeiting of the paper currency of this colony" was passed July 9, 1756, threatening with death, "without benefit of clergy," the parties who held the plates concealed, if found in their possession.



The ice was broken, and new emissions now followed quickly. The act "for paying and subsisting eight complete companies of one hundred men each, to assist, in conjunction with the neighboring colonies, in erecting one or more forts nigh Crown Point: for raising the sum of £10,000, for and towards the said services and for making current bills of credit to the amount thereof, etc.," passed May 3, 1755, is justified, as the preamble says, "by the heavy load of taxes, wherewith this country is already burthened, while the services, for which the sum is appropriated require immediate payment. The bills, di-

vided into denominations of five shillings to ten pounds, were given currency until November, 1762. The same legislature passed, September 11, 1755, an act "for raising the sum of £8000 to be contributed to the Colony of Connecticut, towards the expense of reinforcement of 2000 effective men, now levying in the said colony, for the army destined against Crown Point: and for emitting bills of credit to the amount aforesaid for making immediate payment." The 4600 bills issued under this act were divided as the May issue, and had currency until Novemher, 1761. The amount canceled, £6489 2*s.*, was in proportion larger than that of the May bills, of which only £7550 6*s.* are stated to have come back.

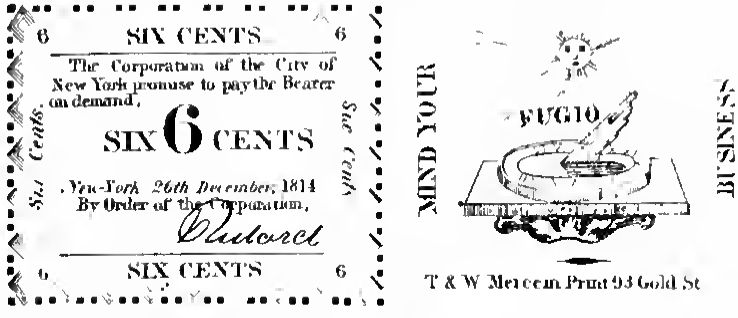
The next issue had only in so far a relation to the war in progress that the act authorizing it was passed, April 1, 1756, "for the payment of dehts due from this colony, etc." Ten thousand pounds were appropriated by this law, and divided into one thousand bills of ten pounds each, the currency of which was limited to Novemher, 1761. Seven thousand six hundred and forty pounds of them were canceled. The claims of the war for men and money had, however, not been satisfied hy the former sacrifices, so that the legislature passed, also April 1, 1756, an act "for raising, paying and subsisting 1715 effective



men, to be employed on an expedition for reducing the French fort at Crown Point, etc." The amount required for this purpose was £52,000, divided into 11,200 bills of one to ten pounds. Only £41,990 came back into the treasury for cancelation. Although limited by his instructions not to allow hills of credit to be made current for more than five years, Governor Hardy gave his assent to this law, making the bills current for ten years. The same Assembly had passed an act "further to coutinue the currency" of the bills of credit issued under the act of December 16, 1737, of which £40,000 had been, as stated before, put out at interest among the people. The currency first given to them was by previous law, by this, and by following enactments extended to 1768. In all these instances the arguments

of the council and the Assembly induced the governor to assent to the extension. He was told that these bills were loaned out to the people willing to take them at five per cent., the principal to be repaid in four payments at certain periods. These periods had always been prolonged, and consequently the borrowers did not fear that the principal would be called in when the government enjoyed a sure revenue from the interest.[1]

The political features of the question of French dominion on this continent had assumed a different hue by the appointment of Sir William Pitt to the head of the English ministry. America was to him an

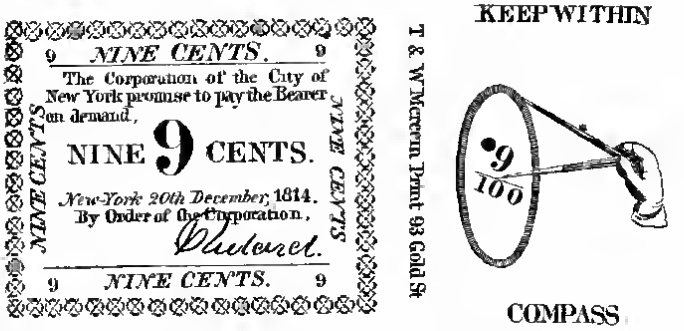


object of the greatest solicitude; he admonished the colonies to recruit troops for an active campaign, and promised that the expenses should be refunded by the home government. Relying on this promise, the General Assembly gave to the governor the opportunity to assent on March 24, 1758, to the act "for raising, paying and clothing two thousand six hundred and eighty effective men, . for forming an army of 20,000 men with the forces of the neighbouring colonies, to invade the French possessions in Canada, etc." The quota of New-York city and county was three hundred and twelve men, while one hundred thousand pounds were appropriated for the raising, paying, and clothing of the whole contingent. A tax on real and personal property, to extend until November, 1767, was to create a sinking fund for the twelve hundred bills of credit, representing the sum granted, in five- and ten-pound notes. New-York city's share of this tax levy was three thousand pounds for the two following years, 1759 and 1760, two thousand six hundred and sixty-seven until 1765, and seven thousand during the last two years, 1766 and 1767. The bills were to be current until November, 1768; the amount canceled was £66,155.

The vigorous prosecution of the war soon exhausted the appropriation made in 1758, so that an act was passed, March 7, 1759, for a new supply of £100,000, and for the emission of bills of credit to that

[1] N. Y. Col. Hist., VII. 204

amount. An accident prevented the immediate issue of these bills. Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey informed the council, April 14, that "there was some variation from the form of the bills as directed by the law," and that, therefore, the persons appointed to sign them, Nathaniel Marston, John Morin Scott, Lawrence Reade, and Andrew Barclay, refused to perform this duty. The council ordered that the whole impression should be destroyed, and a new edition, conform to the law, be printed. To avoid another mistake, the first sheet of this new im-

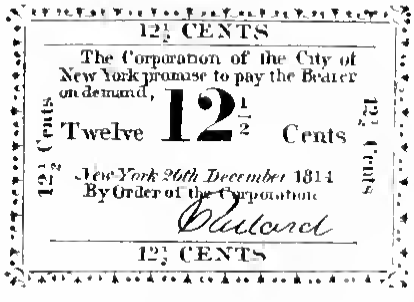


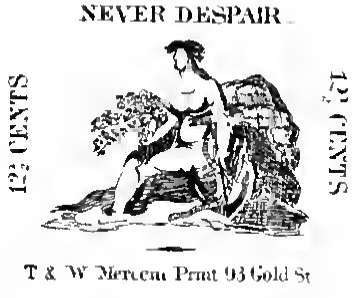
pression was to be examined by the deputy secretary and signers before the rest were struck off.[1] Twenty-one thousand bills, in two-, five-, and ten-pound denominations, were printed by William Weyman and issued, but only seventy-one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six pounds came back for cancelation. Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the English general in command of the expedition against Louisburg, needing money for the pay of his troops, proposed to Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey that New-York should, to avoid loss of time, take drafts on the paymaster-general in England for three hundred and seventy-five thousand Spanish milled dollars, or one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and pay for them in bills of credit. To do this, the legislature had to pass the act "for emitting bills of credit to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to enable his Majesty's General to pay the debts contracted and to carry on his Majesty's service in North America, and for sinking the same within twelve months." The thirteen thousand bills, in six-, twelve-, and twenty-four-pound denominations, were to be printed by William Weyman, and when properly signed to be handed over to Abraham Mortier, the deputy paymaster-general, who had been directed to deliver to the treasurer of the colony drafts payable after sixty days' sight on the paymaster-general in England.

The last appropriation for military expenditures was made by the act of March 22, 1760, "for levying, etc., 2680 men for forming an

[1] Council Minutes, MSS., XXIV. 281.

army of 20,000 men with the forces of the neighboring colonies, to reduce . Montreal; for emitting bills of credit for the sum of £60,000, and for sinking the said bills in short periods." A yearly tax of £7500 on real and personal property during the following eight years was to provide for the sinking fund. The share of New-York city and county for each year was fixed at £2500, that of King's County at £323, of Queen's and Westchester at £669 10s. each, of Richmond at £203. The 15,500 bills printed by William Weyman were divided into two-, five-, and ten-pound denominations, and were made current to November, 1768, when £41,970 were reported as canceled. The next four laws of a financial character—of November 8, 1760, December 31, 1761, December 11, 1762, and December 13, 1763—only continued the





act of December 16, 1737. When the treaty of Paris (February 10, 1763) had terminated the war, there were current of the New-York bills of credit £312,000, the life of which legally expired in November, 1768. Nearly three years before this date (March, 1766), Governor Moore informed the Lords of Trade that the Assembly intended to raise money for the exigencies of government by their paper credit, as the canceling of all outstanding bills in the near future would leave the country without any medium of commerce; for since the interruption of the trade with the Spanish colonies, very little silver had come to New-York, and the people consequently were in great distress for want of a proper currency. At the same time, the governor declared that the instructions given him did not allow him to assent to any such act.[1] The Board of Trade, in their report concerning the issue of bills of credit, remain, to use a modern phrase, "on the fence." They cannot release, they say, the Assembly from the restrictions imposed by the act of Parliament, 4 George II., as only Parliament has that power; but they advise temporarily to suspend the clause of the instructions by which the governor is forbidden to give his assent to any law for issuing bills of credit, except in cases of war or invasion.[2] Nothing was done by the British government to extricate their repre-

[1] N. Y. Col. Hist. VII. 820. [2] Ibid., 827.

sentative in New-York from the awkward position in which he was placed by his instructions, or to relieve the people of the province from the embarrassment of having no currency for their trading operations.

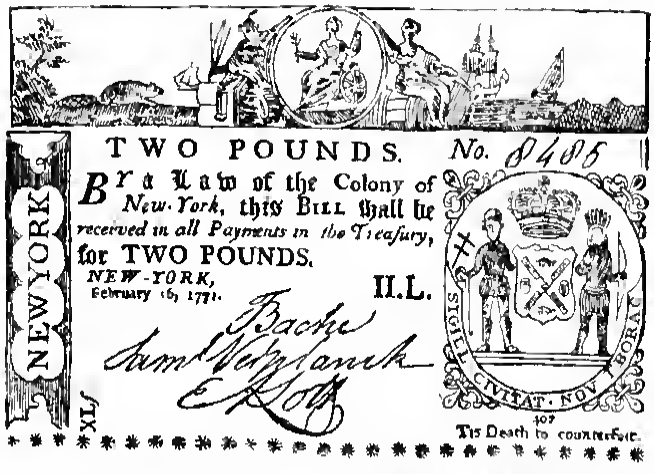
The close of the legal life of the paper money in circulation was drawing dangerously near, when the Assembly requested Sir Henry Moore to give his assent to a law for emitting bills for half the amount allowed by his instructions.[1] As his continuance in office did not depend on the will of the people of the province, but on the whim of his superiors in England, he gave only a dilatory answer to the people's representatives, and referred the matter for decision to the home authorities, informing the latter that "the scarcity, not only of silver, but of every other currency, even paper, had been so great for some years past, that Mr. Elliot, the collector of customs in New-York, had been under the necessity of giving every indulgence he could, consistent with his office, in collecting the duties."[2] Lord Hillsborough, then one of the principal secretaries of state in England, could give little comfort to either Governor Moore or the Assembly, as he too was hampered by law.[3] At his suggestion to send the draft of such a bill as the Assembly intended to enact, Governor Moore sent, in May following, a bill the greatest part of which was a repetition of the act of December 16, 1737. It was framed to appease the dissatisfaction in the country, caused by the wretched state to which numbers of families had been reduced. It directed the issue of £120,000 in paper money, and enabled the borrowers of public money to pay their debts in other bills of credit, gold, silver, or lion dollars. The paper currency had only six months more to live; lion dollars, the only metallic currency, which had to some extent supplied the decreasing paper, had been withdrawn for export and become scarce; but both were the only two kinds of money ever made legal tender in the colony. Governor Moore earnestly urged that the bill should be allowed to become a law.[4]

The summer of 1769 passed without a settlement of the case, and Governor Moore was relieved from further anxieties about it by dying at three o'clock, P. M., of September 11, 1769. The bill for emitting £120,000 in bills of credit was taken up in the session following, and Lieutenant-Governor Colden submitted the question to his council, whether, according to the instructions given to Governor Moore, July 15, 1766, by which he was allowed to give his assent to a law for the emission of £260,000 in bills of credit, to be sunk in five years, with a suspending clause, he was justified to sign the law before him.

The council, on due consideration of the matter, were unanimously of opinion that, under the circumstances of the province, he ought to do so. But the Privy Council in England, who did not suffer from

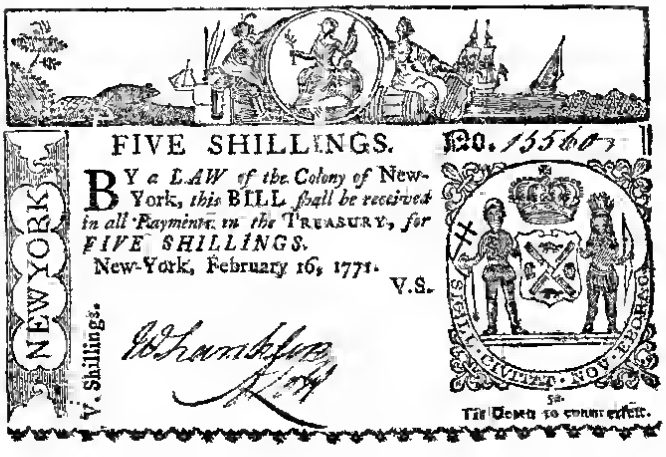
1 N. Y. Col. Hist., VIII. 1. 2 Ibid., 96. 3 Ibid., 13. 4 Ibid., 72

the scarcity of money in the colony, advised a disapproval of the act by the king, because the clauses by which the bills of credit were made payable at the treasury and loan-office were contrary to an act of Parliament which restrained paper money from being issued as legal tender in payment of any debts; and Colden would have lost his official head but for his previous good services. The repeal of this act by the king revenged itself, for it had appropriated one thousand pounds in the new bills for the supply of the royal troops in



New-York with necessaries. King George's ministers saw no other way out of the quandary than by submitting the case to Parliament, which thereupon passed an act "to enable the governor, council, and Assembly of his Majesty's colony of New-York to pass an act of Assembly for creating and issuing upon loan, paper bills of credit to a certain amount, and to make the same legal tender in payment to the loan-offices and treasurer of the said colony." Soon after the promulgation of this act of Parliament, the Assembly of New-York took up the repealed bill, amended, and on the 16th of February, 1771, passed the act "for emitting the sum of £120,000 in bills of credit, to be put out on loan and to appropriate the interest arising thereon to the payment of the debts of this colony, and to such public exigencies as the circumstances of this colony may from time to time render necessary." Forty-four thousand bills, in from five-shilling to ten-pound denominations, were printed by Hugh Gaine. The signers of this last colonial issue were Henry Holland, Walter Franklin, Theophylact Bache, and Samuel Verplanck. The money was loaned in the several counties, in sums from twenty-five to three hundred pounds, for fourteen years, at five per cent. annually. The share of New-York County was £38,000, against £40,000 as contemplated by the repealed

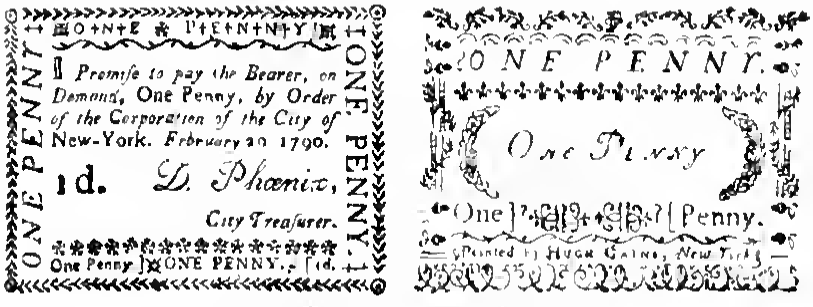
act; King's County was to have £5168, Queen's and Westchester £10,712, Richmond £3248. In New-York the justices of the peace and vestrymen were to select the loan officers, at a salary of forty pounds per annum—a duty assigned in most of the other counties to the judges of the inferior courts and the supervisors. The interest was payable by the borrowers in April of each year, and the principal could be repaid in ten annual instalments, beginning in April, 1776. The bills were to be receivable at the loan-office for fourteen years, at the treasury for one year longer. These bills were so extensively counterfeited that in 1773 it became necessary for the Assembly to pass a law "to remedy the evil this colony is exposed to from the great quantity of counterfeit money introduced into it." Samuel Verplanck, Theophylact Bache, and Walter Franklin were appointed commissioners to cause plates to be engraved with proper designs, the im-



pressions of which on thin paper were to be pasted on the back of the bills by the treasurer. No bill of the issue of 1771, without the new design on its back, was to pass current after 1774. Newspapers of the date suggested as "proper designs" the following: "An eye in a cloud—a cart and coffins—three felons on a gallows—a weeping father and mother with several children—a burning pit, human figures forced into it by fiends, and a label with these words: Let the name of the money maker rot."

It is not known what amount of this issue was canceled, as when the first instalment of the loans became due, in April, 1776, the king's officers in New-York were no longer in a position to receive the money. However, Abraham Lott, appointed treasurer by the Provincial Congress, was aware of the difficulties which might arise to him from this condition of affairs, and on March 8, 1776, he reported that one

tenth of the issue of 1771, with interest, would soon fall due; that money of that emission could not be obtained for the discharge of the debts for which these bills were issued, and he asked whether the loan officers might receive any money then current in the colony.



PAPER CURRENCY, 1790

The committee to whom this matter was referred advised that all kinds of bills should be received, and the Provincial Congress made an order accordingly. A year and a half later, December 3, 1777, the Continental Congress recommended to pass a law requiring that all bills of credit issued in the colonies before April 19, 1775, should be delivered to commissioners in exchange for Continental or State bills, and then be declared irredeemable after a date to be fixed by each State. New-York had never made the bills of the neighboring colonies legal tender within her boundaries, but nevertheless, for convenience' sake, they passed here, and frequently at a higher rate than their face value called for. The New-York Assembly considered this "a discredit of their bills, a prejudice of individuals," carrying with it a drain of the gold and silver coin imported; they therefore passed, March 9, 1774, the law "to prevent the depreciating the paper currency of this colony," which made it a crime for any person to pass, pay out, or receive bills of the neighboring colonies at a higher rate than issued, "provided that this act, nor any clause therein, shall not be construed to give a currency in this colony to the bills issued by any other colony." A previous effort of the same legislative body to diminish the volume of paper money in the province had been abortive, for Governor Tryon thought the act "more effectually to call in the bills of credit of this colony and for cancelling the same" objectionable, as coming within the terms of the second clause of the act of Parliament, 4 George III., to prevent the emission of paper bills of credit in America.[1]

One of the first steps taken by the Provincial Congress, soon after its evolution out of the Provincial Convention, was to appoint a

[1] N. Y. Col. Hist., VIII. 750.

committee, May 26, 1775, to take into consideration the expediency of emitting a Continental paper currency, and a letter to that effect was written to the New-York delegates in Congress. The committee reported that the proportion of gold and silver in New-York, compared with the neighboring colonies, varied according to the price of bills of exchange, but that upon the whole there was a smaller proportion of gold and silver in New-York than in several others. They recommended an issue of paper money, and suggested that either every colony should strike for itself the sum to be apportioned by Continental Congress, or that the latter body should issue the whole sum, and each colony he obliged to sink its proportion. A letter written by James Duane, one of the members from New-York in Continental Congress, June 20, 1775, tells the New-York Congress that the general committee of Continental Congress had reported a resolution to issue in Continental paper currency two millions Spanish dollars, for the redemption of which all the colonies were to pledge their credit. Before this issue was made the Committee on Ways and Means of the New-York Provincial Congress found the treasury bare of funds with which to discharge the debts incurred by Congress, and recommended, August 30, 1775, that the needed amount, £15,000, should he raised hy tax. Gilbert Livingston, however, moved as amendment that £45,000, or $112,500, should be issued in bills of credit, to be sunk in three instalments, beginning March 1, 1776. The Provincial Congress adopted this amendment September 2, and ordered that thirty-five thousand bills in from one-half to ten-dollar denominations should be printed by John Holt. The arms of the city of New-York, and such other devices as the committee in charge should direct, were to be impressed on each bill. A sinking fund for this issue was provided for by taxes, hut the time of currency proposed by Mr. Livingston was shortened by one year.

The men of 1776 had found out long ago that to carry on war successfully money was needed, for they had to pay for powder alone thirty or forty pounds per hundredweight; hence the last issue of paper money was soon drawn out of their treasury. The knowledge of this fact seems to have roused the hopes of the royal governor, who still held on to his post. He writes to the Earl of Dartmouth, December 6, 1775: "Reports prevail that all the plate on the continent is to be secured and Continental paper money given in exchange. This robbery is to insure the circulation of that fraudulent currency."[1] About the same time New-York applied to the Continental Congress for a loan of £45,000, which was refused, and the Committee of Safety, sitting during the adjournment of the Provincial Congress, ordered, January 6, 1776, that Isaac Roosevelt get an emission of paper money

[1] N. Y. Col. Hist., VII. 646.

ready as quickly as possible. Delays, however, arose. Colonel McDougall moved, February 20, that the emission should be £75,000; a week later, a plan submitted by a committee was considered, and on March 5 the House thought it probable that a new issue of bills of credit not exceeding £55,000 would soon be necessary. They therefore adopted the report of the committee, recommending an issue of 213,400 bills, in denominations of one eighth, one sixth, one fourth, one third, one half, two thirds, one, two, three, five and ten dollars, to be redeemed or sunk in three yearly instalments, beginning March 1, 1779. The emission was, however, larger in bills and in amount, as 219,400 bills, representing £55,300 or $138,250, had been printed by Samuel Loudon. Mr. Roosevelt explains this deviation from orders as follows, August 6, 1776: "The overplus of £300 arises from the one-eighth of a dollar bills, which in the resolution of March 5 were stipulated to be 24,000, but now are 30,000. I could not conveniently comply with the resolution in that respect, as the plates were all set for striking off the lower denominations together on one sheet and the arrival of the British fleet and army rendered it necessary to finish the striking them off speedily." *Nolens volens* this over-issue had to be sanctioned. Another emission quickly followed, the Provincial Congress having resolved, July 24, 1776, that £200,000 or $500,000 in bills of credit should immediately be struck and issued for the public exigencies of the State, and adopted (August 13) the plan submitted by the committee appointed for that purpose, according to which plan 509,648 bills of one sixteenth, one eighth, one fourth, one half, two, three, five, and ten dollars were to be printed by Samuel Loudon. Of all these three issues, amounting to a total of £300,000 or $750,000, only £133,477 17*s.* 8*d.*, or $333,692.70, were canceled. The knowledge that many of these bills were counterfeited made people careful in receiving them in payment, and consequently led to their depreciation. In order to counteract such tendencies, the Congress of the United States resolved, January 14, 1777, "that all bills of credit, emitted by authority of Congress, ought to pass current in all payments, trade and dealings in these States, and be deemed in value equal to the same nominal value of Spanish Milled Dollars and whosoever shall offer, ask or receive more in the said bills for any gold or silver coins, bullion, or any other species of money whatsoever, than the nominal sum or account thereof in Spanish Milled Dollars, or . . . shall offer to sell for gold, etc., and refuse to sell for Continental bills,

THE FRANKLIN PENNY

such person sball be considered an enemy to the liberties of these United States and forfeit the value of the money so exchanged." Tbe resolution was referred to the individual States for their action, but New-York appears not to have taken any further notice of it, except by appointing, February 5, a committee to report an ordinance for preventing the depreciation of Continental and colonial bills of credit, and by resolving, March 1, that bills of credit issued by Continental Congress, the Provincial Congress of New-York, or the Convention or the State of New-York be a legal tender for debts due to the State or to individuals, and that persons refusing to accept them in tbe presence of two creditable witnesses shall forfeit one fourth of such debt due to them to the State. There were then in circulation of the not interest-bearing bills of New-York, £187,500; of Massachusetts, £470,042; of Connecticut, £210,000; of Rhode Island, £119,000; of New Hampshire, £73,568.

SILVER DOLLAR OF 1794.

By the end of the year 1777, bills of credit had, bowever, lost thirty-two per cent. in value, so that $146 in bills were required to pay for $100. It was therefore resolved, November 22, 1777, in the Continental Congress, to ask the States that they raise in the course of the year 1778 the sum of five millions of dollars by taxes, and refrain from further issues of paper money. The State of New-York consequently passed, in 1778,[1] a law "for raising monies to be applied towards the public exigencies of the State," and followed up tbe policy of reducing the volume of paper money in circulation by laws, passed in 1779[2] and 1780,[3] "to cancel defaced bills of credit of tbis State." The legislature was inspired to these steps by the dissatisfaction of the people witb the existing state of affairs, which was made known to them by memorials from various sources.

The officers of the New-York Line on continental establishment, who, because of their position, suffered by this depreciation, perhaps, more than people in private life, presented a similar memorial.[4] General Baron de Kalb gives an illustration of the hardships to which this non-producing class was subjected, in a letter to Mr. du Boismartin, dated at Fishkill, October 7, 1778, and quoting prices for groceries, etc., viz.: a pound of tea, $20; of coffee or chocolate, $4 to $5; of sugar, $1.50; of butter, $1; a pint of milk, 20 sous of France, or 20

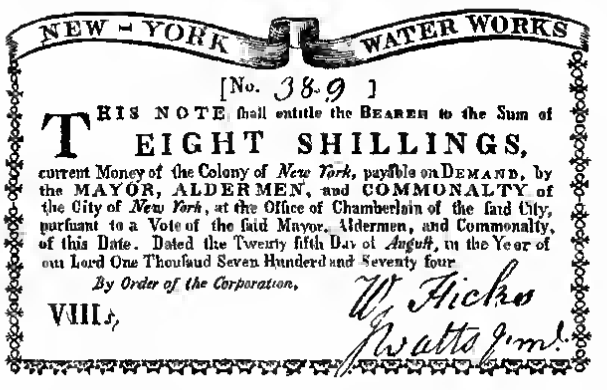
[1] Chapter 17 of 1778. [2] Chapter 15. [3] Chapter 46. [4] Assembly Papers, MSS., L 297.

cents. The amount canceled in pursuance of the two last named laws was, however, small in comparison with the aggregate—namely, only £15,046 9*s*. 4*d*.

But the war was not over, and money was still needed. A third tax was imposed since the beginning of the war, but the returns were insufficient—one county (Duchess) remaining in arrears, June 1, 1780, to the amount of £79,123. A subsequent plan to raise money by a loan was also unsuccessful, as a letter from John Bleecker and Robert McClellen, dated Albany, June 22, 1780, to the presiding officers of the legislature, tells. The financial situation had become a most distressing one; the paper dollar was not worth more than two and one half cents. The purchasing agent of the State had to inform the legislature in March, 1780, that "to pay for such articles as required for the army, at the current price in bills of credit, would immediately tend to prejudice this State." The legislature thereupon directed him not to purchase any more flour, beef cattle, beef or pork, for new emission bills, unless absolutely necessary. The people of Duchess County said to the legislature, September 11, 1780: "Without money we cannot carry on the war, to have any considerable effect. Scarcity of specie has made paper money necessary, but depreciation of the paper money must be prevented." Governor Robertson reports to William Knox, Under Secretary of State, September 21, 1780: "All contracts are now made in private dealings in bullion, whether the party can comply or not. All paper, therefore, is gone, and Congress has no other money. They are insolvent even with that at their command." In the mean time the legislature had passed, June 20, 1780, a "supplementary act to the act entitled an act approving of the act of Congress of the 18th day of March, 1780, relative to the finances of the United States, and making provision for redeeming the proportion of this State of the bills of credit, to be emitted in pursuance of the said act of Congress." As a relief from the stringency of the financial distress, the legislature soon after adopted a resolution that a warrant be made out, in favor of the State treasurer, on the Continental loan officers in the State, for $100,000 of the money emitted in the State by virtue of the act of Congress of March 18, and payable out of the sum of $195,000, equal to four tenths of the whole issue. This was followed by a law, passed October 7, 1780, "to procure a sum in specie for the purpose of redeeming one sixth part of the bills emitted on the credit of this State, pursuant to act of Congress of March 18, 1780, for discharging the interest of such bills, and for other purposes."

All this financial legislation did not put money in circulation, and the lawgivers were finally, March 27, 1787, compelled to order a new issue of paper money by the act "for emitting moneys upon the credit

of this State." The new currency differed in many ways from former issues. The form of the bills tells the whole story, reading: "The Possessor of this Bill shall be paid . Spanish milled Dollars by the thirty-first day of December, seventeen hundred and eighty-six, with interest from the 15th day of June, 1780, in like Money, at the rate of five per cent. per Annum, by the State of New-York; and the first Payment ot Interest to be on the 15th day of June, 1782, according to an Act of the Legislature of the said State, of the . . Day of , 1781."


NEW-YORK WATER WORKS

[No. 389]

THIS NOTE shall entitle the BEARER to the Sum of

EIGHT SHILLINGS,

current Money of the Colony of *New York*, payable on DEMAND, by the MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and COMMONALTY of the City of *New York*, at the Office of Chamberlain of the said City, pursuant to a Vote of the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of this Date. Dated the Twenty fifth Day of *August*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy four

By Order of the Corporation,

VIII s,

W. Hicks

J. Watts Jun.

The "amount now remaining unissued in Continental Loan-offices," $411,250, was struck off, and $397,000 came in for cancelation. Even the interest-bearing feature of these bills could not save them from speedy depreciation, as a letter from Daniel Graham of Shawangunk, Ulster County, to the legislature, June 18, 1781, shows.[1]

This was the last issue of paper money by the State of New-York for the purpose of carrying on the war to a successful end, and the last but one ever made by the State. Merchants of New-York memorialized Congress in March, 1785, in regard to the losses which they had sustained during the war by their efforts in supporting the credit of the paper money.[2] Congress having referred the matter to the legislature of New-York, this body resolved that the sum of £200,000 should be provided in bills of credit, of which £150,000 were to be loaned on land at five per cent. for a term of years, the remaining £50,000 to be applied to the payment of interest accrued previous to January 1, 1785. A fund for sinking this emission was provided by import dues, vendue fees, the interest on loans, and the sum of £40,000 to be raised by taxes payable in gold and silver. The law framed as a result of this resolution, an act "for emitting the sum of £200,000 in bills of credit for the purposes therein mentioned," passed April 18, 1786, directed that 128,000 bills of five and ten shilling, one, two, three, four, five, and ten dollar denominations should be printed. The arms of the State were impressed on the bills at the right-hand side, and Evert Bancker, Henry Remsen, Jonathan Lawrence, John de Peyster, and William Heyer, or any two of them, were charged

[1] Assembly Papers, MSS., I. 178. [2] Ibid, III 239.

with the duty of signing them. Their currency was limited to June, 1800, and £185,165 10s. of them were canceled. Soon after their appearance counterfeited bills of this issue began to circulate in great numbers, so that for the protection of the State and of individuals the legislature found it necessary to order by the act of February 8, 1788, "to take out of circulation the bills of credit emitted by law and to emit others as a substitute." These substituted bills were like the original ones, excepting the date and the addition of the words, "'Tis death to counterfeit." The act of February 20, 1789, "directing the treasurer of this State to cancel certain bills of credit and certificates therein mentioned, and for the further direction of the Loan officers," closed the financial legislation of New-York on currency.

Experience had taught the people of New-York city that the public wells and pumps must be kept in constant repair, not only for domestic uses of the water, but also for the extinguishing of fires. It does not concern us here how this was done before 1753, but on the 12th of December of this year a law was passed by the governor, council, and General Assembly, enabling the officers of the municipality "to raise a Tax for mending and keeping in repair the publick Wells and Pumps in the City to the South of Fresh Water." It provided for the appointment of overseers of pumps and the purchase of fire-buckets, the money for which to come out of this tax; for such a way to provide for it, it was thought, would "greatly conduce to the ease of the inhabitants." By two reenactments, October 20, 1764, and January 20, 1770, this law was extended to January 1, 1780. Although no paragraph of the law just mentioned authorizes the issue of paper money, the exigencies of the case may be taken for an excuse of carrying out the intentions of the law in such a manner. Christopher Colles[1] had submitted proposals for the construction of a reservoir for the supply of water to the city, perhaps intending to distribute it by means of a steam pump, for he is credited with having been the first designer of a steam-engine in this country. To meet the expenses for such a work, the corporation made an appropriation of £6500, New-York currency, in three issues of bills of credit. The first, of £2500, was ordered on August 25, 1774; the second, of £2000, on the 6th of January, 1776; and the last, also of £2000, on the 5th of March, 1776. The bills were for sixpence, one, two, four, and eight shillings. The water-works were never completed, for the war breaking out shortly after the last issue put an end to the undertaking.

[1] Born in Ireland about 1738; died in New York 1821. A student of engineering under Richard Pollock, he came to America after his teacher's death.

voted to historical and scriptural subjects, form a group of well-known artists. Emmanuel Leutze, the painter of "Washington Crossing the Delaware," was probably our best artist in this branch in ante-bellum times. With all his faults, to a great extent those of conventionality, he was a painter of undoubted power, vigorous character, and a fervid imagination, who won honor and respect both here and in Germany. We find to-day little historical art,—which, of course, is to a great extent military art,—but rather a representation of minor incidents. The work of our contemporary military painters is usually concerned with the delineation of individual types and bits of military genre—the battle-pieces produced forming the exception rather than the rule.

Daniel Huntington

In the field of genre, which was apparently the last in the branch of figure-painting to be exploited by our artists, the most conspicuous figure in earlier times is William S. Mount. Mount, despite his faults, which were to be expected at that time, will be remembered as practically the pioneer of genre art in this country. He was the first to make us intimately acquainted with the affairs of rustic life, successfully introducing the African, and his work was thoroughly national in spirit. Francis W. Edmonds, a bank cashier, found time to paint clever genre pictures, and Henry Inman and Thomas Hicks also produced some work in this vein. Finally, John B. Irving, a talented artist, executed cabinet-size genres, careful in drawing and color. The opening of the West inspired some of our artists, as it did our poets; but the most artistic outcome of this impetus is found in the department of landscape. Those who depicted for us the picturesque life of the Indian, the trapper, and other border characters, though men of ability, were not artists of the very first rank. Yet the enthusiasm and vigor of painters like George Catlin, Charles Deas, and especially William Ranney, seem to atone for technical defects. Among the few artists of to-day who are entirely identified with genre art, John G. Brown and Thomas W. Wood are well known. The former has long made a specialty of the New-York gamin, while Wood usually depicts scenes in American village life, and was one of the first to seize upon the artistic possibilities of the negro. Eastman Johnson and Thomas Hovenden have also given us characteristic pictures of negro life, as well as other contributions to

the anecdotal genre. Others, among the many who have been known as painters of similar figure-subjects, are John W. Ehninger, Cephas G. Thompson, John F. Weir, and Edgar M. Ward. In the domain of "ideal art," Elihu Vedder, a native of New-York, residing in Italy, stands by himself in his peculiar style and tendencies. His works, vigorous in execution, show a predilection for weird subjects, as in his "Lair of the Sea Serpent," and afford proof of the possession of a very fertile imagination.

It was naturally to be expected that our first efforts would be imitative rather than original. The emulation of foreign art and the imitation of its methods were natural and, in fact, unavoidable. The early history of the fine arts in this country records a remembrance of the art of our ancestors' native land, a copying of foreign conventionalities, rather than any distinctively novel methods or ideas. What was begun by foreign artists coming to our shores was continued by the young student enthusiasts who flocked to Europe to imbibe the methods and mannerisms of the schools successively of England, Italy, Düsseldorf, Munich, and Paris, as the changes in artistic fashion decreed. Anything approaching a distinctively American style could hardly be claimed in the early part of the present century, except it be for the efforts of some of our artists who had never enjoyed a European training. The distinguishing characteristic of their work was often mediocrity, although William S. Mount is a notable exception. In more recent times, however, we have begun to see an assimilation rather than an imitation of foreign tendencies.

It is our landscape art which can probably lay claim to the most pronounced originality during the years before 1850. Foreign influences are naturally found in the methods of expression, but there seems to have been present a national feeling which these influences could not suppress, and the choice of subjects shows a preference for American scenery. As a matter of record, reference should be made to Dunlap's list of the earliest landscape-painters in the city: J. C. Ward, C. V. Ward, William G. Wall, William M. Oddie, John Evers the scene-painter, and William James Bennett, an Englishman, who came to New-York about 1816, and exhibited landscapes and "unrivalled sea-pieces" in water-colors, at the Academy, of which he was the keeper.

The origin of American landscape-painting, however, is generally traced to Cole, Doughty, and Durand, a notable trio of New-Yorkers. Character and energy, rather than good technique, are seen in the works of Thomas Cole. There seems to be an inability fully and adequately to express the noble thoughts and ideals that filled the artist's mind. He was probably the first one to make a profession of landscape-painting in this country, and his great success was based upon series of allegorical compositions like the "Course of Empire"

of the younger men in New-York's art colony. The growing discontent with old methods found expression to some degree in the founding of the Art Students' League and the Society of American Artists, but the old Academy itself has begun to expand into a liberality that insures for it prolonged success. The exponents of these new aims and methods and their followers are many in number, and the one thing that is especially noticeable is the very large proportion of young men of undoubted ability. There is a remarkable amount of artistic cleverness to be found in the studios of New-York city, of which even our illustrated periodicals afford ample proof. We also note that the classification into portrait-, figure-, historical, landscape-, animal-painter, etc., frequently does not hold good at the present time, for many of the younger men take up any subject that interests them, and know no specialty. Ideas or motives — as exemplified in the genre, anecdotal, historical, allegorical, or religious art of yore — are of less moment to these modern artists than the laying down of certain artistic principles. "Art for art's sake" is the motto; and "color notes," "studies in color," "impressions," "arrangements," "harmonies," and other similar expressions have taken their place in modern art terminology, and figure prominently in our exhibition catalogues. Time undoubtedly will modify much that appears startling or ultra-realistic in the most modern methods of artistic expression. As it is, we find that even now the influences that sway our art are varied. Thus the contemplative, introspective art of the Dutch, born of their land, has more or less influenced a number of our younger men. The representatives of these modern tendencies are so numerous that extended notice of even the prominent ones would be out of place here. There is a noticeably large number of talented men in the metropolis to-day who are in their several ways practising and propagating those advanced art theories which Walter Shirlaw and William M. Chase did so much to introduce and foster in the early days of the Art Students' League.

The feeling for form, as evinced in the plastic art, was one of the latest phases of our country's art development. America had produced several painters of the first rank before native talent began to exercise itself in a branch of art that had hitherto been represented only by the efforts of a few visiting foreign sculptors like Jean Antoine Houdon and Giuseppe Ceracchi. Nor did New-York take the lead in this field, although it has since then harbored some of our most celebrated expounders of the beauty of form. Chance appointed Philadelphia as the birthplace of William Rush, a carver of figure-heads for ships, who in his vigorously modeled busts of wood and clay gave the first indication of the latent possibilities to be expected in native sculpture. One of the earliest sculptors in New-York was

an Irishman, John Dixey, who arrived in 1789. He modeled some ideal statuary, such as his "Hercules and Hydra" and "Ganymede," and executed also a figure of Justice for the top of the City Hall. Sculpture, however, hardly became a recognized factor in the progress of native art until about the beginning of the present century. Even as late as 1816 Trumbull told John Frazee, who had applied to him for advice, that sculpture would not be wanted here for another hundred years. This same Frazee, however, who was originally a stone-cutter, produced a number of creditable portrait busts, including those of John Marshall, Daniel Webster, Andrew Jackson, and John Jay. His bust of John Wells, the eminent lawyer (1824), was, it is said, the first one executed in marble by an American. A year or so before Frazee came to New-York, there was born here one who was destined to step into the foremost rank of American sculptors. Thomas Crawford, a pupil of Frazee, of Robert E. Launitz, and later (1834, in Italy) of Thorwaldsen, produced a spirited equestrian statue of Washington for Richmond, Va., and the impressive figure of Beethoven in the Boston Music Hall, both of which aroused the greatest enthusiasm in Munich, where they were cast, as well as in this country. His style, as exemplified in these works, and also in his "Orpheus and Cerberus" and the "Indian Chief" (belonging to the New-York Historical Society), is marked by grandeur, enthusiasm, and earnestness of purpose, while his versatility and industry seem to have been as great as his genius. His "Flora" and eighty-seven plaster casts of his works were placed in the chapel at Mount St. Vincent in Central Park, but the city is not graced by any production from the hand of one of the greatest of her sculptors.

Henry K. Brown is known to New-Yorkers by his statues of Washington and Lincoln in Union Square. The former, which is the only equestrian statue by an American in the city, is undoubtedly a noble and impressive piece of work, despite the technical objections which have been raised against it; the Lincoln, though a dignified performance, and evincing a heroic attempt to overcome the difficulties imposed by modern costume, is not so successful, however. Perhaps his best work is the equestrian statue of General Scott, in Washington, D. C., made for the United States Government. He also produced another Lincoln, placed in Prospect Park, Brooklyn, and various portrait busts, his work generally being marked by dignity and earnestness. It is noteworthy that Brown's life almost covers the period of American sculpture from its small beginnings to its decided success. During 1849–57 a young man was working and studying in Brown's studio. That same student subsequently developed into one of the most vigorous, individual, and national of our sculptors. Long a resident in New-York, John Q. A. Ward is represented in that city

and "The Voyage of Life." Thomas Doughty, perhaps more of an artist by nature than Cole, worked in the leather business until the age of twenty-eight, at which time he abandoned his trade and took up the brush. His paintings were characterized by a certain poetic quality, and were notable for their tender silvery tones. His decided success stood in no proportion to his meager opportunities for instruction. Asher B. Durand, who first achieved fame as an engraver, and subsequently turned to portraiture, finally, when thirty-eight years of age, took up landscape-painting, in which field he also acquired high rank. After these three, the number of landscape-painters rapidly increased, and this branch of art now claimed a share of the success which had hitherto been confined principally to portraiture. It has been said that our early landscape art showed an "absence of imaginative power," and too much attention to detail, coupled occasionally with an ignorance of drawing; that it was objective rather than subjective, but remarkably free from foreign influence. Until about 1840, Italy and Great Britain had been the chief influences in the development of American art. But now Düsseldorf became the center toward which the eyes of the art student began to turn. Leutze went to Düsseldorf in 1841, and was followed a few years later by Worthington Whittredge, with whom study abroad led to an assimilation, rather than an imitation, of foreign methods.

During the following years, a large group of landscape-painters enjoyed more or less favor with the public, among them John W. Casilear, James A. Suydam, David Johnson, William and James Hart, R. W. Hubbard, James R. Brevoort, J. B. Bristol, and many others, including the foreigners Henry A. (known as A. H.) Wenzler, François Regis Gignoux, and Louis R. Mignot. In this connection I should like to call attention, parenthetically, to the large number of foreign artists who, from the time of our art's feeble beginnings down to its present era of promising success, have made New-York their scene of action. Not a few, such as Émile Renouf, Benjamin Constant, and Michael Munkacsy in recent years, have paid us professional visits; others, like Jules E. Saintin, Victor Nehlig, and the many earlier ones already mentioned, have worked here for more or less longer periods; and still others have settled permanently in New-York city, and their names are registered in every department of art. Especially prominent between 1850 and 1870 was John F. Kensett, an artist of advanced theories, who held high rank among landscape-painters. He began, like Durand, as an engraver; like him, he was original and American. The influence of the Düsseldorf school is strongly felt in the productions of Albert Bierstadt, whose bold, occasionally rather theatrical, treatment of imposing scenery insured for his pictures an immense success with the public. Thomas Moran,

who, with Bierstadt and Thomas Hill, did so much to make us acquainted with the beauties of scenery made more accessible by the opening of the West, is an artist of a vivid imagination, whose works are marked by rich and exuberant coloring, and a broad and effective treatment of grand subjects. Frederick E. Church became noted as a painter of great natural phenomena, who brought artistic dexterity and scientific knowledge into play when producing his characteristic and impressive paintings of Niagara, of icebergs, and of volcanoes; and the work of Sanford R. Gifford was noted for its luminous atmospheric effects and brilliant coloring. If, as has been said, much of our landscape art has been objective in character, we find the subjective spirit conspicuously dominating in the productions of later artists, such as the contemplative and brilliant George Inness, Jervis McEntee, Homer D. Martin, and Alexander H. Wyant, or of our younger men who have been somewhat influenced by the Dutch. The poetical side of nature, its suggestion of sentiments and moods,—in a word, our own individuality as reflected in nature,—this, rather than the externals of things, forms the theme of their work.

In the department of marine art, despite William J. Bennett's "unrivalled sea-pieces," we find no names of note in the annals of New-York art until we come down to a comparatively recent date. William F. De Haas, a Hollander, had his studio here for some years, and his brother, Maurice F. H. De Haas, is one of our best marine painters; while Arthur Quartley, Francis A. Silva, and William Bradford are among those who have also had both artistic and popular success in the metropolis. Animal-painters in this city seem also to have been a product of more recent times, if we except John James Audubon's drawings for his great work on American ornithology. There were a few isolated instances in the beginning of the century, but they hardly have a place even in the history of Dunlap. William Hays portrayed the buffalo and the prairie-dog, and Thomas B. Thorpe, the author, also essayed his skill in humorous delineations of Western fauna. The work of Henry C. Bispham was exceedingly spirited, and Gilbert Burling painted mainly water-colors of game birds. William H. Beard appears as a pictorial Æsop in his satires on humanity, in which the animal world is depicted as subject to the many foibles and weaknesses common to the human race. His brother, James H. Beard, has portrayed man as well as the lower species of animals. James Hart has introduced cattle in his landscapes with good effect, and Peter Moran has won an enviable reputation in this field, which is also cultivated with more or less success by a few men of the present generation. As regards the painting of still life, fruit- and flower-pieces and similar subjects, Shepard A. Mount and Henry S. Mount seem to have been the first to gain measurable success in this branch

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of art, which to-day is practised in this city with more or less ability by a respectable number of artists. Flower-painting is an art that naturally appeals to the imagination of the female element in art, and not a few women, in fact, have devoted their abilities to the depiction of the beauties of Flora's kingdom. John La Farge has also given us some beautiful paintings of flowers, rich in color, and giving proof of a highly imaginative nature. His work, essentially decorative in character, leads us into a department of the fine arts in which we have of late years been making a rapid advance.

It is in the decoration of churches especially that some of our younger men have had opportunities afforded them for testing their strength. In this connection it is proper to refer to the improvements that have been brought about in the production of stained-glass windows, placing us, as regards the manufacture and selection of glass, abreast of the best works offered in the world. Those prominent in this branch of art must be sought for mainly in the younger element, and include John La Farge, William H. Low, Francis Lathrop, Louis C. Tiffany, Mrs. Ella Condie Lamb, and various others. Among the public buildings in New-York in which noteworthy decorative work may be seen in the way of mural paintings, windows, and sculptnring, are St. Thomas's Church (La Farge, Augustus St. Gaudens); Church of the Ascension (La Farge); Trinity Church (altar and reredos, a memorial to William B. Astor; bronze doors, by Carl H. Niehaus, Carl Bitter, and J. Massey Rhind, 1892); Church of St. Mary the Virgin; Church of the Heavenly Rest (Johannes A. Oertel, etc.); Gustavus Adolphus Church (Walter S. Greenough); the Metropolitan Opera House (Francis Lathrop, George W. Maynard), and several new hotels and business buildings. In the designing of book-covers, and in other fields, several of our artists have found opportunities for the production of original and beautiful designs.

The art of water-color painting has undergone its extensive development in this country only since the Civil War. A collection of English water-colors exhibited here in 1865 is said to have given a stimulus that resulted in the formation, within a year, of the American Water Color Society, which held its first exhibition in 1867. In the same year the society published a pamphlet intended to enlighten the general ignorance and doubt as to the durability of water-colors. Since then the interest taken in aquarelles has greatly increased, and has found further expression in the founding of the New-York Water Color Club in 1890, and in the arrangement of minor exhibitions at various times. Albert F. Bellows, Gilbert Burling, and John M. Falconer were among the early members of the older society, and to-day a large number of our artists devote considerable attention to water-color painting, in which much technical advance has also to be re-

corded. Pastels, a medium very difficult to handle, but with which most beautiful and delicate effects can be produced, have been taken up by several New-York men in recent years, and the efforts of the enthusiasts have been directed into more definite channels and given more unity of purpose through the founding of the Society of Painters in Pastel, which holds yearly exhibitions.

In the production of panoramas, but much more so in the painting of scenery for the theater, native artists have shown much ability. A panorama of London, exhibited in Greenwich street, in 1795, by William Winstanley, an English artist, is said to have been the first picture of the kind seen in this country. Vanderlyn, when visiting Versailles, formed the project of painting a panoramic view of the place. In 1817, two years after his return to the United States, he erected a panorama building in New-York,— the Rotunda,— in which he exhibited a number of panoramas, including several painted by himself. He incurred a debt for the erection of the building, which latter, after the expiration of the lease, was seized by the city and appropriated for its business. Among exhibitions of this kind at a later date were a panorama of New-York city, painted by Holland and his pupils Reinagle and Evers, and exhibited in 1813, and John Banvard's panorama of the Mississippi, three miles in length; Robert Burford's Jerusalem (corner of Prince and Mercer streets, 1838); Loomis's panorama of Cuba (1850); Sattler's cosmorama (1851), and Catherwood's Jerusalem, in the New Rotunda, corner of Broadway and Prince street. In recent times we have seen no prominent native talent engaged in such work. The modern panoramas and cycloramas exhibited here mostly bear the signature of some foreign artist, like Philippoteaux, though many young American art students aid in their production. In the department of scene-painting, however, New York has developed a number of very clever painters. Thomas A. Cooper, who managed the New-York Theater in the beginning of the century, gave employment to various artists, notably John J. Holland, John Evers and Hugh Reinagle, the pupils of Holland, and Gallagher (in 1807). At the present time New-York city harbors a number of the best scene-painters in the country. Matt Morgan, the English caricaturist, illustrator, painter, designer of theatrical lithographic posters, and maker of "art pottery," was also well known as an excellent scene-painter. And Phil H. Goatcher, Charles Graham, Henry E. Hoyt, Lafayette W. Seavey, and Trafton S. Plaisted are among others who have more recently done their share toward procuring handsome and appropriate settings for the plays produced in the metropolis. The American Society of Scenic Painters was founded in 1892.

The French influence which marks the present period of our country's art development is strongly felt in the productions of a number

of the younger men in New-York's art colony. The growing discontent with old methods found expression to some degree in the founding of the Art Students' League and the Society of American Artists, but the old Academy itself has begun to expand into a liberality that insures for it prolonged success. The exponents of these new aims and methods and their followers are many in number, and the one thing that is especially noticeable is the very large proportion of young men of undoubted ability. There is a remarkable amount of artistic cleverness to be found in the studios of New-York city, of which even our illustrated periodicals afford ample proof. We also note that the classification into portrait-, figure-, historical, landscape-, animal-painter, etc., frequently does not hold good at the present time, for many of the younger men take up any subject that interests them, and know no specialty. Ideas or motives — as exemplified in the genre, anecdotal, historical, allegorical, or religious art of yore — are of less moment to these modern artists than the laying down of certain artistic principles. "Art for art's sake" is the motto; and "color notes," "studies in color," "impressions," "arrangements," "harmonies," and other similar expressions have taken their place in modern art terminology, and figure prominently in our exhibition catalogues. Time undoubtedly will modify much that appears startling or ultra-realistic in the most modern methods of artistic expression. As it is, we find that even now the influences that sway our art are varied. Thus the contemplative, introspective art of the Dutch, born of their land, has more or less influenced a number of our younger men. The representatives of these modern tendencies are so numerous that extended notice of even the prominent ones would be out of place here. There is a noticeably large number of talented men in the metropolis to-day who are in their several ways practising and propagating those advanced art theories which Walter Shirlaw and William M. Chase did so much to introduce and foster in the early days of the Art Students' League.

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by no less than seven examples of his work, illustrating various periods of his artistic development. They are "The Indian Hunter" (1864), Shakespeare (1872), Seventh Regiment Memorial (1874), Washington (1883), "The Pilgrim" (1885), William E. Dodge (1885), and Horace Greeley (1890). Miss Emma Stebbins is one of the few female artists represented in this country by public statuary. She is the designer of the large fountain, "The Angel of the Waters," in Central Park, which latter owns also her statue of Columbus. J. Wilson A. MacDonald is known by his statue of Fitz-Greene Halleck in Central Park, and the works of Ernst Plassmann are all to be found in this city. The statues of Benjamin Franklin on Printing-House Square, of Franklin and Gutenberg on the "Staats-Zeitung" building, of Tammany on Tammany Hall, and others, are by him. The Beethoven bust in Central Park is by Henry Baerer, and the group on the Arion club-house by Alois Loeher, while Robert E. Launitz, Edward J. Kuntze, and, more recently, Caspar Buberl, are the names of other German-born artists of note. A sculptor who chose a very original specialty is John Rogers, whose popularity rests on his statuette groups, executed in an unconventional spirit, and illustrating every-day life in both its humorous and pathetic aspects.

The new tendencies referred to in the remarks on our painters have exerted a corresponding influence on the sister art of sculpture. Here, too, many of the younger men are thoroughly in sympathy with the strongly realistic tendencies of this new, progressive movement. In the productions of our earlier sculptors we find a condition of things analogous to those which characterize the beginnings of painting in this country: a very marked influence of foreign methods, and imitation of certain conventional forms, besides a striving after "classicism," which, though inspired by noble sentiments and pure and frequently well-expressed ideals, naturally shows little of that spirit which is felt in ancient sculpture. In place of these tendencies, a more decided originality is apparent to-day, with a healthy realism in the methods of expression. Naturally, this most recent phase of the development of plastic art will not be free from criticism, nor does it lack its aspects of immaturity, yet some of our younger sculptors have already won honorable prominence in their art. Of these newer men, Augustus St. Gaudens is represented in this city by a statue of Admiral Farragut, which, like his ideal figure of Robert R. Randall on Staten Island, and the Lincoln in Chicago, affords proof of a realistic spirit that expresses itself with simplicity and a thorough command of technical methods. Olin N. Warner, noted for his ideal subjects, can hardly be judged solely on the merits of the small fountain at the northeast corner of Union Square, which, however, has been designed with artistic discretion.

And this, together with the "Still Hunt," by Edward Kemeys, in Central Park, is all that we have thus far in New-York city to show what the younger Americans are doing in sculpture. Jonathan Scott Hartley is prominent among New-York's sculptors, but is, unfortunately, not yet represented in that city by any public statue, although his portrait busts of Edwin Booth and Lawrence Barrett have been placed in the rooms of the "Players' Club." Similarly, we have of William Rudolf O'Donovan's work only his vigorously modeled and characteristic bust of William Page, in the National Academy, and Launt Thompson is represented here only by his statue of Napoleon and his busts of Charles L. Elliott and William C. Bryant, all in the Metropolitan Museum. Among the representatives of the "younger element" who are working in New-York with more or less success, and in pretty thorough sympathy with modern tendencies, are Daniel C. French, F. Edwin Elwell, James E. Kelly, Alexander Doyle, and others, all represented by public statuary in various parts of the Union. It seems proper to refer here also to the successful bronze foundries established in the metropolis. Formerly all our statuary had to be cast in Paris, Munich, or Rome, while now that necessity has been obviated by the notable progress in the art made by firms like the Henry-Bonnard Company and Maurice J. Power in this city, and Bureau Brothers in Philadelphia.

Engraving did not antedate sculpture in its artistic and technical development, although a number of engravers, most of them foreigners, began to practise their calling in this city in the last decade of the eighteenth century. William Rollinson, John Roberts, Cornelius Tiebout, and Benjamin Tanner were among those engaged here in this branch of art at that time, and, a little later, stipple engraving was taken up by Clark and Gilbert Fox (both employed by David Longworth, the publisher) and R. Field. According to Dunlap, Henry Hawkins, the first engraver in the city, "worked at anything that offered, suiting himself to the poverty of the arts at the time." Not a few of those who followed him found it necessary similarly to "suit themselves," seeking engagement as silversmiths and ornamenters of buttons. David Edwin, "the first good engraver of the human countenance that appeared in this country," spoke of "the rude imperfections attendant upon engraving and copperplate printing in Philadelphia," which latter city at that time took the lead in the business of book-publishing. Similar difficulties were no doubt encountered in New-York. Peter Maverick was for some years the best engraver in this city, which, however, is not saying much. His son and grandson (both named Peter), Francis Kearney, G. Parker, Thomas Gimbrede, and William Main are among those whose work served to mark the gradual improvement in engraving. But in Asher

B. Durand, who eventually exchanged the burin for the brush, and attained distinction in both portraiture and landscape-painting, we find the foremost American engraver of his time. In plates such as those after Trumbull's "Declaration of Independence" and Vanderlyn's "Ariadne," he produced works that rank with the finest examples of reproductive line-engraving. He was one of the pioneers of the art in this country, and lived to see it unfold and grow with a rapidity characteristically American. He was followed by many engravers of repute, among them James Smillie and his son James D., Henry B. Hall and his brother George R., Charles Burt, William E. Marshall, John C. Buttre, Stephen A. Schoff, Alfred Jones, and William Wellstood and his son James. The art of mezzotint engraving was at one time a very popular medium for the illustration of books. Some artists practised it in this city,—such as Alexander H. Ritchie,—but it is John Sartain, of Philadelphia, whose name is most intimately associated with the rise of that branch of engraving in this country.

Peter Maverick[1]

The United States have surpassed the world in one branch of steel-engraving—the production of bank-notes; and New-York city has been closely identified with the astonishing progress made in this art. Among the earlier bank-note engravers in New-York city were the following: Peter Maverick, pupil of his father, whom he excelled, and teacher of A. B. Durand; William S. Leney, who entered into a partnership with William Rollinson; George Whitefield Hatch and Freeman Rawdon, of Connecticut, who came here from Albany—both of them members of the firm of Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Co. (about 1834–54). A later firm was that of Danforth, Wright & Co. (1855–59). Eventually, several of the existing firms were successively absorbed by the American Bank Note Company, one of the largest of its kind. The business of bank-note engraving has been carried on mainly by several companies in New-York city, which have also manufactured a large portion of the bank-notes and stamps used by the principal nations of the world. The main safeguard against

1 Peter Maverick was born in 1780, in New-York city, and was the son of Peter Rushton Maverick, a silversmith and later an engraver. Possessed of artistic ability, he early evinced a taste for engraving, and the beauty of his work was acknowledged by all. The bulk of the engraving for the city banks was done by him, and the artists Durand, Kensett, and Casilear worked in his establishment, the first named becoming his partner. He died in his native city, June 17, 1831. EDITOR.

counterfeiting has been sought for in superior artistic execution combined with the most perfect mechanical skill, and considerable improvements in this department have been inaugurated through the inventiveness of various engravers. New-York has produced some of the finest artists in this field. Asher B. Durand, Felix O. C. Darley, James D. Smillie, and John W. Casilear are names of New-York men in the list of those who designed bank-note vignettes the engraving of which was executed by James Smillie, John F. E. Prud'homme, and other prominent engravers.

Etching was formerly practised in this city mainly by illustrators—Darley, J. W. Ehninger, Thomas F. Hoppin, Edwin Forbes—in the production of outline drawings. But it is only within the last ten years that we have witnessed a growing interest in the art of original or painter etching,—an interest finding expression in the founding of the New-York Etching Club, and furthered by the work of such able painter-etchers in this city as Charles A. Platt, James D. Smillie, Thomas Moran and his wife, Mrs. Mary Nimmo Moran, Joseph Pennell, Otto H. Bacher, and others. In reproductive etching, Thomas R. Manley, William C. Bauer, Frank Ranbichek, and James S. King are among those who have achieved popularity and proven themselves sympathetic interpreters of the works of others.

Rembrandt Peale, when the Franklin Institute granted him a medal for lithographic work in 1827, little imagined how great an improvement was to be effected in the art of drawing on stone. About 1828, Henry Inman also learned lithography, and helped to introduce it into the United States. And ten years later, John Bisbee, John Crawley, Jr. (with Endicott and Swett), and others were practising the art in New-York city. A remarkable perfection was gradually attained in chromo-lithography, with which progress the company founded by G. W. Hatch, as well as others, has been identified. Lithography is now used principally in the production of theatrical advertisements,—the improvement in which is largely due to the efforts of Matt Morgan,—and for holiday cards and other small work; but formerly it was frequently the medium employed in book-illustration, as witness some of the color-work of the firm of Major & Knapp, or Julius Bien's reproductions of the dainty pen-and-ink drawings by Henry L. Stephens.

It may be safely asserted, however, that for the last half century the reproductive art principally utilized in the illustration of books and periodicals has been wood-engraving. In this art we have made an advance not only rapid, but marked also by such a thorough artistic success as to place the work of our engravers to-day on a level with the best produced in Europe. Alexander Anderson, the first wood-engraver in this country, and who has been affectionately styled

"the American Bewick," was born and died in New-York city. He worked at first in type-metal, which had been used in this country long before the Revolution, but later on adopted boxwood. In style he emulated Thomas Bewick, whose "Quadrupeds" he reëngraved for David Longworth. Anderson had some pupils and followers, such as Lansing and William Morgan; but at that date books were as yet generally illustrated by copperplate-engraving. The limited demand for wood-engraving caused Abraham John Mason, an Englishman, who came to New-York in 1829, and in 1832 was professor of his art at the National Academy, to return to his native land after a stay of ten years. Yet in 1837 Joseph A. Adams had already projected the famous "Illuminated Bible" brought out by the Harpers in 1846. Prior to 1840 there was little demand for original work; recuts of English engravings were much used. But with the improvements in the art in this country, and the advent of Darley and other good designers on wood, the demand for native work gradually increased, and in the succeeding twenty years we find a number of able engravers as the successors of Anderson and Adams. Among these were: John William Orr, Nathaniel Orr, Andrew V. S. Anthony, Samuel P. Avery, John H. Hall, Benjamin F. Childs, Edward Hooper, John Karst, J. Augustus Bogert, and the Englishmen Alfred Bobbett, John Andrew, Robert Carter (Frank Leslie), and William James Linton, who has eloquently pleaded for the "white line of Bewick," and for the "adaptation of the line to the object," in his history of the art. Of the early attempts to found illustrated weeklies (such as Thomas W. Strong's "Illustrated American News," 1851–52, and Phineas T. Barnum's "Illustrated News," 1853) little need be said. However, the journals founded by Leslie (1855) and the Harpers (1857), though hardly more promising at first, have endured and exerted good influence.

Important forward strides in wood-engraving in this city during the period from 1855 to 1875 are marked by the efforts of the Harpers, the Putnams, the American Tract Society, and the exertions of individual engravers. In recent years the art has reached a very advanced stage of perfection in this country, especially as to faithful reproduction, not only of details, but also of the character, the textures, qualities, and values of tones and colors in the work to be copied. The line is sacrificed for this purpose, and this new method may be said to have had its first exponent in Frederick Juengling. The modern practice of photographing the original upon the wood has wrought a great change in the methods of book-illustration. Formerly the illustrator had to make his drawings directly on the block—a method calling, to some extent, for special training. To-day the artist may work with more freedom and in whatever medium suits him best, the engraver being guided both by the original and

by the photograph on the block before him. New-York has become our principal center for good illustrating, and a large proportion of the men—such as Timothy Cole, Elbridge Kingsley, George Kruell, and many others—who have aided in advancing wood-engraving to the high standard which it has attained, have worked in this city. The Society of American Wood-Engravers, which represents the "new school," was awarded, in October, 1891, the great diploma of honor at the Berlin International Exhibition of the Fine Arts, while individual members of the society also won enviable honors at the Paris Exposition of 1889. Notable improvements have also been made in the purely mechanical reproduction of drawings. The aid of the sun had already been invoked by different experimenters, with varying success, when John C. Moss, in 1867, after many trials and discouragements, produced his perfected process of making relief plates by casting in a gelatin matrix. He founded the Actinic Engraving Company in 1870, became superintendent of the Photo-Engraving Company two years later, and in 1880 established the Moss Engraving Company. The importance of such reproduction of original designs in absolute fac-simile was soon recognized, and to-day a large number of mechanical reproductive processes—photo-engraving, photo-zincography, photo-lithography, photo-electrotype, electro-light photo-engraving, photogravure, heliotype, artotype, albertype, woodburytype, and heliogravure—are successfully carried on in this and other cities throughout the country.

The professional illustrator is of comparatively recent origin. Of course there were artists to "embellish" such illustrated books as appeared at the beginning of this century, and we hear that one John Ludlow Morton was making designs for the wood-engravers in 1830. But the first men of ability who appeared were William Croome and John G. Chapman, who were followed immediately by Felix O. C. Darley. The advent of the latter, soon after 1840, marked the rise of modern book-illustration in this country. His superiority was so apparent that he was soon overwhelmed with work, and his drawings, though displaying evident mannerisms, evinced a fertility of imagination, a power of characterization, and a facility of hand that must have given a decided impetus to the progress of the art. We seem to trace the influence of his dashing style in the work of Jacob A. Dalkis and others who followed him.

One of the earliest attempts to produce really artistic work in this field was made by the Harpers when they brought out, in 1846, their "Illuminated Bible," with illustrations by John G. Chapman, the drawings very precise in style, and some of them beautifully engraved. The Putnams followed, about seven years later, with the Darley illustrations to some of Washington Irving's works. Later there appeared

Darley's admirable illustrations of Cooper's novels. During and in the decade after the war period, which itself called for an immense quantity of illustrated literature, we find the book-illustrations signed chiefly by Alfred R. Waud, Samuel Wallin, T. Addison Richards (for over thirty-five years corresponding secretary of the National Academy), John W. Ehninger, Winslow Homer, George G. White, Augustus Hoppin, and Alfred Fredericks, although there were many others who produced very acceptable work.

To-day a veritable army of illustrators finds employment with the publishers of this city. Edwin A. Abbey, Charles S. Reinhart, William T. Smedley, Thure de Thulstrup, Robert Blum, Arthur B. Frost, W. Hamilton Gibson, Frederic Remington, Julian O. Davidson, Mrs. Mary Hallock Foote, and Howard Pyle are but a few of our many capable artists in black and white. In newspaper illustration the modern reproductive processes have also wrought remarkable progress.

Of caricaturists New-York has always drawn to it the best in the land. During 1850–80, when London "Punch" was having its imitators in New-York city,—such as "Yankee Notions" (established in 1852), "Vanity Fair" (in 1859), and "Punchinello" (in 1870),—those publications gave employment to clever artists like John McLenan, Augustus Hoppin, Henry L. Stephens, and Francis H. T. Bellew. The foreign element has in more recent times been always conspicuous among our caricaturists. Thomas Nast, who made his reputation by war pictures and anti-Tweed cartoons, is a German by birth; Matt Morgan, brought over by Frank Leslie as a rival to Nast, was an Englishman; and Joseph Keppler, who first successfully introduced lithographic colored cartoons into comic journalism here, is an Austrian. We had a very clever American-born "cartoonist" in James A. Wales, who drew for both "Puck" and "Judge," while a number of younger Americans have shown an aptitude especially for social satire, in "Life" and other periodicals.

Painters of note naturally have their followers and pupils, but one of the earliest ones well known as teachers was Edward Savage, who spent some years in New-York, where, in 1788, he founded an establishment which was half painting-gallery, half museum. He was followed by Archibald Robertson, a Scotch artist, who came to New-York in 1791 at the solicitation of Dr. Kemp of Columbia College. His brother, Alexander, arrived in the following year, and together they established in 1792 a drawing-school,—the Columbian Academy of Painting,—being busy as painters and teachers for some thirty years thereafter. John Rubens Smith, who was painting portraits here in 1812, was engaged successively in Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia as a teacher of drawing, for which profession he appears to have been well qualified. Meanwhile the necessity of organization

for purposes of study and exhibition impressed itself more and more upon the professional artists in this and other cities, and became an incentive to efforts which resulted eventually in the founding of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, and the National Academy of Design in New-York city. The latter, however, was not a wholly original product, but rather the logical outcome of less successful ones. The first attempt at organization in the interests of art in this city was made in 1801, in which year Robert Livingston, the American minister to France, urged in a number of letters the importance of raising a fund, by subscription, for the establishing of a public gallery and art school, and the purchase of works of art. The idea met with a favorable reception, and in December of the

following year the New-York Academy of Fine Arts was founded. In 1808, when a charter was obtained, the name was changed to "American Academy of Fine Arts." The institution was organized under the auspices of Livingston, Hosack, Colden, Fulton, Clinton, Trumbull, and other distinguished citizens. A number of casts from the antique were procured from Europe and publicly exhibited, and later on Napoleon I. presented numerous engravings and drawings. Still, interest in the American Academy soon began to wane, but it was revived in 1816 principally through the efforts of Clinton, Hosack, and Francis. The city then also granted it a gratuitous ten years' lease of rooms in

[1] These interesting miniatures of George and Martha Washington were painted in water colors on ivory by Archibald Robertson, and are among the best examples of his work in existence.—Editor.

the New-York Institute on Chambers street, and a school of drawing and painting was opened under the direction of Alexander Robertson. But the revival of usefulness was not long-lived. Dissatisfaction arose among artists and art students with the illiberal policy in the management of the institution under John Trumbull, and controversy and opposition led to the withdrawal, in 1825, of a number of students, who, on November 8 of the same year, founded the New-York Drawing Association, "for art study and social intercourse,"—Samuel F. B. Morse being prominent in this movement. The success of this society warranted the extension of its field of usefulness, and resulted in the formation of the present National Academy in the following year, Morse being elected president, which office he held until 1842.

For a number of years this new Academy had its exhibitions in various buildings on or near lower Broadway. The first was held at the corner of Broadway and Reade street; the second over Daniel E. Tylee's baths in Chambers street; from 1829 to 1839 in Clinton Hall; then for ten years in the New-York Society Library's building, corner of Leonard street and Broadway. The Academy grew gradually in artistic success and material prosperity, and when the erection of a special building came under consideration, the lot on the northwest corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third street was eventually selected. Here the corner-stone of its present home was laid on October 19, 1863. The National Academy, unlike its predecessor, was and is owned and controlled exclusively by artists, associates and academicians, each class being limited to one hundred. Others are eligible to membership only as honorary members and fellows. From the beginning it was a fixed rule that only pictures never before publicly shown in New-York should be admitted to its exhibitions, which wise move made it a formidable competitor to the older Academy, whose permanent exhibition soon failed to arouse any interest. In fact, the latter institution rapidly declined in public favor, although it lingered on until 1841, when its remaining properties were sold at public auction. The schools of the Academy owe the foundation of their success to the capable and intelligent administration of Thomas S. Cummings, who was treasurer of the institution for forty years.

After the founding of the Academy, other art associations soon sprang into life, some of them leading a long existence. The (Artists') "Sketch Club" was established in 1844, and lasted about three years. It must not be confounded with the old "Sketch Club," organized about 1827, nor with its successor, the "New-York Sketch Club," from which arose the Century Association. The Apollo Association, suggested by the London Society of the same name, was founded in 1838. It did not prosper at first, but after its incorporation in 1840, and the changing of its name to the "American Art Union," it remained for

many years a medium for the encouragement of native art. Its object was the purchase of American works of art, which were exhibited gratuitously at its galleries, and distributed annually, by lot, to its members. Some of these works were also engraved for the "Bulletin," one of the earlier among the art magazines in this city.[1] Other art exhibitions held in ante-bellum times were those of the New-York Gallery of Fine Arts (Luman Reed's valuable collection, purchased after his death by a society organized for that purpose, and formed into a permanent exhibition about 1844-45); the Lyceum Gallery, No. 563 Broadway (1849); the "Dusseldorf" Gallery (about 1849–55, brought over by a Mr. Boker, and leading to extensive importations of German paintings); the Crystal Palace (1853, on the site of the present Bryant Park, Forty-second street and Sixth Avenue); the International Art Institute (founded in 1859), and others, all of which must have had more or less influence in molding public taste. The exhibition held in 1857 for the benefit of William Ranney's family was the direct incentive to the formation of the Artists' Fund Society, a provident association, as its name indicated. In recent years art exhibitions have been exceedingly numerous in New-York city. Yearly ones are held by the Academy, the Society of American Artists, the Architectural League, and the associations of aquarellists, pastelists, etchers, and other specialists in the broad domain of art. Clubs like the Salmagundi and the defunct Fellowcraft have shown works by their members, and interesting exhibitions of art objects are arranged also, at various times, by the Century, Union League, Lotos, and Aldine clubs, in some of which a notable proportion of the membership consists of artists. To these must be added the numerous minor exhibitions, many of them held under the auspices of art dealers, and usually tending to illustrate a certain branch of art, or the work of some individual artist, as also the exhibitions of important private collections previous to their sale at auction, all of which cannot fail to be of signal educational benefit.

The Academy had a period of near-sightedness, of inability sufficiently to recognize the modern tendencies which were bound inevitably to assert themselves. When the council, in 1875, determined not to reopen the schools until December, the students organized under the charge of the Academy's instructor, Lemuel E. Wilmarth. This Art Students' League was organized in September, 1875, and incorporated in 1878. It had to undergo a hard struggle for existence at the beginning, but through the efforts of its first president, Frank Waller, and others, it was eventually fairly started on the road to the success which it has since then enjoyed. While the object of the League was study,

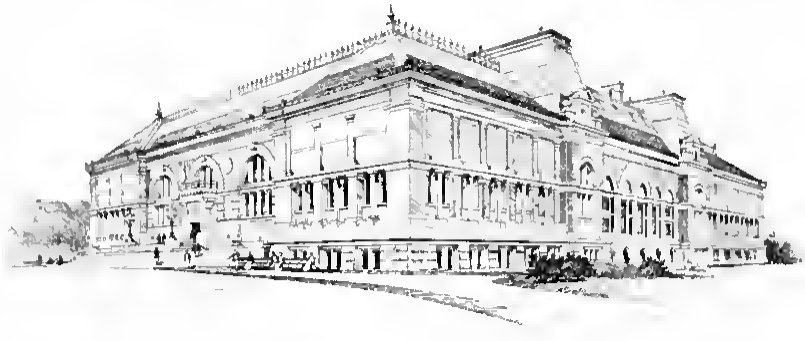
[1] Among those that followed it were "The Crayon" (1855–61, edited by John Durand and William J. Stillman; and, later on, "The Aldine." In more recent years we have had "The Art Amateur" (Montague Marks), "The Studio" (Clarence Cook), the "Magazine of Art" (with American supplement), the "Art Interchange," "Art Age," "Art Journal," and "Art Review."

the Society of American Artists was founded in 1877 for exhibition purposes. In 1889 these two associations, together with the Architectural League and the Society of Painters in Pastel, were formed into the Fine Arts Society, and erected a handsome building on West Fifty-seventh street, which was opened in the following year. Meanwhile, the vista of the Academy had soon broadened again. The younger element began to have a voice in the council, and the three institutions now exist peacefully side by side, not a few prominent artists, in fact, being entitled to place both "N. A." and "S. A. A." after their names. Besides the art schools of the Academy and the League, other educational institutions are also open to the art student in this city. In Cooper Institute all branches of drawing, as also modeling, are taught in the evening, and there are special day classes for women, which formerly included a school for wood-engraving, established in 1859. William Rimmer was director of this School of Design for Women at Cooper Union during 1867–71. Classes in drawing are likewise maintained by the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen. Technical drawing and decorative art are taught in the schools of the Metropolitan Museum, the New-York Trades Schools, and the Institute for Artist-Artisans (founded by John W. Stimson in 1888), and architecture at Columbia College. In the public schools, as also in some private ones, elementary drawing is taught, although the efforts made in that direction have not been very extensive.

Various associations for purposes of study have also been formed at different times within the last twenty years, such as the Sharp Art School (formerly the Gotham Art Students), the Charcoal Club, and the Kit-Kat Club. The latter society has given some thought to the promotion of social intercourse, which latter object is pursued to-day by the Salmagundi, as it formerly was by the Palette. Societies with a more or less utilitarian purpose are the Society of American Arts, the Ladies' Art Association, the Society of Decorative Art (founded in 1877); and the water-colorists, etchers, painters in pastel, wood-engravers, painters on stone, and scene-painters have also organized themselves, as has been seen, while the female element solely is represented in the Woman's Art Club. While such fraternal organizations of artists, both for business and for pleasure, are pleasant to contemplate, one notes with satisfaction that the wild "Bohemian" way of living, common to not a few artists of the preceding generation, has given way to a better social standing of the craft. Given the opportunities that our students enjoy, we may harbor the brightest hopes for American art in the future, and the city's relation to the same.

Public collections of works of art New-York, as a city, does not possess, if we except the gallery of portraits of political and military dignitaries in the Governor's Room in the City Hall. This includes ex-

amples of some of the best American portrait-painters in the first half of the present century, among them being Trumbull, Vanderlyn, Weir, Elliott, Huntington, Inman, Sully, Wenzler, Waldo, and Page. The largest and most noteworthy public art collection in the city is that in the Metropolitan Museum. Its formation was first suggested in 1869 by a memorial from American citizens in Europe, transmitted to John Jay, president of the Union League Club. The movement thus initiated was taken up by the art committee of the club, which held a public meeting on November 23, 1869, to consider the proposition. The result was the incorporation, in the following year, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, "for encouraging and developing the study of the fine arts and the application of art to manufacture and practical life,"—John Taylor Johnston being chosen president. Two years later the first exhibition was held, and soon after that General Luigi P. di Cesnola's collection of Cypriote antiquities was acquired



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by the museum, the present quarters of which were completed in 1879. It has been the recipient of numerous private donations—from Henry O. Havemeyer (one of whose many contributions was the portrait of Washington by Gilbert Stuart, painted in 1803), Henry G. Marquand (who has shown himself especially generous in presenting and loaning fine old masters), Catherine Lorillard Wolfe (who bequeathed a fine collection of modern paintings), Morris K. Jesup, George I. Seney, Cornelius Vanderbilt (original drawings by old masters, etc.), Levi Hale Willard (bequest of about $75,000 for the purchase of architectural casts), Mrs. John Crosby Brown (nearly three hundred musical instruments), John Taylor Johnston (Rev. Charles W. King's collection of engraved gems), William H. Vanderbilt (bequest of $100,000), S. Whitney Phœnix, William H. Huntington, William E. Dodge, Miss Sarah Lazarus (miniatures and jewelry), Samuel L. M. Barlow, Richard M. Hunt, Joseph W. Drexel (Egyptian engraved stones and other

art objects), Henry Hilton (Jean L. E. Meissonier's "Friedland, 1807," and Édouard Détaille's "Defense of Champigny"), James Jackson Jarves (glass), Alphonse Duprat (plaster casts from ivory carvings), Jacob H. Schiff, and various others. Through these donations, and by judicious purchases, the collection — which embraces valuable antiquities, paintings, statuary, drawings, engravings, gems, metal-work, Babylonian and Assyrian seals, cylinders, pottery, and other objects of art and curiosity — has grown with such rapidity as to necessitate the building of an additional wing, on the north side, to the main museum, which is seen in the illustration on page 367, and which will be completed early in the present year, 1893. The collections in the museum have been afforded a decidedly increased field of usefulness by the decision permitting the public to view them in the evening and on Sundays, although the latter point was not decided until 1891, and then against serious opposition from influential quarters. Henry G. Marquand succeeded Mr. Johnston as president of the museum.

There are a few collections of paintings in the city, belonging to institutions of various kinds, but they are not all readily accessible to the general public. The New-York Historical Society possesses some two hundred and fifty paintings of the Dutch and Italian schools (presented by Thomas J. Bryan), the Louis Durr collection, the old "New-York Gallery" (Luman Reed's collection), some modern statuary, such as Thomas Crawford's "Indian Chief," and a number of valuable portraits, chiefly American, including canvases by Stuart, Trumbull, Vanderlyn, Charles W. and Rembrandt Peale, Jarvis, Ames, Elliott, Samuel S. Osgood, Huntington, and Hicks. The National Academy of Design, through a rule in accordance with which every associate must on his election present a painted portrait of himself and an example of his work if he becomes an academician, has accumulated a collection that is of much interest to the art historian. It owns also a portrait of Washington Allston, by Charles R. Leslie, presented by Samuel F. B. Morse, and a number of paintings by James A. Suydam. The Chamber of Commerce possesses portraits by early and late American artists; and there have been canvases by Cole, Inness, and Wenzler at the Young Men's Christian Association rooms, corner of Twenty-third street and Fourth Avenue, for a number of years. The Lenox Library possesses a notable collection of modern works, including paintings by Munkacsy, J. M. W. Turner, Vernet, Delaroche, and by noted American artists, such as Gilbert Stuart (portraits of Washington, "painted for Peter Jay Munroe in 1799," and of Mrs. Robert Morris), Trumbull, Cole, Durand, J. W. Jarvis, C. R. Leslie, G. S. Newton, J. S. Copley, Vanderlyn, R. E. Pine, Inman, R. Peale (copy of a portrait of Washington by C. W. Peale), James Peale (portrait of Washington), Chapman, William S.

Mount, F. E. Church ("Cotopaxi"), and others, and statuary by Crawford, H. Powers, and Ball. A number of modern paintings and statuary, presented by William Waldorf Astor, are housed in the Astor Library, and the Mercantile Library possesses several examples of older American sculpture by Joseph Mozier and others.

Though New-York has no Salon that honors worthy exhibitors, yet private liberality has provided a number of prizes that are competed for at stated intervals. At the Academy exhibitions the following are awarded annually: The three prizes ($100, $200, and $300) endowed by Julius Hallgarten, in 1883, for the best three pictures in oil by Americans under thirty-five; the Thomas B. Clark prize of $300 (provided for in 1883), for the best painting in oil by an American; and the Norman W. Dodge prize of $300, instituted in 1887, and awarded to the best picture painted in the United States by a woman. At the yearly exhibitions of the Society of American Artists, the Webb prize of $300, instituted in 1887 by Dr. W. Seward Webb, is awarded for the best landscape by an American artist under forty, and about 1885 the first of several annual "Prize Fund Exhibitions" was held in the galleries of the American Art Association, the prize amounting to $2000. Art students, also, are offered incentives to special effort. At the Academy schools, the Elliott medals (silver and bronze), the Suydam medals (silver and bronze), and the Hallgarten money prizes are competed for. Some foreign scholarships have been awarded at the Art Students' League; and in 1891 John Armstrong Chandler raised subscriptions for a fund for foreign art scholarships, which yields $900 a year to support a student for five years in Paris. In the earlier days of American art more than one struggling artist has profited by the munificence of some of the many liberal and public-spirited citizens.

New-York city, almost from the beginning of the present century, has been the home of a number of collectors of discriminating taste and art-loving spirit. Among these were Dr. David Hosack, Philip Hone, Luman Reed, Charles M. Leupp, Marshall O. Roberts, Abraham M. Cozzens, James Lenox, Jonathan Sturges, John Taylor Johnston, William H. Aspinwall, Thomas J. Bryan, Robert Hoe, and Robert L. Stuart. Old masters, and later on modern foreign products, were at first mainly sought after, but American art gradually acquired a share of patronage and received encouragement and support, both financial and moral, from Leupp, Reed, Sturges, John R. Murray, and others, in whom, as Tuckerman says, "commercial success is identified with tasteful liberality." Among the more important private collections of a later date may be mentioned those of Miss Wolfe, Henry G. Marquand, George I. Seney, Alexander T. Stewart, William H. Vanderbilt, Collis P. Huntington, John Wolfe, and August Bel-

mont. Many others, though smaller, likewise give evidence of a critical taste, which it is pleasing to find in such numerous cases.

The drifting northward of the studios is one of the many illustrations of New-York's growth. Only a few decades ago, our artists' ateliers dotted the lower part of Broadway, and we hear of one painter in those early days who, having long followed his profession in New street, announced his intention of removing to the country, whereupon he settled in Duane street. To-day, with the exception of the handful still clustering about Washington Square and in the quite historic Tenth Street Studio building, most of the artists have moved further up-town, where a number of large and commodious structures have been erected specially with a view to their needs. Boston and Philadelphia have at certain periods proven formidable rivals to New-York as art centers, but now the metropolis may be said to hold the first place beyond dispute. New-York has drawn to it artists from all parts of the country, and the East and the West have both had to surrender some of their best talent. Besides this, there is also a steadily growing number of artists who live out of town but are regular contributors to our exhibitions. All of these form part of the metropolitan art colony; and they all play their part in shaping the course of art in the great metropolis—a course which, progressive in the past, is bright with hope for the future.

CHAPTER XII

THE EARLY HUGUENOTS OF MANHATTAN

THE story of the Huguenots in early America sometimes resembles a tragic dream, but the pilgrims of France who colonized along the borders of Manhattan found that the lines had fallen to them in pleasant places, and they reverently recognized the fact that they possessed a goodly heritage. The French first appeared in our spacious harbor under Verrazano, in 1524, the voyage evidently being followed by other explorations. At all events, when Jacques Cartier, the famous sailor of St. Malo, was in Canada, in 1634, he heard of a route of travel followed by the Indians between that region and the Hudson, then well known as the River of St. Anthony, so named after the celebrated and austere monk of the Thebaid.[1] Nevertheless, it is impossible now to say how soon after the first voyage of the French under Verrazano[2] the people of that nationality fixed their habitation in these parts. Happily, however, Champlain, the follower of Cartier, gave an early indication of the French on the Hudson when, August, 1615, he wrote of "the Flemings who go to trade in the fortieth degree," three of these Flemings having been captured by the Canadian Indians and returned to their friends on the Hudson, for the reason that they were French.[3]

A more definite light is thrown upon the situation at that early period by the Labadists, who visited New-York in 1679, and wrote of one Jean Vigné, then sixty-five years old, who, as they attest, was born here. This proves that the French were on the ground in 1615,[4] indicating that the family had at that time been established here by the Huguenots, the first colonists known to assemble around a

[1] Memorial History, Vol. I, p. 20.
[2] Ibid., p. 12.
[3] "Œuvres de Champlain," IV., p. 32.
[4] See Murphy's "Labadists," Long Island Historical Collection, Vol. I.

bearthstone, under a genuine though simple roof-tree. It is a significant and deeply interesting fact that,

Ere yet the rod of Holland ruled
Around Manhattan's shore,
The brave but banished Huguenot
His household thither bore.

Thus, first of all, the Huguenot,
Cast out by kings to roam,
Here reared amid the wilderness
His new and simple home.

Soon through the forest's fragrant air
The voice of childhood rang;
And e'en at eve a holy psalm
De Vigné's household sang.

We may not forget that the first home on the Hudson was a Huguenot home, though we can hardly linger long to frame, in imagination, a picture of the home life of the first Huguenot family, sheltered by a peasant's rude thatch, forming the nameless order of wilderness architecture that heralded the quaint gables of the Dutch. Still we may fancy the little habitation, nestling close to the ground in the center of a small piece of cleared land, surrounded by primeval forests, and view the cottager engaged in his daily pursuit: hunting or tilling his tiny garden, varied by barter with the simple savage, who, anon, peered upon him out of the dense woods with a mingled expression of curiosity, hostility, and alarm. Yet the pilgrim went to his rest at night in peace, after the traditional act of family piety, assured by the words of the Singer of Israel, chanted here on these wild shores six years before the Leyden Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, that he need fear no evil, whether it walked in darkness or wasted by noonday. This life in the wilderness of America was not only simple, but secure and free. We quote again:

Here, hampered by no feudal code,
No law of Church or State,
He lived the life that Nature lives,
Secure from human hate.

For here this exile, banished far,
Found, while he tilled the sod,
The boon that grand old France denied—
Freedom to worship God.

But we must leave this picture of the Huguenot of Manhattan in his Arcadian simplicity, and hasten on to notice that after the birth of the first European child, the babe of De Vigné's household, traders of various nationalities continued to come and go around the Hudson, though the De Vignés never departed; while, in 1622, a distinct and ambitious effort was made by Huguenots to establish a colony on this

part of the Atlantic coast. We should not feel surprised, however, to find among the Huguenots any highly ambitious aim like that which appears in 1622. The Huguenots included all classes. The martyrs and confessors were drawn alike from peasants, artisans, bourgeoisie, and the nobles. All classes in France, at this period of dispersion and martyrdom, were filled with an irrepressible enthusiasm for God and Humanity. Jesse de Forest appears to have been one of those who were looking high, and, accordingly, in February, 1622, he applied to Carlton, the English ambassador at The Hague, asking him to favor his application to King James, on behalf of "fifty or sixty families, as well Walloons as French, all of the Reformed religion, to settle in Virginia" (a term that covered the whole coast), where they desired the king to assign them a territory, in which would be reserved a class of "seigniorial rights." He asked, in this connection, "whether those amongst them who could live as nobles would not be permitted to declare themselves such."[1] The king referred the matter to the Virginia Company, which held the patent for the territory of the Hudson, and the idea was favored, though the plan seems to have failed. In the mean while, the aspiring De Forest continued the humble calling of a dyer in Leyden until the end of the year 1623, when he volunteered to serve in an expedition to the West Indies and Brazil against the Spaniards. There he lost his life, though at a later period he was represented here by members of his family.[2]

Nevertheless, in 1623, the Dutch West India Company made up a company of adventurers, including the Walloons (a French Protestant people who had taken refuge in Holland), sending them over in May, in the ship New Netherland, to Manhattan, where they arrived,—some going up the North River, others to the Delaware and Connecticut, while the rest remained at New Amsterdam. Now the rod of Holland really ruled for the first time. The design of the West India Company was not to establish a permanent colony, but to found, in connection with trade, a naval port for operations against the Spanish West Indies. The first Walloons came simply as "contract laborers," intending to return; and when Domine Michaelius came over in 1629, they told him that they had not understood that a church was to be formed, and, therefore, had failed to bring letters from their pastors. Nevertheless, at the first communion there were fifty Dutch and French.

It may be considered that the Dutch Church was established in 1629, the Huguenot becoming a part of the body, from which, August 30, 1638, they were forbidden to dissent by the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, which inhibited all "conventicles," while in 1641

[1] New-York Colonial Documents, III. 9.

[2] October, 1636, two sons of Jesse de Forest, Henry and Isaac, together with their brother-in-law, Dr. La Montagne, and his family, sailed for New Amsterdam, where they formed an important addition. See Riker's "Harlem," pp. 8, 14.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc., I. 110.

the charter held that no religion contrary to the state religion of Holland should "be publicly tolerated and allowed." Thus the liberty of the De Vignés came to an end. Owing to their need of English support against the Indians, the terms of the charter were violated for a time, but when the peril had passed the old rigidity was resumed and increased, and persecution was finally resorted to in the interest of the Dutch state religion. All this served to repress Huguenot interests.

It would be desirable, if there were room, to trace the development of the three nationalities in New Amsterdam,—the Dutch, French, and English,—the latter appearing as residents in 1635, and finally becoming a strong power, as the Dutch failed to send over a sufficient number of colonists. Indeed, in 1643, the latter offered to mortgage New Netherland to the New-Englanders in consideration of one hundred and fifty soldiers.[1]

The English were aggressive and bold, while the French were of the mild and gentle type, their interests at the same time inviting them to agree with the Dutch, and, practically, to form with them one community. Therefore, while the Lutherans, Baptists, and Quakers were finally persecuted by the Dutch, the Huguenots were safe in their practice of acquiescence, though it is evident that they regarded their submission as temporary, and never, by so much as a word, indicated that they approved the course of their masters. Besides, for a considerable time, as already seen, they considered themselves simply as temporary dwellers in the land; while some, when their term of service expired, went back to their own country. They were a quiet, simple folk, easily yielding to authority when supported by kindness. Their feelings also were considered in the appointment of a governor like Peter Minuit, the secretary being of French nationality. They inclined, however, to stray from the Dutch fold, especially as the services were not in the French tongue. The prohibitions of the charter applied to the Huguenots as well as to the English and others, inasmuch as the promulgation of the edict of 1638 was synchronous with the arrival of a considerable number of French families,—an event, we are told, that led to the formation of a French club; and when Frenchmen assemble in a club, it must be inferred that they hold some view or other quite distinct from those of their neighbors. In fact, it was this very year that Peter Minuit found himself in opposition to the Dutch Company, and went to the Delaware to build himself a fort. This is all significant as regards the relations of the French to the Dutch.[2]

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., I. 185.

[2] On this whole subject see such publications as those of the American Huguenot Society; Dr. Henry M. Baird's "History of the Huguenot Immigration"; Dr. William Hague's article on Pelham Manor; and many other valuable sources of information that could be mentioned.

From 1648 to 1658 the French increased more rapidly than during the previous years, the character of the immigrants generally varying greatly from that of the men of 1623, who were teachable and easily managed. Indeed, the character of some of the new-comers was of a nature that led Domine Megapolensis to say, "We have the snake in our bosom." Still the Huguenot population was scattered, much of it being a considerable distance from New Amsterdam. In Harlem one half of the population in 1661 was French. Drisius came over as one of the ministers of the Dutch Church, having been selected because he spoke French, the authorities now being well aware that the French, under English example, were asserting their independence. Still the first mention of a French service by him comes eleven years after his arrival, and then the service referred to was held on Staten Island. In this respect the records are doubtless imperfect, since he must have preached more or less in French from the time of his arrival. In 1659 a French licentiate, by the name of Zyperus, was preaching for the French in Harlem, though, after the fashion of the Huguenots, he eventually conformed to the Church of England. In the year 1664, New Amsterdam, which included in its population about fifteen hundred men, surrendered to the English, when Governor Nicolls, by royal authority, formally proclaimed religious liberty, though, through the heroic efforts of John Bowne, the Quaker, the administration in Holland had already ordered Stuyvesant to stop the work of persecution. This, however, did not change the law. But with the advent of the English the Huguenots were, in the fullest sense of the word, as free as De Vigné in 1614, when almost alone in the wilderness. Thus the way was open for the formation of Huguenot society, which before was an impossibility.

Now for the first time since the charter of 1638, the Huguenots enjoyed at once the three elements most essential to the existence of real society, namely, home, country, God. The De Vignés, in their rustic and perhaps palisaded cottage, found a home, together with freedom to worship God in accordance with the dictates of conscience; but they had no country. Down to 1664, of government there was none, save what emanated from the Dutch West India Company through smoky counting-rooms,—a government that lived in the breath of directors, supported by the bayonets of New England soldiers, who were the Swiss of America. The entire period was one of strife and uncertainty; and it was not until the banner of St. George floated on the fort at the Battery that the Huguenot really rose to the dignity of citizenship. Prior to 1664, like every detached European on the Hudson, he was a man without a country; but now he added country to home and God. The time was therefore at hand when he would assert himself, and recover the use of all his varied functions, which had be-

come numb and almost powerless through the political and religious withes by which he had so long been bound. This result, however, could not be achieved in a day or even a year.

In studying the case of the Huguenots, the effort has been made to show au uninterrupted series of religious services in connection with the French from 1628 down to the organization of the Huguenot Church in 1688. This attempt, however, has been made without any recognition of the fact that the Dutch charters prohibited independent worship. From 1633, when Michaelius left New Amsterdam, until 1663 there is no mention of French services; and, indeed, we find no very solid ground until 1682. At this period the French shared in the use of the chapel in the fort with the English,—Governor Andros, who was from the Channel Islands, and accustomed to the French language, often, at least, attending the French service. It has been said that in 1656 the French were so numerous that public documents were drawn up in French as well as in English and Dutch.

In 1682, however, the Rev. Pierre Daillé, who had been ordained by the Bishop of London, was called over through the instrumentality of the Dutch. They still desired to keep the Huguenots under their influence. His coming was signalized by the withdrawal of those French who, up to this time, had remained in the Dutch Church, and he proceeded to organize them ecclesiastically as a distinct people. The establishment of a French church, however, was no easy task. But this state of things was not destined to continue.

In 1685, it has been claimed, the French constituted about one fourth of the population. October 22 of this year the world was startled by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. At once the tide of refugees began to pour into the New World, and make itself felt in the province of New-York. Now, therefore, Daillé had a fresh element at his disposal, and one free from the trammels of the Dutch traditions. Accordingly, the French Church took on a distinct shape. Denonville, the Governor of Canada, wrote from Quebec to De Seignelay, November 16, 1686, saying he was informed by a man from New-York "that there arrived there within a short time from the islands of St. Christopher and Martinique fifty or sixty Huguenots, who are settling themselves at Manat [Manhattan] and its environs"; adding, "I know that some such have arrived at Boston from France. Here is fresh material for banditti."[1] The governor evidently was of opinion that these Huguenots were ready to serve with the English against Canada. Frenchmen just escaped from the fires of persecution could hardly be in any pacific mind. Indeed, the French in New-York knew what they had to provide agaiust, since Frontenac in 1689 had orders, in the event of the capture of New-York, to send to France "the French

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., IX. 309.

refugees whom he will find there, particularly those of the pretended Reformed religion."[1] Peter Reverdye wrote, December 30, 1689, to the Bishop of London, "There are two hundred French families about New-York which will be put to the torture if the French take it."

Two years earlier than this time, however,—July 19, 1687,—Governor Dongan is found preparing letters of denization for additional French coming to New-York. The Dutch had attempted to absorb the French, but the policy of the English was to give them individuality. It was under circumstances like those briefly depicted that French society arose in New-York, with distinct claims, influence, and recognition. During many years the invasion of New-York by the French in Canada seemed imminent, but the alarm finally subsided, and the Huguenots were at liberty to attend to their interests, which, owing to their industry, talents, and skill, continued to improve,—the French in and around New-York yearly becoming more and more important factors in church and state. All the while French society naturally circled around the Huguenot Church, which ever was fortunate in escaping the blight of unbelief.[2]

One of the most notable laymen connected with the Huguenots was that eminent and devoted purist who strove so sedulously against the vice of the day, Elias Neau, a deacon of the church, who afterward became a communicant of the Church of England, and served for many years as catechist for the colored people of Trinity parish, being eulogized by the rector, Dr. Vesey, as that "glorious confessor of the Protestant faith."

The French church of New Rochelle, under the Rev. Daniel Bondet, in 1709 gave in its adhesion to the Church of England.[4] In fact, many things go to prove that the Gallican mind, when in its normal condition, inclines to a distinctly historic Christianity, often preferring Canterbury rather than Geneva, and sometimes going so far as to prefer the Vatican over all. It was only by the most melancholy considerations that the Huguenots were led to depart from the Gallican Church, whose impressive and unique ritual seems to have a lasting attraction. Hence many Huguenots have yielded to the reactionary movement, repudiating the arguments which operated with their ancestors and swept them away from the great cathedral, splendid parish church, and every honored shrine into the wilderness, cave, and den. This reaction has carried not a few Huguenots back to the church of their remote ancestors, where, however, as in a

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., III. 650.

[2] Ibid., III. 420

[3] In 1804 this church was brought into union with the Protestant Episcopal Church. "L'Église du Saint Esprit" being a living power for truth and righteousness to-day. (See its history and records Vol. II. Publications of the Am. Hug. Society.)

[4] This excellent Huguenot pastor has been traduced on account of his change, as though he were incapable of acting from pure motives.

multitude of situations, they have adorned the high places which talent and sanctity have won. Among these may be mentioned Eliza Ann Bayley Seton, founder of the great Order of the Sisters of Charity in the United States. More distinguished still, perhaps, was James Roosevelt Bayley, sometime an honored clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and afterward Archbishop of Baltimore. Those, however, who have thus gone back do not seem to lose pride in the character of the Huguenots, but are often glad to remember the chivalrous part they took iu what the adherents of the Vatican may already deem a lost cause.

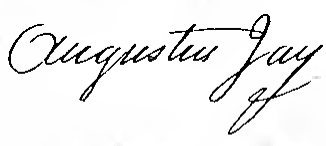
It would thus appear that the Huguenot may not fairly be made the subject of any narrow definition, or be considered as identified with any exclusive tone of thought. This is largely a question of blood, the distinguishing thing being freedom of thought combined with the courage that flows from intense convictiou, whether the individual be allied to the thought of Geneva or Canterbury, Piedmont or Rome; under all circumstances adjusting himself easily to political environment, being in England a loyal Englishman, in Ireland enthusiastically Irish, in the Lowlands a proud Hollander, and a thorough American in New-York. Always phenomenally religious, the Huguenot, naturally, is strong in his home life, and distinguished for his domestic virtues. He is preëminently a home-builder, and it was the Huguenot who established the first home within the area of the ancient colonies north of Virginia. New England shows no record of a solitary family within her borders prior to 1620. It was the Huguenot who brought with him the woman, the wife, the mother, and as early as 1614 inaugurated domestic life, with its refining and conserving influeuce, on the banks of the Hudson.

The value of the old French element in New-York is now coming to be recognized. The Dutch and the English did much to shape thought, but not everything. The influence of the French who settled in New-York has proved broad and national, affecting deeply all the interests of the United States. Everywhere may be found the descendant of the Huguenot, who, after being English in the colonial period, became the loyal American of the Revolution and the sterling patriot of our own day. The Huguenot has been foremost in promoting public prosperity, by advocating universal freedom, by encouraging an upright commerce, and by enriching the whole structure of society through his contributions to literature, science, and art.[1] The land is studded far and wide with Huguenot settlements, noted for their high character and respectability, the outcome

Sam Bayard

[1] Again the reader is referred to the publications of the Huguenot Society of America for illustrations

of the ancient immigration; in the vicinity of New-York affording an illustration like New Rochelle, or Huguenot on Staten Island. It is hardly necessary to say how especially rich in this respect New Rochelle has proved, where in the quiet churchyard may be seen the monuments of the Pells, Bayleys, Pinckneys, Sands, Hunts, Guions, Le Contes, Allaires, Contoats, Secors, Badeaus, Flandreaus, De Peysters, and De Lanceys; while the ancient Huguenot predilection in favor of seigniories took shape more or less in the famous New-York "manors." In statesmanship the Huguenots have the Jays, De Lanceys, Bayards, and Bondinot, not to mention patriots like Peter Faneuil; while in literature they show such names as Philip Freneau, the poet of the Revolution; in law, a Gerard; in philanthropy, the Gallaudets; in religion, the Vermilyes, the Bairds, a Provoost, the Bayleys and Setons. Boudinot also founded the American Bible Society, and Pintard the New-York Historical Society. Any full list of names could not be attempted, while it is not practical to give even examples without almost appearing invidious. Here, then, we pause, for the roll-call of the dead must be abbreviated, even though many, on a higher plane than that contemplated by Jesse De Forest and his ambitious associates, have come to be considered noble, and have been recognized by the world as affording, in exalted spheres, eminent illustrations of genius and learning, inseparably connected with the good, the beautiful, and the true.



CHAPTER XIII

THE JEWS OF NEW-YORK

THE history of the Jews of New-York city awaits still its chronicler. Attempts more or less fragmentary have been made, and one or two of a more ambitious character; but no history proper has yet been published in complete form.[1] The story of Jewish immigration to the United States offers few facts to the historian, and the record of their wanderings to New-York in Dutch and colonial days is as meager. In common with the persecuted of all creeds, they were early attracted to the New World, whose discovery was contemporaneous with their expulsion from Spain. Their growth on American soil is not exceptional—the rapid development of all denominations under American conditions runs in parallel lines. The Jewish settlement in New-York dates back hardly two hundred and forty years. It was in 1654 that the first train of immigrants arrived in New Amsterdam — a rather melancholy band, few in number and disheartened by their voyage and the uncertainties of their lot. They were twenty-seven in all, who had sailed from Brazil when the restoration of Brazilian power was no auspicious omen for the descendants of exiled Jews of Spain and Portugal. It was hardly a formidable company — these refugees, storm-tossed and utterly penniless. They were, in fact, so destitute that the authorities seized their baggage, which was sold at public auction in payment for the passage. But their misfortunes were not yet ended. As the amount thus realized was found insufficient, two of their number were held as "hostages," and confined in jail until the claim was fully satisfied. To add to their troubles, they began to feel the full force of traditional prejudice. Peter Stuyvesant, with all his strength of character and foresight, objected to Jewish immigrants; in a letter to the home authorities he was frank enough to plead that "none of the Jewish nation be permitted to infest New Netherland." Happily,

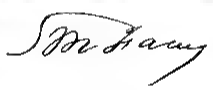
[1] Among the various writers on the subject, Judge Charles P. Daly merits special praise for the fullness of his sketches, which are to receive publication in book form.

Holland, to which America is peculiarly indebted for many of its institutions, maintained its character for toleration, and speedily restrained Stuyvesant's zeal by passing an act allowing Hebrews to reside and trade in New Netherland so long as they cared for their poor. A number of the new settlers were so disconcerted by the reception that they removed to Newport, R. I., where an enterprising Jewish colony soon flourished, which has left at least one historic name, that of Touro.

Under Dutch and English rule the Jews enjoyed a fair amount of prosperity, despite occasional restrictions. A fuller measure of civil and religious liberty was theirs when the independence of the colonies was secured. A few prominent names have been preserved from those early times and the opening decades of the present century. In his answers to certain inquiries about New-York, in 1678, Governor Andros included Jews among its inhabitants. Mention, too, is made of Rev. Abraham de Lucena, who in 1710 applied as a Jewish minister to Governor Hunter to be exempted from militia and other civil city duties. It is of interest to note that in his application he stated that these privileges had been granted to his predecessors. Beyond scattered allusions in the local histories, with here and there a deed or letter rescued from oblivion as antiquities, no historic memorials of the past survive. It is fortunate that New-York has no Ghetto reminiscences. The one solitary landmark which is of interest to antiquarians, although it possesses neither picturesqueness nor charm, is the old cemetery on the Bowery and Oliver street, a narrow strip of ground bought in 1681, and deeded to the Jews by Noe Willey in 1729–30. The first regular synagogue was built in Mill street, in the First Ward, in 1729, and consecrated the following year, to be rebuilt on the same site in 1817–18. This body of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, worshiping now on Nineteenth street, west of Fifth Avenue, is the oldest Jewish congregation in America. Its old synagogue in Mill street was sold and its materials were as far as possible used in the erection of its second place of worship in Crosby street in 1834. In addition to its cemetery on the Bowery, it has two other cemeteries in the city, one in Eleventh street, near Sixth Avenue, and the other in Twenty-first street, near Sixth Avenue, in which interment was prohibited after 1851.

Out of the mist of those days which constitute the transition between New-York after the Revolution and New-York of the modern era, one name deserves special mention. Mordecai Manuel Noah formed a conspicuous figure in his time. Born in Philadelphia, July 14, 1785, after engaging in trade he turned to law, and, settling in Charleston, S. C., began to cherish hopes of political advancement. He declined the appointment as United States consul at Riga, Russia,

tendered him in 1811 by President Madison; but in 1813 secured the post of consul-general at Tunis, with a special mission to Algiers, wherein he displayed much courage and determination. On his return to America he entered journalism, and founded and edited in New-York four papers enjoying a good share of popularity in their day. They were the "National Advertiser," the "Courier and Enquirer," the "Evening Star," and the "Sunday Times." In 1832 he was appointed surveyor of the port by President Jackson, and later became judge of the Court of Sessions. He was an active personality in New-York politics and journalism,—as combative as any of his contemporaries. Those were days of personal animosities in the press, and Mordecai Noah gave and received little mercy. His versatility was proved not only by his literary works (he wrote a sermon, a play, and a book of travels with equal facility), but by the movement he began in 1820 for the rehabilitation of the Jews as a separate nationality. He proposed to establish them at Grand Island, on the Niagara River, and erected at Whitehaven, on the eastern side of the island, a monument of brick and wood, bearing this inscription, "Ararat, a City of Refuge for the Jews, founded by Mordecai M. Noah, in the month of Tishri, 5586 (September, 1825), and in the Fiftieth Year of American Independence." The movement proved a failure, but it illustrated the double phase in Noah's character: he was a practical politician and a religious enthusiast as well. He died in New-York on May 22, 1851.



Another personality whose influence was most felt in the spheres of charity and education was Rev. Samuel Myer Isaacs,[1] born in Leeuwarden, Holland, January 4, 1804; died in New-York city, May 19, 1878. Called to the ministry of the synagogue in Elm street, near Walker, he arrived in New-York after a three months' voyage in 1839. There were then probably six hundred Jewish families and two or three synagogues in the city. In a little over half a century they were to increase to nearly three hundred thousand, with about a hundred congregations, of which twenty-five to thirty are large and maintain handsome places of worship. Mr. Isaacs's activity did not confine

[1] "Magazine of American History," March, 1891.

itself to his own synagogue (which moved successively to Wooster, Thirty-sixth street and Broadway, and finally Forty-fourth street near Sixth Avenue), but was extended over the entire community. He early saw the need of providing charitable and educational agencies for the Israelites of the city, and several of the most important owe their inception to him. In 1857 he founded "The Jewish Messenger" as an organ of conservative Judaism, which he edited until his death. He was a man strong in his own convictions, but kindly and liberal to all creeds that worked for human betterment. Simple in his tastes, broad in his sympathies, always at work, his life was that of the old-time clergyman. When he resided in Houston street, near Thompson, St. Thomas' Church, with its graveyard, was at the corner of Broadway and Houston street, now the site of the power-house of the Broadway Cable Road. Then Bleecker street was a fashionable thoroughfare, the old Houston street stages lumbered along leisurely without a thought of the coming electric era; Washington Parade-ground was a favorite resort, and the city was still wearing, in many a street and tenement, its primitive and provincial garb.

The real history of the Jews of New-York may be said to date from about half a century ago, when immigration from abroad began to increase the comparatively small number of native-born and English Hebrews. First came the German landslide, which continued uninterruptedly until the days of '61, to be joined by similar streams from other sections of Europe. The more recent accessions from Russia and Poland of the past decade have utterly dwarfed former records in that line. According to figures obtained by a census of the Jews in the Seventh, Tenth, and Thirteenth wards, taken in August, 1890,[1] there were 111,690 souls distributed among 23,801 families. Of the whole number, 60,257 were children, 19,672 of whom, including those under school age, attend different schools; 7396, or 32 per cent., were citizens, 15,675 non-citizens; 11,885 were in New-York two years and under, while the average length of time of all in the United States was nine and a half years. The growth of Jewish institutions for worship, education, and charity has kept pace with the needs of the community. The stately temples and synagogues on Fifth, Lexington, and Madison avenues, and many others, present excellent examples of the Gothic, Byzantine, Romanesque, and Renaissance orders of architecture which would astound good Peter Stuyvesant could he revisit the city of his pride. The Mount Sinai Hospital, the Montefiore Home for Chronic Invalids, the Hebrew Technical Institute, the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, the United Hebrew Charities, the Home for Aged and Infirm, the Hebrew Free Schools, the Hebrew Institute, the Maimonides Library are institutions which prove that the Hebrews do more than provide

[1] "Harper's Weekly," October 10, 1891.

for their poor, which was the condition mentioned in Holland's Act of Toleration in Knickerbocker days. The Hospital and Home for Chronic Invalids are open to all without distinction of creed, although they are maintained entirely by Jews. The Hebrew Institute, on the model of the Cooper Institute, which is situated at the junction of East Broadway and Jefferson street, affords a good insight into progressive educational methods. It is supported by a number of societies for the education of Jewish children, and contains a large hall, class-rooms, the Aguilar Free Library and reading-room, gymnasium, workshops, cooking-school, and baths. No less instructive is the Technical Institute in Stuyvesant street, which prepares lads for industrial and mechanical pursuits, and with such thoroughness that many of its recent graduates, the sons of poor immigrants, earn thirty to thirty-five dollars a week, being experts in various trades and industries.

There are extremes, of course, in every large city, and the Jews reveal their share. Up-town the costly houses of the Harmonie, the Freundschaft, and the Progress clubs tell of wealth and social display; and down-town, in the crowded tenements, are thousands who are largely dependent upon the United Hebrew Charities for their livelihood. The Jewish poor, however, disclose many admirable traits. The Sabbath witnesses a transformation even in the shadows of Ludlow, Essex, and Pike streets. The busy hum of work is stopped. A white cloth covers the pine table; old family heirlooms are brought out from their week's retirement. Old and young enjoy the brief Sabbath rest, and crowd the synagogues, many of which are situated on upper floors of dingy tenements. They, too, are passionately fond of learning, and support schools and charities of their own. Of late years special efforts have been made to reclaim and refine the neglected children of the very poor. The sisterhoods which are now attached to many of the up-town congregations do much in this direction, and teach self-help and gentle humanity. The Jews of New-York have confessedly made rapid strides in every field, and in certain lines lead all competitors. It is needless to specify by name the many who are recognized in business and professional life, and who have contributed their share to adorn the city of their birth or adoption. The fact that the Columbian year witnessed the success of Henry B. Herts, the young architect of the Columbus Arch that spanned Fifth Avenue and Fifty-eighth street, and the election of Adolph L. Sanger, a graduate of a public school, as president of the Board of Education, bears testimony to the talent and character of New-York Israel.

The changes in our city which have developed New Amsterdam into a metropolis of two millions, have naturally had their influence on Jewish life. In olden days, not so many decades ago, when the Jews lived largely together, within the shadow of the synagogue.

there reigned a certain sociability and religious warmth which now exist only in special sections, but not in the community as a whole, composed of so many different elements and nationalities. Those were times of frugal living and humble occupations, although here and there were people of wealth and prominence whose names are preserved in reminiscences of old New-York, and whose descendants retain undimmed their social rank. It was possible then to have all one's acquaintances within easy call; and the social as well as religious elements in Judaism maintained their strength. With the new conditions, however, a good many traditions have naturally passed away; but, on the other hand, a larger benevolence, a broader education, and an improved system of worship can be seen. It is chiefly among the newly arrived immigrants that so-called orthodox usages are still held sacred, to become weaker in their hold with every generation, and finally, perhaps, to pass away. Whatever changes and developments occur in the synagogue proper, the Jews of New-York will continue their active and intelligent efforts to keep in line with the growth of the city, and the progress of every denomination. Their guiding principle will be to provide for their own and to lend aid to the suffering and needy, without distinction of creed. Their watchwords will be self-help and education. They ask no privileges, and want no special favors. What they have done is prophecy of what their activity will accomplish, under Providence, in the future.

TEMPLE EMANU-EL, 43D ST. AVENUE.

CHAPTER XIV

TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF MEDICINE

MUCH in the way of encouragement or development of the medical art could not be expected from the barren advantages of a mere trading-post, with its inducements for the turbulent adventurer, such as the prospect of the ownership of much land uuder a protectorate not over-strenuous for dominion.[1] The temper of the times, it must be remembered, was that of the pioneer laboring for speedy results and material advancement. Thus medicine, in common with kindred sciences, as a quiet pursuit engaged the attention of only the few, inasmuch as not much honor or emolument waited upon its cultivation. The expounders of any dominant theory were many, and their dogmas wore the livery of a few celebrated uames, of which Europe claimed, of course, the majority. There were some traditional science and some addiction to conventionalities, but the medicine-man of the surrounding tribes bad, in all probability, as large a following as the most erudite Hollander who left his home to improve his fortunes. A ready tact, no doubt, supplied the requisite deficiencies and reconciled the amenities supposed to exist between demand and supply.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century medicine was merging from an art into a science. Men by induction were beginning to apply crucial tests to almost every conceded doctrine. There likewise began to develop a more independent style of thought along with that defiant irreverence which is the distinguishing trait of every school of philosophy. Notwithstanding, as a rule, that surgical advances were less pronounced than in the preceding century, there was a great awakening in astronomy, chemistry, optics, physiology, and anatomy; investigators also began to combine in associations for discussion and mutual improvement, while printing-presses were beginning to multiply along the liues of civilization. With the opportunities afforded by the best schools of the period, such as Leyden, Oxford, Cambridge, Aberdeen, Paris, and Padua, and with the mental liberty which Holland,

[1] In 1628 the quoted population was only 270, including Dutch, Walloons, and slaves from Angola.

by its tolerance of all creeds, had fostered, its teachers, clergymen and physicians, who frequently united the functions of the three callings in one individual, undoubtedly gave their best attention to their fellow-adventurers. Both appliances and remedies may have been crude, but, in the words of a medical annalist, "beneficent Nature made ample amends for the deficiences of art," so that, after all, the hardy constitutions of frontier life usually came off victors. The pleading is that there was not much deterioration in the quality of knowledge as affected by distance or separation, certainly that there was no retrogression, and that the people of New Netherlands were as well served as the average of their class at home, or at least as satisfactorily as their fellow-voyagers, who had spent months upon the ocean in poorly equipped sailing craft. For the rest, the criticism of a sparse population, the habit of self-reliance, and a facility of making the most of what was readiest at hand, kept the ailing well protected against summary modes of treatment. In common with other bread-winners of the island, the physician received more in the way of barter or exchange of service than in ready coin or wampum, and perhaps was fortunate in escaping with a grateful remembrance of his benefactions. As he usually began life much poorer than his neighbor and with a much sturdier pride, he very likely suffered more and died possessed of much less.

While the population was creeping up to 1500, which it did not fully reach until 1664, and not long after the arrival of the first schoolmaster, the name of the first physician of any prominence, Alexander C. Curtius, appears. He taught school also, and having, after a two years' residence, returned to Amsterdam, was closely followed by Samuel Megapolensis, who studied both medicine and theology at Utrecht, settling here in 1664–65. Before this period, however, mention is made of Harman Myndertz Van den Bogart (1612–48), of the ship Eendraght, who arrived here May 24, 1630, and William Deeping, chirurgeon of the ship William of London, both of whom probably made the usual odd fees upon shore by courteous permission of their several captains. Dr. Bogart remained surgeon of his vessel until 1638. He made a voyage to the West Indies in 1638, and was burned to death in an Indian wigwam on the Mohawk about 1647 or 1648. Many others had at least a temporary residence here, but dates can only be conjectured from incidental allusions in public documents or stray private records. That there was a desultory acceptance of such medical skill as happened to be available from the staff of the governing corporation, or the latest arrival in port, amounts to an absolute certainty. This granted, dependence was had upon counsel on the part of volunteers and the bitter herbs of the gardens. At all events, not many complaints of ill usage were made; maledictions came in the decades later on, when competition was keener and criticism more rife.

A few of the more prominent names have survived the past, among whom Hans Kierstede, from Magdeburg, Saxony, came to New Amsterdam with Governor Kieft in March, 1638. He is described in the old records as "surgeon," and received a grant of land on the Strand (now Pearl street) in 1647, which was augmented by additional grants in 1653 and 1656. He married, in 1642, Sara Roelofs, daughter of Anneke Jans, whose services as interpreter were in great demand by the government in negotiating with the Indians. In recognition of her appreciation by the authorities, she also received a grant of land on the west side of Broadway, between the present Reade and Duane streets. This was in 1673. The doctor died in the summer of 1666, leaving ten children.[1] Many of his descendants have been identified with the medical profession. His great-great-grandson, the late General Henry T. Kiersted, of Harlem, at his well-known drug-store on Broadway dispensed the "Kierstede ointment," made from a recipe left by Dr. Hans, the composition of which is still a family secret. Gerrit Schutt, surgeon, was in practice in New Amsterdam with Hans Kierstede in 1638. Peter Van der Linde, of Belle, in Flanders, came to New Amsterdam with his wife, Elsje, in the ship Love, in 1638. A claim by him, dated September 17, 1639, for surgeon's fees, is on file at Albany. He appears in 1640 as an inspector of tobacco, and in 1648 as schoolmaster and clerk of the church. His wife dying, he married (1644) Martha, the widow of Jan Mantje. Stuyvesant was accused of treating Linde with great injustice. Jan Petersen, from Essendelft, earns as surgeon (*barbier*), at the South River, ten florins per month since July 10, 1638. His will, dated April 10, 1640, is on file at Albany. Abraham Staats, surgeon, came to Rensselaerwyck in 1642, with Domine Megapolensis. He became one of the council, was a large trader in furs with New Amsterdam, besides pursuing his profession. For many years he was a skipper on the North River, commanding a sloop plying between New-York and Albany. He married Catarina Jochemsen, and left several children. His sons, Jacob and Samuel, were well-known physicians.

Jacob Hendricksen Varrevanger entered the service of the West India Company in 1646, and served them sixteen years at New Amsterdam. He petitioned in 1654 that his term of engagement had expired some time, and that for some years he had imported at his own expense from Holland all his medicines, and requested some compensation "for the use of his medicaments." The director-general and council ordered that he be credited with twelve florins per month from July 1, 1652, in his account for use of medicines, and that his salary be increased. He was in Holland in 1663, and collected one

[1] Their names are preserved by Dr. Samuel S. Purple, in the "New-York Genealogical and Biographical Record," July, 1877.

hundred and thirty-two florins from the West India Company for "medicaments which have been obtained there [New Amsterdam] from his wife." He took the oath of allegiance in 1664 to the English government. Ten years later his property in New-York was valued at eight thousand florins, Holland currency. Isaac Jansen, a surgeon in the employ of the West India Company, authorized Jan Jansen, September 28, 1649, to receive at Amsterdam moneys due him by the company. John Panw appears as a ship surgeon in the employ of the West India Company. Jacob Mollenaer, the director of the West India Company, wrote to Governor Stuyvesant from Amsterdam April 15, 1650: "A surgeon, Mr. Hans Kierstede, troubles us here a good deal; he tells us that one Jacob Mollenaer, who serves the Company there as a surgeon, is inclined to leave our service, and as he, Kierstede, has also served under the Company a long time, and, so far as we know, faithfully, we are willing that you listen to his requests. If matters are as he says, and if, in your opinion, his services are required by the Company, he may take the place of surgeon." William Nobel testifies, April 12, 1650, that he is of Alckmaer, aged twenty-eight years, and late surgeon on board Captain Blaeuvelt's yacht, La Garse, belonging to New Netherlands; that they arrived in the West Indies, taking prizes, and did not hear of a peace with the Spaniards.

There are other names given by the late Dr. George H. Tucker in the "Medical Register" of the city of New-York for 1862, beginning with about the last decade of the seventeenth century—to wit, John Miller, Lewis Giton, Hugh Farquhar, Cornelius Viele, Jacobus Kiersted, John Newberry, Jacob Provoost, Hartman Wessels, and Peter Bassett. All of these names suggest the nationalities of their owners, and forecast the metropolitan character of the seaport city. To John de la Montagne (1585–1670), a Huguenot refugee, Leyden graduate, and scion of the *ancienne noblesse* of France, belongs the honor of having been the first permanently established physician on the island who attained to any degree of prominence. He arrived here in 1636, settling in Harlem with his wife's people. He became the principal counselor of Governor Kieft in 1638, and is recorded as "the only doctor on Manhattan in whom the settlers had any confidence." He seems to have been active in the political affairs of the province, and certainly could not have devoted much time to the practice of the healing art. Two of his daughters became the wives of Drs. Hans Kierstede and Gysbert Van Imbroeck, the latter of whom settled in Fort Orange (the present Albany). Dr. Johannes Kerfbyle, with five other physicians, made an autopsical examination of the body of Governor Slonghter, who died July 23, 1691, after a debauch, and not from poison, as first supposed. Kerfbyle was a gradnate of Leyden, having come here after the Dutch surrender.

The eighteenth century was an age of systems somewhat modified by the interchange of ideas based upon the observation of natural processes. A taste for research, a bias toward the division of labor, with its concomitant of greater thoroughness, and, above all, an ambition to contribute labor without the hope of immediate reward for the benefit of the community, became recognized features of the period. Alchemy as the remedy for impecuniosity, and necromancy, with its awe-inspiring paraphernalia, were beginning to lose their hold upon the popular imagination. A drifting toward particular pursuits conduced to a larger acquaintance with details and the revision of old doctrines. Medicine shared in the general improvement and gave to fame Hermann Boerhaave (1668–1738) and William Cullen (1712–90), both of whose teachings had a marked influence in the formation of current opinion. The former was a savant, with a leaning toward chemical investigation, and the latter with a culture in its scope not as broad, but with a focus more concentrated in its direction; both of these agreed, at least in practice, that nature was a power to be respected. Still, the temper of the age was fast becoming controversial, with a shade of intolerance. The seekers after knowledge betook themselves to Europe, and naturally enough imbibed the opinions of their preceptors. None of these, however, thus benefited by their superior surroundings, became blind followers; most of them adopted their teachers' views only in part, while the remainder openly discarded them. By far the larger number of domestic physicians derived their training from the imperfect educational resources of their immediate environments, mainly, it may be said, by entering the office of some neighboring practitioner under indentures of apprenticeship for a certain period of years; their duties were chiefly menial, and opportunities for additions to their knowledge were exceedingly precarious, as books were scarce, and means—as may be conjectured—limited. If, even among the more progressive, slovenly modes of thought prevailed, it was the case not less in Europe than in the newest settlement, with a possible advantage of a greater shrewdness and a more pronounced self-reliance in favor of America. Here those who esteemed themselves self-educated betrayed not a little conceit when in competition with those who missed no opportunity of a requital in superciliousness; as a result, both the self-trained and the foreign-educated came more or less into collision. There were the usual complaints regarding "shoemakers, weavers, and almanac-makers who had laid aside the proper business of their lives to turn quacks," while a few among the learned became conspicuous in consequence of the paucity of their numbers. In truth, there was an averaging of benefits, in which the public had the most at stake. According to tradition, patients were generally seen *in extremis*, after

the domestic expedients had been exhausted, and severe criticism followed every untoward result. But with the wider distribution of physicians and a more general practice of the ethical amenities, there arose toward the close of the century a better condition of affairs; with advancing knowledge there came more humility and less acrimony. There were besides an elevation in popular esteem, less dickering regarding fees, and more certain remuneration, both the medical attendants and the public meeting each other on better terms.

With the growth of the city population came an increase in the number of physicians, among whom, not so much for his life-work in the ranks of the profession, as for his reputation as a savant, may be mentioned Cadwallader Colden (1688–1776), the son of the Rev. Alexander Colden, of Dunse, Scotland, who graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1705, and came to Philadelphia three years afterward; but notwithstanding his success as a practitioner, finally removed to New-York in 1718, where he became lieutenant-governor from 1761 to 1775. Here, having virtually changed his career, he became more noted as a statesman, sanitarian, and naturalist than as a physician. He wrote, however, on the "Sore Throat Distemper" (1735), on "Cancer," on "The Virtues of the Great Water Dock," and "Observations on the Yellow Fever of New-York, 1741–42." His views on the causes of epidemics in a measure coincide with those now prevailing—to wit, that filth, foul air, and stagnation are the factors. As a correspondent of Linnæus, Gronovius of Leyden, Benjamin Franklin, and other notabilities, he appears to have been much valued. His biographers convey the idea that he was a busy, fussy, contentious man, particularly in official life. Many papers of Colden's on various political and philosophical subjects are preserved in manuscript form by the New-York Historical Society, and to them Bancroft acknowledged his indebtedness for much light thrown upon the ante-Revolutionary period.

Without much pretext for chronological sequence, the following names, as belonging to this period, may be mentioned: John Nicoll practised here nearly half a century, dying about the close of 1742 or the beginning of 1744. Besides being a physician, he was an apothecary in business on Hanover Square, and from the newspapers it is learned that Dr. Isaac Dubois, a graduate of the University of Leyden, 1740, a native of the city, and the executor of his estate, succeeded to his shop, and was not long his survivor.[1] Nicoll was imprisoned by Leisler, and subsequently presided as judge on the trial of the accused governor. Dr. James Magrath arrived here about 1740, and for nearly forty years maintained a reputation for austere manners and original views. He advocated the free use of water as a

[1] Dr. Dubois died November 9, 1744, possessed of some real estate.

curative agent. He came here in company with Drs. John Brett and Thomas Rodman. John Bard (1716–99), a Huguenot by descent, was born in Burlington, N. J. At the age of fourteen or fifteen he began his career in Philadelphia as a bound apprentice to an English surgeon of arbitrary temper, who subjected him to the most menial employments, and substantially gave him his first lessons in self-reliance. Certainly his subsequent skill and urbanity of manner were acquisitions of his own. In 1746 he removed to New-York, where he originated the first quarantine station, having procured the purchase of Bedlow's Island for that purpose. A red coat, a cocked hat, a gold-headed cane, and a pony phaeton procured for him an easy recognition upon the thoroughfares. He seems to have been a rather careless financier, inasmuch as his son Samuel was more than once obliged to rescue him from his debts.

The ruhicund Samuel Clossy, an Irish physician, who began his lectures to an anatomical class as early as 1764, and in 1767 became a professor of anatomy in King's College, was inclined, according to Dr. Francis, to "worship the rosy god." As an outspoken democrat he was obnoxious to the British, who burlesqued him on the boards of the old John Street Theater. Finally, just before the outbreak of the Revolution, he left the city for his native land, where he soon after died. He published a treatise on "Observations on some of the Diseases of the Human Body, chiefly taken from Dissections of Morbid Bodies," London, 1763. Beekman Van Beuren (1727–1812), was the youngest son of John Van Beuren, a graduate of Leyden at twenty-two years of age, who on the recommendation of his teacher, Boerhaave, was appointed surgeon of a Dutch fleet which sailed for New-York after touching the coast of Africa. Beekman succeeded his father as physician of the almshouse, and held the appointment until the British occupation. At the peace of 1783 he reaccepted the position, which, however, he resigned in the subsequent year. He is credited with having introduced the practice of inoculation in the public institutions, and as a man of affairs appears to have wielded no little influence. John Jones (1729–91), born in Long Island, enjoyed some eminence as a lithotomist,[1] and in 1775 published the first native surgical work in the States, under the title of "Plain, Precise, Practical Remarks on the Treatment of Wounds and Fractures." He received instruction from Dr. Thomas Cadwallader (Philadelphia), Drs. William Hunter and Pott (London), and Drs. Pettit, LeCat, and Le Dran (Paris). He served as a surgeon in the campaign against the French in 1755, and was a great favorite with army officers, many of

[1] He was the first to perform lithotomy in New York, May, 1769. ("Am Med and Phil Reg," Vol III, page 325.) Dr. Sylvester Gardiner of Boston operated for stone according to Mr. Cheselden's "lateral way" in November, 1741 — this "in the presence of the Medical Society." Massachusetts thus wins laurels from New York, so far as priority of dates is concerned.

whom consulted him both personally and by letter. Peter Middleton, who, with Dr. John Bard, injected and dissected before a class of students the body of a criminal, in 1769 published a medical discourse on "Historical Inquiries into the Ancient and Present State of Medicine." He was a Scotchman, and being a Tory, sailed for Bermuda, April 26, 1776, leaving his house, library, instruments, and bills receivable in charge of his pupils, John Varick, Jr., and Charles Mitchell, while his family removed to Flushing, Long Island. Subsequently he returned, and died here of an internal cancer in 1781.

During the Revolutionary War and the British occupation of the city there was a change in the medical as well as the political status. Those of the inhabitants who espoused the popular cause found shelter in the suburbs or in convenient localities on Long Island, while those who remained depended upon the surgeons of the English army or the loyalist physicians, who held semi-official positions under the crown. As these surgeons were appointed only after competitive examination, it may well be assumed that they were superior to many of the practitioners whom they had left at home, and at least on a par with those whom they met after they found quarters in the city. On the side of the British, hospital accommodations appear to have been ample, with the advantage of a central authority and a compact organization, while in the case of those in rebellion there was, of course, more isolation, more conflict with the military arm of the service, and far less anticipation of the necessary requirements of those invalided in the line of duty. Still, a document of the period, in the interest of the patriot cause, complains of "the pomp and extravagance of the hospital arrangements." In addition to their usual services, much aid was rendered to the inhabitants by the regimental and hospital surgeons, presumably without much hope of reward. They doubtless exchanged opinions with the domestic practitioners who were not in exile, and as a result there was a revival of ambitions as well as an elevation of tone. Thus, as in general, war does not always bring unmitigated evil in its train.

Rivington's "New-York Loyal Gazette" contains many advertisements throwing much light on this epoch—as, for example, "the King's Medicine Store was on the Old Ship Wharf"; "nurses were needed for the prison hospitals"; "a dark sorrel mare belonging to Mr. Brickell, Surgeon at Harlem Hospital, was regretfully lost, also three cows belonging to the same hospital, each of them having bells with leather straps around their necks, on the inside of which were the following words, *Major General Tryon*"; "the Surgeoncy of an old Regiment of the Foot was to be sold"; "Donald Mc Lean, surgeon of the late 77th regiment, had just received a large importation of Genuine Drugs and Medicines," and many items of an inferential character

that the wants of the invalid were not neglected; "Gaine's Universal Register or American & British Kalendar," current series, gives the official roster of the army of occupation, and in its medical department, as superintendent of all the hospitals (Hessian included), appears the name of J. Mervin Nooth, and as medical purveyor that of Jonathan Mallet. Among the twenty-five physicians published in the first city directory of 1786, perhaps the most prominent was Samuel Bard (1742–1821), son of Dr. John Bard, who received his preliminary education in King's College, New-York. He arrived in London in 1761, whence, after a one year's residence under the instruction of Dr. Alexander Russell, he removed to Edinburgh, and from its university obtained his degree on May 13, 1765. In the following year he became a professor of theory and practice of physic in Columbia College, and was also one of the founders of the New-York Hospital, and retired as one of its visiting physicians in 1798. He wrote a paper on "Angina Suffocativa" in 1771, and a work on "Obstetrics," the first published on this subject in America, in 1807, besides some addresses. As the second president of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, appointed in 1811, he continued until his death. Dr. Valentine Mott described him as "small in stature and hard-featured, but exemplary as a man and Christian." His manners were said to have been austere.

John Charlton, an Englishman, once in the British service, was short in stature, with a florid face, of somewhat pompous manners, and fond of horseback exercise. He says of himself that he practised physic here since 1762, and that he resided on Long Island five years of the war, and returned to the city in 1781. He had a fashionable *clientèle* which he leisurely attended, and is credited with having accumulated considerable means. He married Mary De Peyster, daughter of Treasurer Abraham and Margaret Van Cortlaudt De Peyster. He was, *par excellence*, Dr. Charlton. John Cochrane, born in 1730, finished his medical studies before the breaking out of the French War, became surgeon-general of the Middle Department, and subsequently director-general of the United States hospitals. After the peace he came to the city with his family, where he continued his residence until his death. He was a genial, kindly man, held in high esteem by all classes of the community. Charles McKnight (1750–1791) entered the army before his medical studies were completed, and in 1780 became chief hospital physician of the Middle Department. After the war he settled here, lectured on anatomy and surgery, and divided surgical honors with Dr. Bayley. The "London Medical Observations and Inquiries," Vol. IV., contains his only published paper. Richard Bayley (1745–1801) settled in 1772 in the city, after a course of study under Hunter, and became health officer of

the port about 1795. He married a sister of Dr. Charlton, was credited with being the father of the Quarantine Act of 1799, and died of typhus fever, contracted in the line of duty, August 17, 1801. As a surgeon he performed several creditable operations, and as a writer published an "Essay on Yellow Fever," in which he advocated its local origin. Archibald Bruce (1777–1818) received his medical degree from Edinburgh in 1800, became professor of materia medica and mineralogy in Queen's College, New Jersey, and projected the first American journal devoted to the science of mineralogy. He was social in his disposition, and, with Dr. Nicholas Romayne, his former preceptor, contributed very largely toward the establishment of the incorporated medical societies of the State.

Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill (1764–1831) was the third son of Robert Mitchill, a Quaker farmer of English descent, and named for his maternal uncle, a practitioner of his native village, Paldome (North Hempstead), Long Island. He entered the Edinburgh University in 1783, and profited by the teachings of Cullen, Black, Duncan, and Monro. He was a man of varied talents, an excellent linguist, and somewhat of an authority on chemistry, geology, mineralogy, natural history, and kindred sciences. Generally regarded as eccentric, he still commanded respect as much for his genuine honesty as his varied attainments. He wrote floridly, quoted Latin, and made frequent classical allusions. He also gained some political eminence, having been a State assemblyman for several terms, as well as representative in Congress and United States senator. Although shedding luster upon his original profession, he can scarcely be otherwise regarded than as belonging to a class which has gained prominence outside of its ranks. His genius brought him fame, but not fortune. Felix Pascalis Onviere (1761–1833), better known as Felix Pascalis, was born in Provence, France. At maturity he graduated at Montpellier, then emigrated to St. Domingo, where he remained until driven out by the blacks in the revolution of 1793, when he sailed for Philadelphia. He subsequently settled in New-York, where he died July 27, 1833. He wrote one of the best works on yellow fever ever published in this country, except that of René La Roche (1855).

Nicholas Romayne (1756–1817) was a fluent lecturer on all the branches of medicine, but being wealthy, was indifferent to the active duties of his profession. He received his degree from Edinburgh in 1781. Dr. Francis describes him as being tall and handsome, but extremely fleshy, while another authority hints at his uncouth habits as a trencher-man, and accuses him of having been ambitious for a monopoly of medicine with a view of becoming "Consulting Physician-General." Not always on the best of terms with his brethren, he seems to have been honored with a fair number of elective offices in

their gift, notwithstanding his peculiar manners and untidy attire. He was a good classical scholar, and, being of the old Dutch stock, prided himself upon the purity of his idiom as well as his clannishness. George Christian Anthon (1734–1815), born in Saxe-Meiningen, Germany, and educated in Amsterdam, had a varied career of adventure, travel, and military service. He at last settled in this city in 1784, and became the progenitor of a family noted for its attainments in the classics, law, theology, and numismatology. He was an authority on yellow fever, but unfortunately left in writing no perpetuation of his wide knowledge or powers of observation. Benjamin DeWitt (1774–1819), who was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1797, was easy in his circumstances, a man of talents, but of indolent habits. To his exertions the College of Physicians and Surgeons owed the liberal grant of thirty thousand dollars from the legislature. He once held the chair of Practice of Medicine in Columbia College, and being a successful politician, obtained the position of port physician, dying on Staten Island of yellow fever, in the line of his duties.

T. R. Beck[1]

The nineteenth century, so far as concerns medical science, may be characterized as tending toward investigation through the senses, and a concentrated devotion to certain branches. There was also an increase in literary production, and a tendency toward pathological research as well as diagnostic precision. Owing to the military activity of the age and the disturbed affairs of Europe, surgery in popular estimation was making headway at the expense of medicine; expedients of a novel character were proposed and adopted, medicine meanwhile claiming its triumphs through Baconian methods in its finely divided specialties. Anatomy, greater facilities for its study being provided, and pathology, now pursued with more avidity, had the effect of producing a greater simplicity of treatment and much feebler reliance upon drugs. A greater belief in the self-limitation of certain diseases originated the practice of prevention by sanitation. Hygiene and causation thus came to be more assiduously cultivated at

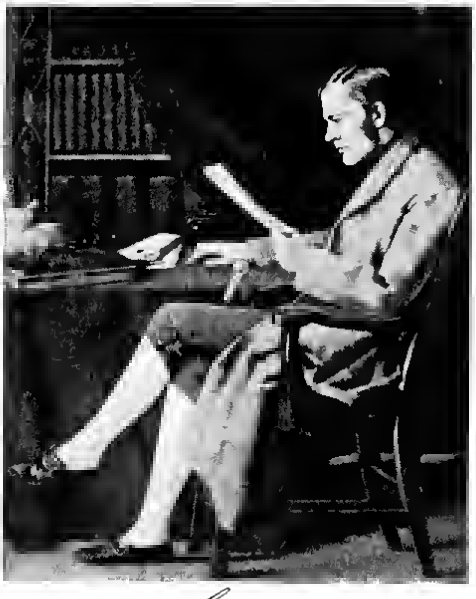
[1] Theodoric Romeyn Beck was born in Schenectady, April 11, 1791, graduated at the New-York College of Physicians and Surgeons and in 1829, was chosen president of the New-York State Medical Society. His statistics on the deaf-mutes influenced favorable legislation in their behalf. For several years he edited the "American Journal of Insanity," and his principal work was the "Elements of Medical Jurisprudence," first issued in 1823, and reprinted in 1842 in London. He died November 19, 1855. EDITOR

the expense of mere routine therapeutics. Many of the set formulas were relegated to oblivion, while really active agents in more agreeable forms took their place. Bleeding, cupping, and blistering, however, held their own for about the first half of the century, although with a constant diminution in the ranks of their advocates. Sectarian schools began to spring up with somewhat acrimonious activity as the years rolled on, more especially in the matter of treatment, the chief battle-ground being the chemical agents as against the simpler products of the field. Samuel Christ. Fr. Hahnemann (1755–1843), a German in Europe, with a transcendental system of symptoms and attenuated doses, made not a few converts even among the adherents of rational medicine. As a protest against over-medication, and in another sense an indirect reliance upon nature with strict limitations of diet, the comparatively few followers of the novel doctrine challenged in turn some of the absurdities which claimed a descent from medieval times. It would be unfair to say that no direct impress was made, or that all his adherents were charlatans. A little later on, a botanical school, sometimes designated as the Eclectic, gained some prominence by reason of its fierce attacks upon the methods which had stood the test of long usage.

Probably the most noted surgeon of the beginning of the century, and the one most frequently quoted in the annals of the city, was Wright Post (1766–1828), one of the first American pupils of John Hunter, being one of a class of ten from different parts of the world. He became professor of surgery, and subsequently of anatomy, in Columbia College. He was a careful, slow, and elegant operator, the first in America to tie the subclavian artery above the clavicle or collar-bone. He died at Throgg's Neck, his country-seat, June 14, 1828. His father was Jotham Post, an old Fly Market butcher, who became superintendent of the New-York Hospital. Jotham Post, Jr. (1771–1817), another son, received his degree from Columbia College, but retired from practice to enter into copartnership with his brother Joel in the wholesale drug business. This Jotham attained some political eminence, having served as a New-York assemblyman, and subsequently as a member of Congress.

Edward Miller (1760–1812), an eminent authority on yellow fever, who strongly supported the theory of non-contagion in opposition to Dr. Hosack, was a medical editor, who wrote much and well. David Hosack (1769–1835) was educated at Columbia and Princeton; received his medical degree at Philadelphia in 1791; visited the schools of Edinburgh and London; and, on his return to New-York, became professor of botany and materia medica in Columbia College. He was eminent as a clinical lecturer, and notwithstanding he read from manuscript, was unsurpassed for emphasis and effect. Dr. Mott describes

him as having "a tall, bulky form, piercing black eyes, and a sonorous voice. No one," continues he, "better maintained the dignity of his calling." A contemporary of his last years, recently deceased, described him as being "never without an interesting case," and while riding in state as "swaying his hat to the right and left to his sidewalk acquaintances." He wrote voluminously, in the style of Johnson, with the same artistic antitheses and the same rounded periods. His discourses on horticulture and temperance, his biographical sketches of Rush and Wistar, his memoir in quarto of De Witt Clinton, and his medical essays in three octavo volumes (1824–30) were for a long time regarded as classics, and even yet are entertaining reading. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar, in his travels in America in 1825, mentions his Saturday evening parties, a medical custom adopted from Philadelphia, at which professional gentlemen and distinguished foreigners were entertained to their hearts' content. In all prominent movements he bore a part, and as a unique figure made an impress upon his age. If he did nothing more, he certainly proved himself an exemplar of the American physician advanced to the highest point of culture, with but few peers at home or abroad.



V. Seaman

Valentine Seaman (1770–1817) a native of Queens County, Long Island, and son of Willet Seaman, a merchant of New-York, was a pupil of Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia. Dr. Seaman was the "Quaker" doctor of New-York, the first to institute clinical lectures (in 1801) in the New-York Hospital, and kept himself entirely aloof from the quarrels of the medical schools in the city. He was the first to analyze the waters of Saratoga and Ballston springs, and wrote an exhaustive treatise upon the indications for their use. He introduced the discovery of Jenner in New-York, amid great opposition, both from the profession and citizens. The first white child vaccinated in New-York was his own son. His earnestness arose from the fact of losing his first child by smallpox inoculation; this induced him to go

to Europe, where he and Jenner became fast friends, and remained such throughout their lives. He was also the first to have a class of women for instruction in midwifery at the almshouse, writing a book for their guidance. He published, as well, an account of the yellow fever which prevailed in 1791 and 1800; this may be found in the Medical Repository. In 1810 and 1811 he and others formed a medical institution associated with Queen's College in New Brunswick. He was an active member of the Manumission Society for the liberation of slaves, and for their protection. The portrait on page 398 is copied from a picture painted by Rembrandt Peale in 1816.

John Wakefield Francis (1789–1861) was the son of a German grocer who emigrated to America soon after the Revolutionary War, and died here of yellow fever. Francis himself was apprenticed to a printer, but qualified himself by private tuition and his own efforts for admission into Columbia College, from which he was graduated in 1809, and two years afterward received his degree from the College of Physicians and Surgeons as member of its first class. He subsequently became a partner of his old preceptor, Dr. Hosack. Having been appointed professor of materia medica in the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1813, he lectured without fees until 1816. Then after a visit to London, Edinburgh, and Paris, in all of which cities he enjoyed the companionship of their great celebrities, he returned to this city with the nucleus of a valuable library. He then filled various positions, both as teacher and executive officer in the Rutgers Medical College and the College of Physicians and Surgeons, became president of the New York Academy of Medicine, and was besides active in promoting the interests of the New-York Historical Society, the New-York Lyceum of Natural History, and the Woman's Hospital, the State Inebriate Asylum, and the Typographical Society. Notwithstanding these drafts upon his time, he still was able to conduct a large family practice, make addresses, entertain notabilities, and contribute to the literature of the day. His "Old New-York, or Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years" (1857) presents a charming picture of the men, manners, and every-day life of the times. This work and a few biographical sketches have given a tone to his purely literary reputation far above his medical contributions. A good conversationalist, fluent speaker, and much given to philanthropy, he was popular in all circles.

As the century advanced and the population increased, with a more general diffusion of knowledge consequent upon the multiplication of domestic educational facilities, there arose fewer leaders of opinion or methods with a greater preponderance of individualism. Controversy began to pare down extravagances of statement and to reduce dogmas to the plane of the probable. Claims also began to be investigated

and the instruments of precision to be used, analogical parallels from the sister sciences were quoted, and what were once regarded as annexes, such as the business of the apothecary or profession of teacher, were discarded. As the field broadened, more assiduous devotion was required as a foil to sharper competition, and although opportunities for distinction decreased, there still followed a larger patronage with a more decided advance in fees. All these causes kept fostering a further elevation of the profession, with a corresponding respect among the masses. Restriction was sought after as a remedy for self-protection, so that legislative reforms were urged on the part of medical bodies themselves. A more thorough preliminary education was required of the student, and longer terms were demanded of the colleges. Mere licenses deteriorated in the face of college diplomas, and examining boards now absorb the functions of both. The discovery of chloroform and ether made surgery bolder, the instruments of precision occasioned more accurate diagnoses, and antiseptic precautions rendered recoveries more numerous. Besides, diseases verged into a better classification, clinics furnished more material for study, teachers became more industrious, and positions in hospitals as internes were gained only after severe competitive examinations.

Thus, with all these advantages, it may be claimed without the faintest suspicion of patriotism that at the present time the universities of America are fully equal to those of Europe. The shortened voyages across separating waters, the annihilation of time and space by telegraph and telephone, and the intercommunication by railroads have all contributed their part to the miraculous results. Workers have fallen into groups, and a great leader is probably destined never to come because the profession itself is marching on as a unit.

John Griscom (1774–1852), according to Dr. John W. Francis, "had only a log school-house education, but by untiring industry and a rich sagacity overcame all obstacles to his improvement." For thirty years he was *facile princeps* of all other chemical philosophers familiar with the teachings of Davy, Murray, Gay-Lussac, and Thenard. He was a luminous teacher and a ready writer. Thomas Cock (1783–1869), favorably known as an obstetrician, was a zealous promoter of the New-York Lying-in Asylum, while from 1819 to 1834 he was one of the physicians of the New-York Hospital. He began his career as an instructor in the Duane street school, which conferred degrees by authority of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. In this institution he held the professorship of anatomy, physiology, and surgery. On the decline of this school in 1827, he was elected a trustee of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, became its vice-president, and held that office until 1855, when he was elected to the presidency, which he resigned in 1858. As a consultant he was held in high

esteem, although, being a victim of gout, his usefulness as a family physician was much impaired; and yet no one was more prompt in the performance of his official duties. John Kearney Rodgers (1793–1851) was a son of Dr. John R. B. Rodgers, an accomplished physician, and for a short time professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children in the College of Physicians and Surgeons in the early part of the century. He himself was a graduate of the College of New Jersey (in 1811) and of the College of Physicians and Surgeons (in 1816), became its demonstrator of anatomy and trustee, was surgeon to the New-York Hospital, and, with Dr. Edward Delafield, one of the founders of the New-York Eye and Ear Infirmary. He tied the left subclavian artery between the scaleni muscles in 1846, an operation which mainly gave him his reputation. David L. Rogers (1799–1877), the recipient of much generous admiration on the part of Dr. Valentine Mott, his preceptor, and Dr. James R. Wood, was the first to practise, in injuries of the large joints, the tying of the large arteries to prevent inflammation. On September 14, 1829, he performed ovariotomy for the first time, so far as New-York is concerned, the patient reporting a perfect recovery in person at his office six weeks afterward. Up to the time of the failure of his health it has been said that he performed more capital operations than any of his age in America. He retired from the profession, but lectured for two or three sessions in the Geneva Medical College, and later on served as a volunteer surgeon in the great battles before Richmond. He died in Brooklyn.

John Neilson (1775–1857) was born in New Brunswick, and was the eldest son of Colonel John Neilson, of the Revolutionary army, who first read the Declaration of Independence (July, 1776), at the risk of his life, to his townspeople. He entered Princeton College at the age of fifteen, and after being graduated, in 1794, took up the study of medicine in the city of New-York, with Dr. Kearney Rodgers, and commenced to practise about 1798, in which year he married Abigail Bleecker, daughter of Anthony Lispenard Bleecker, by whom he had six sons and six daughters. He was devoted to his profession, had probably the largest practice among the physicians of that day, and scarcely ever left the city during the sixty years of his professional life. He was a surgeon of the army during the war of 1812, his duties, however, being confined to the troops in the city of New-York. For

a number of years he was the consultiug physician to the Lunatic Asylum at Bloomingdale. During the epidemics of yellow fever, in 1822, and of cholera in 1832, he remained at his post in the city. His family were sent into the country, at Canal street, to escape yellow fever, but both he and his wife suffered from au attack of the disease. Residing first in Pine street, then in Greenwich street, in 1833 he removed to Chambers street; finally, in 1845, establishing himself in Broadway between Astor Place and Fourth street, opposite the New-York Hotel. At this time he relinquished much of his practice, only continuing to care for a few of his old patients. He retained to the end his vigor of mind, and until within a short time of his death his fine and erect physique and his firm and elastic step.

Valentine Mott (1785–1865), son of Dr. Henry Mott (1757–1840), pupil of Cooper, Abernethy, and Bell, was born in Glen Cove, Long Island. He filled the chair of Surgery in Columbia College and the College of Physicians and Surgeons, 1809–26, and again 1830–40; in Rutgers Medical College 1826–30, and the New-York University Medical College, 1840–60. According to the late Prof. Gross of Philadelphia, "no surgeon, living or dead, ever tied so many vessels or so successfully for the cure of aneurism, the relief of injury, or the arrest of morbid growths." His most celebrated case was his ligation of the arteria innominata, in 1818, a feat which he was the first to perform. This was for an aneurism of the right subclavian artery, the patient dying from a secondary hemorrhage on the twenty-sixth day. He was bold and brilliant as an operator, original in his methods, calm and unperturbed in manner, and for more than half a century his reputation was "unequalled by that of any of his competitors in America, and scarcely surpassed by that of the most illustrious surgeons iu Europe." He visited Sir Astley Cooper in London after an absence of thirty-five years. Sir Astley speedily recognized him and exclaimed, "You are Dr. Mott, the ouly man on earth I envy."

Willard Parker (1800–84) was born in Lyndeborough, N. H. He was graduated from Harvard University in 1826, a year after which he became an interne of the Chelsea United States Marine Hospital. Afterward he was appointed professor of anatomy in the Berkshire County Medical College at Pittsfield, Mass., then one of the leading institutions of its class in the country. In 1832 he was also made professor of surgery, and for four years filled both chairs, delivering two lectures daily. In 1836 he accepted the chair of Surgery in the Cincinnati Medical College, remaining there for three years. During his occupancy of this position he made a trip to Europe, to study the methods in the French and English medical colleges. In 1839, after his return from Europe, he settled in this city, having been appointed lecturer on surgery in the College of Physicians and Surgeons. He

was an easy, offhand lecturer, dealing in apt, homely illustrations, but averse to writing, which he claimed was too slow for his thoughts. As an operator he used either hand with equal facility, and held official relations to the New-York, Bellevue, St. Luke's, Roosevelt, and Mount Sinai Hospitals. He resigned his active duties as professor in 1870, in which year he received his degree of LL. D., and partially retired from active duty. Probably no surgeon enjoyed a wider reputation for success, or became more popular.

Alonzo Clark (1807–87), after a careful education, acquired mainly by his own exertions, was graduated from Williams College in 1820, and subsequently from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New-York in 1835. Shortly after, he received an appointment to the chair of Pathology and Materia Medica in the Burlington (Vt.) Medical College. His long connection with the College of Physicians and Surgeons, however, did not begin until 1848, and no single teacher probably contributed so much to its general reputation. A painstaking clinician, an easy speaker, using a terse, graceful style, a clear, concise writer, he left but little to desire as the teacher of a many-sided science. He gave much time to microscopic and pathological investigations, lived a scholarly life, made contributions to his favorite pursuit, and what he said or wrote always attracted attention.

Austin Flint, Sr. (1812–86), Clark's great rival, also came from New England, received his degree from Harvard in 1833, practised in Boston and Northampton, wrote much in Buffalo, where he started the "Buffalo Medical Journal" in 1846, and remained its editor for ten years, became one of the founders of the Buffalo Medical College in 1852, and then professor of theory and practice in the University of Louisville, Ky.; here he remained until 1856, when he returned to Buffalo as professor of pathology and clinical medicine. After some service in the School of Medicine and Charity Hospital of New Orleans, he established himself in New-York in 1859, and in 1861 was appointed to a chair in the Long Island College Hospital, which he resigned in 1868. In 1861 he became one of the physicians to Bellevue Hospital, and at the same time professor of the principles and practice of medicine in the college attached, which he held until his death. Dr. Flint attained many honors, was noted for the strict integrity of his opinions, his marvelous industry, his conscientious regard for the labors of others, a thorough teacher, and for the careful preparation of his numerous publications. His great work on "Clinical Medicine" will long remain as an authority.

Gunning S. Bedford (1806–70), a native of Baltimore of Revolutionary lineage, was graduated from the Rutgers Medical College in his twenty-third year. Shortly after his return from Europe, where he spent two years in self-improvement in the profession, he was

appointed (1833) professor in the Charleston, S. C., Medical College, and subsequently in the Albany Medical College. He finally settled in New-York, where he at once commanded a lucrative practice. The idea of the University Medical College was first broached by him to Dr. Valentine Mott, one of his former preceptors. The first faculty consisted of Patterson, Paine, Draper, Revere, Mott, and Bedford. Dr. Bedford is accorded the credit of having held the first gynecological clinic in the United States. He was an eloquent, fascinating teacher of considerable oratorical ability, and as an author won much fame for his "Clinical Lectures on the Diseases of Women and Children" (1855) and "The Principles and Practice of Obstetrics" (1861). The former work went through its tenth edition at least, and the latter was honored by translations into the French and German tongues.

John Hoskins Griscom (1809–74), son of Dr. John Griscom, a native of New-York, who received his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1832, was born and died in New-York. He distinguished himself as a sanitarian, gave popular lectures on chemistry, and fought out many reforms in connection with the treatment of emigrants on shipboard. As medical superintendent of the large hospitals, he had the supervision of 20,000 cases of typhus fever, nearly one third of which came in some way into personal contact with him. He finally contracted the fever, but made a tedious recovery. To him the citizens of New-York are indebted for many reforms in mortality returns, and, in a measure, for the creation of the present Board of Health. Before his appointment as city inspector, in 1842, blank "death certificates," signed by one in authority, were distributed to nndertakers, and required no verification whatever on the part of the attending physicians. An address by him on "The Sanitary Condition of the Laboring Population of New-York, with Suggestions for its Improvement," being freely circulated by the reform clubs of the day, succeeded in combining many interests in redressing the more flagrant grievances.

J. Marion Sims (1813–83) was born in Lancaster district, South Carolina, but, after having been educated at the South, came to settle in this city in 1853, for the benefit of his health. Here he developed certain delicate surgical procedures, and was mainly instrumental in establishing the Woman's Hospital. Bold, original, and self-reliant, his name became almost a byword iu both hemispheres. A bronze statue will in time be erected to his memory in the Central Park. Edmund Randolph Peaslee (1814–78), a native of New Hampshire, was a teacher of anatomy, physiology, and surgery, who finally established himself in this city, in 1858, as a gynecologist. His work on "Human Histology" was the first systematic treatise on this subject in the English language; this was issued in 1858, while his work

on "Ovariotomy" was published in 1872. Fordyce Barker (1817–91) began practice in Norwich, Conn., and lived there until 1850, when he removed to this city. Outside of his numerous positions in hospitals, societies, and colleges, he became a prominent figure in social life. Many honors were conferred upon him, the mention of which is inconvenient from restrictions of space. He was a writer of elegance and force, his treatise on "Puerperal Diseases" (1874) being a good example of his flowing style. His practice was exceedingly lucrative, being among the most wealthy families of the city. John W. Draper (1811–1882), a native of St. Helen's, a borough of Lancashire, not far from Liverpool, England, who came to America in 1833, achieved distinction as a professor of physiology and chemistry in the Hampden-Sydney College of Virginia, and the University Medical College of this city. Notwithstanding his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania, in 1836, he never devoted himself to practice, but concerned himself with the higher problems of chemistry and philosophy. His "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe" received the honor of being translated into French, German, Polish, Hungarian, and Italian, while parts of the work relating to Mohammedanism have also been translated into Turkish and Arabic. This may be regarded as the work which gave him fame, although his "History of the American War" has been characterized as one of the ablest, liveliest, and most unbiased of its kind. In it, however, the author adhered to his theory that climate gave the victory to Northern arms, and that this is to be the controlling factor of the national future.

Gurdon Buck (1807–77), a native of New-York city (M. D., College Physicians and Surgeons, N. Y., 1830), a hospital surgeon who improved the methods of treating fractures of the thigh by weight-and-pulley extension, was a bold but careful operator, attentive to details, exceedingly thorough in his investigations, and very successful as a plastic surgeon. Quiet in manners and inclined to reticence, his reputation was decidedly more professional than popular. He was a rather copious author, whose writings are deservedly in esteem, but too inconvenient for present purposes to be catalogued.

Jonas P. Loines (1821–74) was born in Bethpage, Long Island, and as the efficient house physician of the Eastern Dispensary, was sometimes styled the "American Jenner." He was an enthusiast on the subject of vaccination, and is said to have manually performed the act upon more than half a million of people, and from his own copious supplies furnished the means to vaccinate several millions more. As an authority he was frequently quoted, and more than willing to instruct, even by letter, those who complained of inefficient virus, when their own unskilfulness was at fault. He advocated the use of the humanized virus in preference to the bovine, for the reason

that by long cultivation it had become more acceptable to the constitution. A lively controversy upon this subject arose just previous to the doctor's death, which eventually declared against his views, so that at the present time arm-to-arm vaccination has gone out of vogue.

James Rushmore Wood (1816–82) was chiefly identified with Bellevue Hospital, where his Saturday afternoon clinics became a feature. He was also a co-founder with the late Dr. Isaac E. Taylor of the college attached to that hospital, in which he became professor of operative surgery and surgical pathology. He was an indefatigable worker, had an exacting practice, which he did not allow to interfere with his hospital duties, was exceedingly punctual in his engagements, a favorite among students, and an enthusiastic anatomist. He founded the "Wood Museum" of Bellevue Hospital, which contains numerous unique specimens and prize dissections, and filled many positions of trust, instituted reforms, and provided facilities for the acquisition of a sound medical education. John Murray Carnochan (1817–87), a professor in the New-York Medical College, and chief contributor to its reputation, was a very rapid operator who performed many feats of surgery, but being of a dictatorial temper, was for the most part on bad terms with his colleagues. He, however, was in receipt of liberal fees, was an original writer, and died in the possession of a reputation which became national and even European. He advocated the principle of amputation during the shock from injury as an economical device for the benefit of the constitution.

In the present outline history many names have been omitted with regret, even justice may have been outraged; but let it be remembered that even the masterpiece is not beyond criticism. No reference has been made to the living, since the narrative, for obvious reasons, is not intended to awaken controversy or to trim up reputations. The living need encouragement rather than eulogy.

It requires in the present instance not much investigation to demonstrate the fact that surgery has suffered no retrogressions nor many vacillations of doctrine. In the States, as in Europe, it has developed through the grades of barber, barber-surgeon, apothecary-surgeon, surgeon, and special surgeon. Medicine, on the other hand, with its patrician tendencies, its credulity, its skepticism, its theories, its dogmas, and its mysteries, has been dealing with probabilities rather than proofs. Judged by the standard of the times, its progress, unaided by appeals to the eye, has been somewhat delayed, but not quite interrupted.

The earliest hospital within the limits of the United States was probably erected in New-York in 1658, in answer to the petition of Dr. Varrevanger, for the accommodation of sick soldiers and negroes who had previously been billeted on private families. There is a rec-

ord still capable of verification that on December, 23, 1658, Hiletje Wilburch was appointed "matron of the hospital." Subsequently, in 1680, the governor sold an institution known as the "Old Hospital of the Five Houses" for two hundred pounds, for the purpose of erecting more serviceable buildings, but whether or not for the use of the homeless sick does not clearly appear. Beyond a doubt there were charitable provisions in the style of lazarettos or pest-houses for strangers and dependents long before the above period; with the domestic and hospitable instincts of the Dutch, it could not have been otherwise. Then, too, later on, after the firm establishment of inoculation, retreats became strewn over different parts of the country as a matter of quarantine; these were chiefly the outgrowth of private enterprise, and of course temporary in duration.

The New-York Hospital was certainly the first institution of the kind of any degree of importance that was established in Manhattan Island. This hospital really dates back to 1769, when Dr. Samuel Bard, at the May commencement of the medical school, advocated the project, which was seconded by the liberal subscriptions of Sir Henry Moore and others present. This beginning was supplemented by grants from the corporation of the city and the legislature of the province. The first meeting of the hospital governors was held July 24, 1771, eleven days after the charter granted by George the Third. The corner-stone was laid July 27, 1773. It was destroyed by fire when near completion, February 28, 1775, while the workmen were at dinner, the assigned cause being that "shavings were too near the fire." The first patients were admitted January 23, 1791. At first there was rather a heterogeneous crowding of cases, but a reform was inaugurated in 1798 by the governors announcing that the hospital was properly an infirmary for the reception of such persons as require, first, medical treatment; second, chirurgical management; third, for maniacs; and fourth, for lying-in women. Two hundred pounds were voted to begin a library, which even yet remains, as it began, well selected.

When the governors purchased the five acres on which they built in 1771 (a part of the Rutgers farm), the spot selected was upon a spur or hill surrounded on three sides by marshes. The water of two ponds or "koleks" frequently overflowed meadows where now is the corner of Pearl and Chatham streets, so that ferry-boats were used. Rutgers had suffered so lamentably with fever and ague that he had some years before prayed the king for a better title to his marshes, so that he might sell them to somebody willing to make drains, because the inhabitants lost one third of their time by sickness. In 1780 a duel was fought behind the hospital, as the most retired spot upon the island, and cow-pastures extended down from Grand street to the hospital, which adjoined the Ranelagh Gardens.

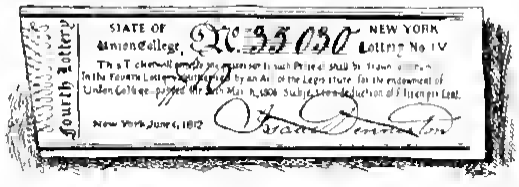
The original building, 319 Broadway, between Duane and Worth streets, was finally vacated February 19, 1870. The hospital then remained in a state of suspension until the property known as the Thorne mansion was purchased, along with the surrounding land, 125x103 feet on Sixteenth street, and 175x103 feet on Fifteenth street, in the rear. The building was begun in May, 1875, and was finally opened March 16, 1877, with an accommodation of one hundred and fifty beds. This institution, while in the zenith of its fame as about the only one in the adjacent parts within the radius of hundreds of miles, was particularly noted for the achievements of its surgical staff, and exceptionally good results in the treatment of fractures. At present these honors are more evenly distributed among numerous rivals.

THE NEW-YORK HOSPITAL.

Another fact may be stated, that before the suspension of the hospital on Broadway, it received many accident cases from the shipping, machinery in general, and the crowded thoroughfares. For all such contingencies a House of Relief was provided at 160 Chambers street, which soon became popularly known as the Chambers Street Hospital, and to this are admitted, free of charge, all cases of accident or sudden illness brought in from the lower wards. Notwithstanding telephonic communication with police headquarters, a complete ambulance service, and an outdoor department for minor surgical cases, a certain amount of popular discontent was fostered by a sensational press. At one time the trustees considered the advisability of abandoning their charity to the city or discontinuing it altogether, but they have of late spiritedly decided to build a hospital so perfect that there can be no excuse for complaint. The cost of the new hospital, including the endowment for its maintenance, will be over one million dollars; the selected site is the triangular plot bounded by Jay, Hudson, and Duane streets.

The first or main floors of the structure, which is to be four stories high, will contain the reception-rooms and the dispensary offices, as well as rooms for the physicians and other members of the hospital staff. The upper floors will be divided into wards for male and female patients.

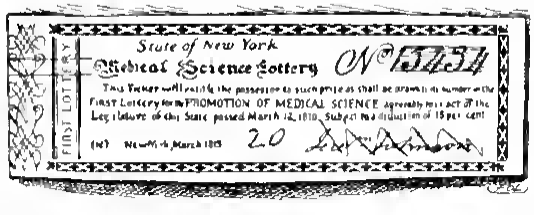
One feature of the new hospital, which is lacking in the present building, will be a number of rooms for private treatment of special cases and the reception of business men who may be taken ill or suffer from an accident while down town, and desire isolation from the general cases in the free wards.



Two elevators will be arranged for carrying passengers quickly to the upper floors. One of them will be arranged to drop to the basement floor, and will be so large that the ambulance bringing in a patient can be backed upon it and hoisted to the floors above, thus making necessary only one handling of the patients from the ambulance to the bed. The stables where the ambulances, three in number, will be kept, instead of being a block distant, as they are at present, will be in the basement of the new building.

Under the authority of the Department of Public Charities and Correction, Bellevue Hospital began as an almshouse in 1807, and was situated in Chambers street. It had then no hospital system, and the sick and insane inmates were cared for by the attending physicians, who made merely stated visits.

In 1816, owing to the tax upon its accommodating capacity, a new building was required, which was at length erected on the East River shore at a place called Bellevue, the country-seat of the grammarian Lindley Murray. After the almshouse proper, with a few smaller structures subsequently added, had been erected, the same problem of more room was finally solved in 1848 by removing the almshouse department to Blackwell's Island, which course allowed the sole occupancy of the site for hospital purposes. A change by legislative enactment in the administration of affairs resulted so that in return for gratuitous services, the visiting and house staff were allowed the privilege of clinical teaching during the fall and winter months when the medical colleges were in session. The board of governors, ten in number, by acting in concert with the



Lotteries (see illustrations above) for the purpose of raising money for various objects flourished to a great extent during the years 1790 to 1830 and were deemed not only respectable but legitimate. The College of Physicians and Surgeons received by lotteries $62,000 and Union College profited in the same manner to the amount of $284,000. After 1820 legislation restricted lotteries to such an extent that they became unpopular.

Prince

attending physicians, also soon after secured the passage of the Anatomical Bill, and so removed a chief obstacle to dissection, which had heretofore been in effect a State's prison offense. There were many obstacles in the way, but the combined efforts of the profession and the more intelligent element of the legislature at last, on April 1, 1854, secured the passage of "An Act to promote Medical Science," which, thus far, has seemed to be sufficiently comprehensive in character. Much credit is conceded even to this day for these enlightened efforts in behalf of Bellevue to Willard Parker, James R. Wood, and Alonzo Clark.

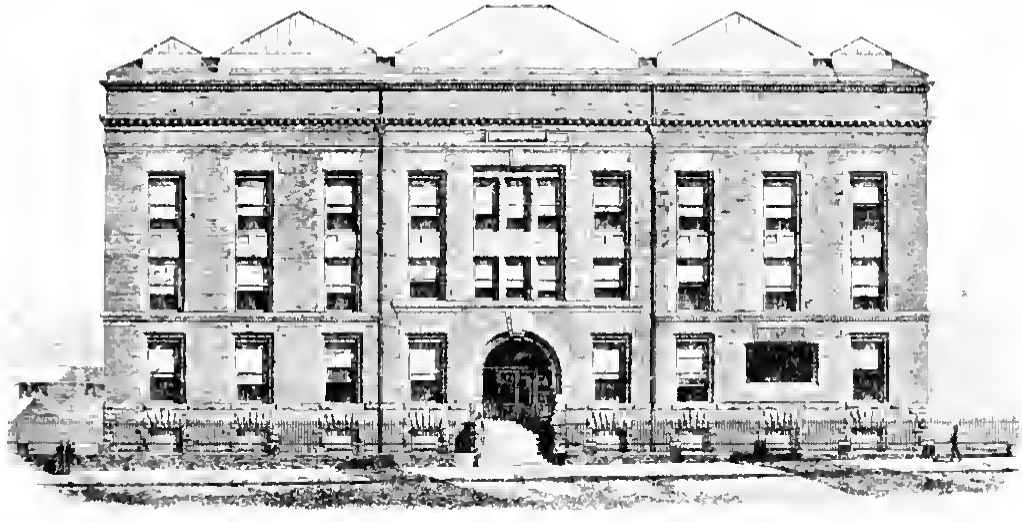
The medical management of the hospital is vested in a medical board, who meet on the first of every month to assign from their own number the visiting staff to the several divisions. The house staff, who are provided with rooms and board in the hospital, are yearly appointed by the commissioners, on the recommendation of the medical board, after the competitive examination required by usage. The main building extends north and south about two hundred feet, the north wing being about three hundred and fifty, and the south wing about one hundred and twenty-five in length. These buildings are four stories, with a veranda at each floor for the use of the patients. The capacity of the institution, to which contagious diseases are not admitted, is over twelve hundred beds.

Three years were employed in selecting the place and choosing the proper kind of buildings for Bloomingdale Asylum for the Insane. Beginning in July, 1815, various sites were chosen and abandoned. Long Island, Great Barren Island, lands on the East River and on Harlem Heights, were examined. Twenty-six reports of committees were noted in the minutes of as many meetings before the buildings were begun. Seventy-seven acres were bought. Thirty-seven of them were sold. A debt of $137,000 was incurred, and a sinking fund established, which finally discharged in 1845 the entire debt, leaving the asylum, with nearly forty acres of land, free of encumbrances.

COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS, 1856.

The medical department of King's College was organized in 1768, but was discontinued at the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

On the 13th of April, 1787, the name was changed to Columbia, but not until the beginning of 1792 was the medical department placed upon a respectable footing. In 1800, "such was the dilapidated state of the college edifice that both chemical and surgical apparatus suffered from the rain that came freely through the decayed roof. The anatomical museum also suffered from this cause, and the funds of the college were too low to permit the necessary repairs. The anatomical class consisted of 25 students. There were no lectures upon theory and practice until two years afterwards."[1] The total number of students up to 1811 was 833, of whom 52 were graduated. A union with the faculty of the College of Physicians and Surgeons was not



COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS, 1887

entirely consummated until March 7, 1814, when a month later a commodiously arranged brick building, on the north side of Barclay street, near Broadway, was occupied. Some of the faculty withdrew, and under the authority of Queen's (now Rutgers) College, N. J., organized the New Medical Institution in Hudson, near Duane street.[2] The College of Physicians and Surgeons passed through varied

[1] Dr Thomas Cock, Presidential Address before the New-York Academy of Medicine, 1852.

[2] Dr Romayne, in 1787, established a medical school in which lectures were delivered twice a day for five days in the week. The winter session began in November and ended in April. A summer course extended from May to the latter part of August, while clinical lectures were given during the winter in the old almshouse and bridewell. In 1791 Romayne petitioned the legislature for an act of incorporation which seems to have gone by default. Queen's College, N. J., conferred in 1792 and 1794 the degree of M. B. upon three, and that of M. D. upon twelve persons who had attended the course of instruction as indicated. The building was situated in Duke street, the school continued until 1811, after having conferred twenty degrees through Rutgers College upon members of its five annual classes, although the appointments of its board of trustees were not formally recorded until 1826. — N. Y. Medical Register, 1862.

vicissitudes, mostly due to dissensions in the medical societies, the faculty, and its board of trustees, until the legislature, by an amendment of its charter, March 24, 1860, delegated the authority of the regents to the trustees, when it again became the medical department of Columbia College.

The University Medical College was founded February, 1837, but did not commence operations until 1840. The building No. 107 East Fourteenth street, the present site of Tammany Hall, inaugurated October 21, 1851, was subsequently destroyed by fire, which entailed the loss of the museums of Drs. Valentine Mott and Thomas C. Finnell, besides many valuable specimens belonging to other collections. A new edifice, opposite the gate of Bellevue Hospital, was completed in 1869, during the autumn, and is still occupied. Bellevue Hospital Medical College, in East Twenty-sixth street, near First Avenue, was chartered March, 1861, and opened October 16 in the same year. In common with the other colleges, it has a well-equipped laboratory, especially adapted for the microscopic study of germs as factors, directly or indirectly, of disease. The Woman's Medical College of the New-York Infirmary was opened November 2, 1868, and has an annual class of graduates generally less than twenty. With equal legal rights, a few smaller colleges and two postgraduate schools also exist. A history by itself might be written with these institutions as a theme, while the same remark might be justly applied to the journals so ably reflecting the spirit of the profession.

In the attempt to avoid unjust eulogy, the mere narrative may become unduly elliptical; but it is hoped that enough has been written to stimulate further investigation. With the aim of making a suggestive story has come the embarrassment of rejecting much material of value in accordance with the inexorable demands of the publishers. The introduction of the biographical element, it is to be trusted, will not mar the historical; between the handbook and the encyclopedia the course is indeed tortuous. Further than this, even the showman fails to attain his aim of both amusement and instruction. May not enough have been written to show that medicine — with its charities in every combination of device; its restrictions imposed by the laws for insuring the intelligence of its neophytes; its unblazoned triumphs and secret beneficence; and last of all, its barter of brilliant opportunities for humble careers — has at least contributed somewhat to the glory of the polyglot city which began its life with a generation very much younger than its books? Besides, let the chapter thus ended console the owners of omitted names with the reflection that the dead are defenseless and the living controversial.

CHAPTER XV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE IN NEW-YORK CITY

IN a new country and in a new city those things which have to do with the practical conditions of affairs are naturally the first to be considered; and, in consequence, any conspicuous development of science in the early history of New-York city is scarcely to be expected. For the first beginnings in science one would more naturally turn to Philadelphia, where, in 1743, was founded the American Philosophical Society, the oldest of all the scientific societies in America, over which Benjamin Franklin, our first great scientist, presided until his death; or to Boston, where John Winthrop laid the foundations of scientific inquiry in Harvard, and where, in 1780, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences was founded. Still, even though the information be meager, the history of the growth of science in this city is a most worthy one, and must for the most part be traced out along the lines of the great institutions of which we are so proud. Prior to the beginning of the present century the progress of science was limited, and is mentioned chiefly as collateral to other subjects. Among the first names met with is that of Dr. Cadwallader Colden, who settled in New-York in 1718, and was a correspondent of the prominent scientific men of his time. He was appointed the first surveyor-general of New-York, and in 1720 published an account of the climate of the colony. As a naturalist he ranked high, especially in botany, and he was the first to introduce the Linnean system into America. He collected and described between three and four hundred plants, many of which he sent to Linnæus himself, who described them in his "Acta Upsaliensia." He also was interested in meteorology and astronomy. In a valuable paper on "The Beginnings of Natural History in America," Dr. G. Brown Goode tells that his daughter, Miss Jane Colden, was the first lady in America to become proficient in the study of plants. She was the author of a flora of New-York which was never published. Dr. Colden was one of the original members of the American Philosophical Society. Likewise an early member of this society was James

Alexander, of New-York, who is said to have been "a distinguished politician, statesman, and man of science." He maintained a constant correspondence with Edmund Halley, the astronomer royal, and other learned dignitaries of Europe. For a time he held the office of surveyor-general of the colony, and was the father of Lord Stirling, who achieved military fame later in the Revolutionary War.

With the founding of King's (now Columbia) College, came a definite recognition of natural history, and in 1757 Daniel Treadwell was appointed first professor of mathematics and natural history. Three years later he died, and Robert Harpur succeeded to the chair, which he then held until 1765. Thereafter until 1792, when the professorship of natural history, chemistry, agriculture, and the other arts depending thereon, was created for Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, no important teaching of science appears to have been given, although incidentally, from 1765 to 1776, Dr. Samuel Clossy was professor of natural philosophy, and in 1785 Dr. Samuel Bard held that chair, together with that of astronomy, for a single year. Dr. Clossy was an Irishman by birth, and settled in New-York as early as 1734. He assisted in organizing the medical department of Columbia, where, in 1767, he was called to the chair of Anatomy. At the beginning of the war of the Revolution, being a loyalist, he returned to Ireland, where he soon after died. Dr. Bard had, during 1767–76, been connected with the medical department of Columbia College, and in 1784–5 again served that department as professor of chemistry. Subsequently he was dean of the medical faculty, and its president from 1813 till 1821. He was General Washington's physician during the time that the seat of government was in New-York city. In 1785–6 Dr. Henry Moyes was professor of natural history, and from 1785 till his death, in 1812, Dr. John Kemp, besides holding the chair of mathematics, taught geography and natural history. Such, in brief, is the early history of the teaching of science in Columbia College. In 1767 the second medical college of the New World was organized as a department of King's College, and in its first faculty we find the name of James Smith as professor of chemistry and materia medica.

Among the many distinguished men attracted to the New World by its free institutions, none have a greater scientific reputation than Joseph Priestley, from whose discovery of oxygen, in 1774, dates the starting-point of our modern chemistry. He arrived at Sandy Hook on June 1, 1794, and four days later landed at the Battery "in as private a manner as possible, and went immediately to a lodging-house close by." Not only did the principal inhabitants, including Governor Clinton, Bishop Provoost, and others, call to pay their respects, but he received addresses of welcome and congratulation from the Tammany Society, the Democratic Society, the Medical Society, and other

bodies, to each of which he made appropriate replies. He was invited to give a course of lectures on experimental philosophy, for which a hundred subscriptions at ten dollars were raised; but he refused, and proceeded soon after to Philadelphia. From Priestley we naturally turn to Dr. Mitchill, of whom it has been said: "He was equally at home in studying the geology of Niagara or the anatomy of an egg; in offering suggestions as to the angle of a windmill or the shape of a gridiron; in deciphering a Babylonian brick or in advising how to apply steam to navigation; or in disputing about the Bible with his neighbor, the Jewish Rabbi." This remarkable man studied medicine with Dr. Samuel Bard, and in 1792 was elected to Columbia, as indicated previously. There he introduced the nomenclature of Lavoisier, although with some modifications. Two years later he published an essay on the "Nomenclature of the New Chemistry," which led to a controversy with Priestley, which was conducted with such courtesy that it ended in the warm personal friendship of the two chemists. His interest in science manifested itself in many ways, and he was associated with Robert R. Livingston and Simeon De Witt in the founding of the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Manufactures, and Useful Arts, in 1793–4. Under its auspices, in 1796, he made "a mineralogical exploration of the banks of the Hudson River," which was the earliest attempt in America in this line of research. Subsequently, in 1804, he published in the "New-York Medical Reporter" "A Sketch of the Mineralogical History of the State of New-York," and in 1809 he published a "Discourse on Mineralogy" in "Tillock's Magazine." In his presidential address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1882, Professor George J. Brush, in speaking of mineralogy, says: "As the first distinct beginning of the science, I may mention an association formed in 1798, in the city of New-York, which assumed, as they expressed it, 'the name and style of The American Mineralogical Society.'" According to "The New-York Medical Repository," a quarterly magazine founded in 1797, and of which Dr. Mitchill was chief editor, the object of this society was "the investigation of the mineral and fossil bodies which compose the fabric of the globe, and more especially for the natural and chemical history of the minerals and fossils of the United States." Professor Brush says: "The distinguished Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, who seems to have been a man of universal genius, was at once its first president, its librarian, and its cabinet-keeper."

Meanwhile, in 1793, Dr. Mitchill was called to the chair of Botany in the medical department of Columbia College, but in 1795 resigned this charge and was succeeded by Dr. David Hosack, a young and talented physician, who in 1794 returned from Europe, where he had spent two

years in medical studies, chiefly in the famous schools of Edinburgh and London. It is said that he brought with him from abroad the first collection of minerals introduced into America, and the collection of duplicate specimens of plants from the herbarium of Linnæus. This collection subsequently became the property of the New-York Lyceum of Natural History. He continued in possession of the chair of Botany until 1811, but in this science he is best remembered by his purchase, in 1801, of the domain called Elgin, where he created a botanical garden. This property included some twenty acres, and was situated between what is now Forty-seventh and Fifty-first streets and Fifth and Sixth avenues. He made these grounds a resort for the admirers of Nature's vegetable wonders and for the students of her mysteries. "Here," says Dr. Francis, in his ever charming "Old New-York," "were associated, in appropriate soil, exposed to the native elements or protected by the conservatory and the hothouse, examples of vegetable life, and of variety of development—a collection that might have captivated a Linnæus or a Jussieu; and here, indeed, a Michaux and a Barton, a Mitchill, a Doughty, a Pursh, a Wilson, or a Le Conte, often repaired to solve the doubts of the cryptogamist, or to confirm the nuptial theory of Vaillant." In 1814 the Elgin botanical garden was purchased by the State and given to Columbia College, and the plot, now covered with elegant residences, is one of the chief sources of revenue of that prosperous institution.

Returning to Dr. Mitchill, a more than passing mention must be made of his editorial work. The "New-York Medical Repository," of which he was one of the founders, was the first journal devoted to general as well as medical science in the United States. Many of his own researches in chemistry appeared first in its columns, but he also contributed elsewhere, and among the original papers attributed to him are the following: "On the Non-action of Nitric Acid on Silver, Copper, and Tin" (1800), "Synopsis of Chemical Nomenclature and Arrangement" (1801), and "Observations on Soda, Magnesia, and Lime in the Water of the Ocean, and how the Water of the Ocean may be rendered fit for Washing without the Aid of Soap." The latter he contributed to the American Philosophical Society. Benjamin Silliman, Jr., speaks of him "as the first author in the United States whose name appears in the list of writers upon chemical philosophy." On the election of Dr. Mitchill to Congress, he retired from his chair in Columbia College, and was succeeded by Dr. James S. Stringham, who had studied medicine under Drs. Bard and Hosack, and in 1790 took his degree at Edinburgh. He was an alumnus of Columbia, and was professor of chemistry from 1802 till 1813, and of medical jurisprudence in the College of Physicians and Surgeons from 1813 till his death, four years later. In the latter branch he is said to have been

the first to lecture in this country, being regarded "as its founder in the United States." His publications, however, appear to have been chiefly medical. To this period belongs also the record of Archibald Bruce, who was the son of a surgeon in the British army, and was graduated at Columbia in 1797, after which he took his medical degree at Edinburgh in 1800. Of him it is said: "He was early interested in natural science, and while still in college found the collection and examination of minerals—a pursuit not then at all attended to in this country—his particular relief from other studies; for even during his recreation he was ever on the lookout for something new or instructing in mineralogy." When he went abroad he took with him American minerals, which he exchanged with foreign collectors, and after receiving his degree he traveled for two years on the continent of Europe, making the acquaintance of Abbé Haüy and other eminent mineralogists, and collecting an extensive cabinet of valuable minerals, which he brought with him on his return to New-York in 1813. Professor Brush, in the "Sketch of the Progress of American Mineralogy" previously quoted, says: "This collection—with another brought to New-York about the same time by B. D. Perkins, both being made fully accessible to all interested in science—then contributed, it was said, more than any agencies had ever done before to excite in the public an active interest in the science of mineralogy." In January, 1810, he established in New-York city the first purely scientific periodical ever published in America. Its title-page read "The American Mineralogical Journal," being a collection of facts and observations tending to elucidate the mineralogy and geology of the United States of America; together with other information relating to mineralogy, geology, and chemistry, derived from scientific sources; conducted by Archibald Bruce, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica in the Medical Institution of New-York and Queen's College (N. J.)." According to the elder Silliman, "it was received in this country and in Europe in a flattering manner; it excited at home great zeal and effort in support of the sciences which it fostered, and abroad it was hailed as the harbinger of our future exertions." This journal was continued for four years, when the failing health of Dr. Bruce led to its suspension. It received the support of many of the working-men of the times in its own departments, and it contained papers by Colonel George Gibbs, also several by its editor, especially the investigation and description of two new mineral species—the native magnesia of Hoboken, and the red zinc oxid of Sussex County, New Jersey. These were the first American species to be described by an American mineralogist. According to Professor Brush, "so thoroughly was the work done by Bruce, that those species remain to-day essentially as he described them, and his papers may well be studied by mineralogists as models of accuracy and

clearness of statement"; while the younger Silliman, in his "American Contributions to Chemistry," refers to him as "both a chemist and mineralogist as well as a man of profound medical attainments." He died in New-York city on February 24, 1818.

Thus far we have traced in a cursory manner the beginnings of science, more especially the natural sciences, in New-York city. Space prevents any detailed reference to the many individuals who quietly and in their own way were gathering facts from nature and contributing them to various sources. The necessity of a common medium was recognized, and, in accordance with this feeling, a meeting of a number of gentlemen favorable to the cultivation of natural science was held on January 29, 1817, in the hall of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, in Barclay street, with Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill in the chair and Rev. Frederick C. Schaeffer as secretary. The "consideration and adoption of measures for instituting a cabinet of Natural History" was discussed, and a committee was appointed to report on this subject. During the following week it was announced by the committee "that they have taken into consideration the subject of a proposed establishment in this city for the cultivation of Natural Science, and from the various and ample information presented to them do not hesitate in declaring such an institution in their opinion perfectly practicable." Subsequently various preliminary meetings were held, and finally, on February 24, 1817, the "Lyceum of Natural History" was duly organized. The following officers were then elected: Samuel L. Mitchill, president; Caspar W. Eddy, first vice-president; Rev. F. C. Schaeffer, second vice-president; John W. Francis, corresponding secretary; John B. Beck, recording secretary; Benjamin P. Kissam, treasurer; and John Torrey, D'Jurco V. Knevals, and Ezekiel R. Baudouine, curators. Thus the fourth oldest scientific society in the United States came into existence. The first distinctively scientific papers were read before the society on March 31, 1817, when the distinguished naturalist Constantine Samuel Rafinesque presented two papers—"one on the *Tubipora striatula*, a new species of fossil found near Glen's Falls in the State of New-York, another on ten undescribed species of the genus *Aphis* found by Mr. Rafinesque in the United States."

It is not possible to follow the history of the Lyceum in detail, but in the first year of its existence we find this remarkable item in Professor Herman L. Fairchild's "History of the New-York Academy of Sciences": "At this meeting, April 21, 1817, Doctor Mitchill made some highly interesting remarks, tending to prove the horse a native of America. We have no knowledge of either his facts or his arguments, but it is curious to note that his conception should be proven true by the paleontology of recent years." The poet Halleck says:

Time was when Dr. Mitchill's word was law,
When monkeys, monsters, whales, and Esquimaux
Ask'd but a letter from his ready hand,
To be the theme and wonder of the land.

The early history of the Lyceum makes frequent mention of the achievements of Dr. Mitchill, and on June 23, 1817, the minutes record: "Dr. Mitchill stated that he had taken an opportunity afforded in the excursion on board the steam frigate to the Narrows, to present the President of the United States [James Monroe] the diploma of membership voted to him by the Lyceum as a testimony of their respect, which was received in a manner gratifying to the feelings of the representative of the society."

The various meeting-places of the Lyceum are of interest. For a time it met at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in Barclay street, except at its annual meeting, when the members were gathered in Harmony Hall. When perfectly organized, it obtained rooms in the New-York Institution, where it remained until 1831. The Common Council gave the use of this building to various societies free of rent, and in "Fanny" Halleck tells how

It remains
To bless the hour the Corporation took it
Into their heads to give the rich in brains
The worn-out mansion of the poor in pocket,
Once "the old almshouse," now a school of wisdom
Sacred to Seudder's shells and Dr. Griscom.

For six years the Lyceum met at the Dispensary at the corner of White and Centre streets, and then, on May 9, 1836, entered its own building at Nos. 561, 563, and 565 Broadway. Early in the following year, on invitation, the elder Silliman delivered a series of lectures on the "Mosaic Cosmogony," and in this fashion the building was dedicated to science. Unfortunately, troublesome times were ahead, and the financial crisis of 1837 seriously affected the Lyceum. After running considerably into debt, its building was finally sold at auction, and at the meeting held on February 26, 1844, the Lyceum "found itself out of debt and out of home, with a valuable library and large collections, and no place to put them."

Dr. Mitchill continued as president of the society until 1823, and was also a large contributor to its collections. Halleck writes:

He once made the Lyceum a choice present
Of mussels-shells picked up at Rockaway;
And Mitchill gave a classical and pleasant
Discourse about them in the streets that day,—
Naming the shells — and hard to put in verse 't was —
"Testaceous coverings of bivalve mollusca!"

The good old doctor, when a member of the State legislature, had advocated in the face of much ridicule and opposition the act of 1798 that conferred on Robert R. Livingston and Robert Fulton the exclusive right to navigate the waters of New-York by steam; and in 1825 was active in the celebration of the opening of the Erie Canal, when he poured the contents of a number of bottles containing water from all parts of the world into the sea, as emblematical of our commercial intercourse with all the nations of the earth. Joseph Rodman Drake, in his "Croakers," said most truly:

> It matters not how high or low it is,
> Thou knowest each hill and vale of knowledge,
> Fellow of forty-nine societies
> And lecturer in Hosack's College.
> And when thou diest, for life is brief,
> Thy name in all its gathered glory
> Shall shine, immortal as the leaf
> In Delaplaine's Repository.

Dr. Mitchill was called the Nestor of American science, and died in New-York city on September 7, 1831.

From 1813 till 1820 the chair of Chemistry in Columbia College was filled by John Griscom. He was also professor of this science in the medical department of Rutgers College, which place he held from 1812 till 1828. But as early as 1806 he lectured on chemistry, giving private and public lectures on that subject, many of which were delivered in the New-York Institution, and it is to him that allusion is made in the quotation from "Fanny" previously given. The abstracts of chemical papers from foreign sources contributed to the "American Journal of Science" (founded in 1818) were made by him, and he was a lifelong correspondent of the elder Silliman. Dr. Francis, who was his associate in Rutgers Medical College, wrote: "For thirty years Dr. Griscom was the acknowledged head of all other teachers of chemistry among us, and he kept pace with the flood of light which Davy, Murray, Gay-Lussac, and Thenard and others shed on the progress of chemical philosophy at that day." In 1820 the chair of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry was founded at Columbia, to which James Renwick was called. He was an alumnus of 1807, had stood first in his class, and from 1813 till the retirement of Professor Griscom, he had been instructor in the branches of which he subsequently became professor. His long connection with the college and his numerous writings make him an important factor in the development of science for over sixty years. Dr. Francis speaks of his eminence in philosophy, and he was a member of the Bread and Cheese Club, which originated, in 1824, principally through the instrumentality of James Fenimore Cooper. His work was chiefly that of

teaching, but his text-books remain as monuments to his learning. They include "Treatise on the Steam Engine," "Elements of Mechanics," "Applications of the Science of Mechanics to Practical Purposes," "First Principles of Chemistry," "First Principles of Natural Philosophy"; also, printed privately for his students, "First Principles in Chemistry," "Outlines in Geology," and "Chemistry Applied to the Arts." His three sons achieved distinction in applied science, and the architecture of Grace Church and St. Patrick's Cathedral testifies to the genius of James Renwick, his second son.

The second president of the Lyceum was John Torrey, whose name appears among the first list of its officers as a curator. At that time he was a student of medicine, but a fondness for botany led even then to his being accepted as a rising naturalist. He was one of a committee that, shortly after the founding of the Lyceum, prepared a "Catalogue of the Plants Growing Spontaneously within Thirty Miles of the City of New-York." Preferring natural science to practice, he accepted, in 1824, an appointment of surgeon in the United States Army, and was promptly made professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology at the United States Military Academy at West Point. This place he held until 1828. Meanwhile, in 1827, he was called to the chair of Chemistry and Botany in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, which place he then filled until 1855, when he was made emeritus; also he was professor of chemistry at Princeton from 1830 till 1854, and of chemistry, mineralogy, and botany at the University of the City of New-York in 1822–3. From 1853 till his death, in 1873, he was in charge of the United States Assay Office in this city. In the leisure from his busy work of teaching, he devoted himself assiduously to the pursuit of his favorite science of botany, achieving the title so justly bestowed on him by his pupil and lifelong friend, Dr. Asa Gray, as "the chief of American botanists." The younger Silliman, in his "American Contributions to Chemistry," credits him with numerous papers on chemistry and mineralogy that appeared in the proceedings of the Lyceum and in the "American Journal of Science," and says: "His most important contributions to science were in the department of mineralogy and botany"; and "his name is inseparably connected with the development of North American flora." Even the briefest summary of his work would take more space than can be spared. Mention, however, must be made of the enthusiastic followers of botany who, during his lifetime, met at his residence and have perpetuated his name in the Torrey Botanical Club, which still flourishes. Dr. Torrey was made a trustee of Columbia College in 1856, and soon after presented his herbarium, numbering about 50,000 specimens, to that institution. It is now under the charge of Dr. Nathaniel L. Britton, who has recently been made the first professor of botany in the

Columbia College School of Mines. It is interesting to mention in this connection that Dr. Asa Gray, the foremost of American botanists, was his pupil, and in 1834–45 worked in Dr. Torrey's herbarium and read his first scientific papers before the Lyceum. John H. Redfield, in his "Personal Reminiscences," says of Dr. Gray: "His bachelor quarters were in the upper story of the [Lyceum] building, and there he diligently employed the hours not occupied with other duties in studies and dissections, the results of which appeared in several elaborate contributions to the 'Annals.'" It is necessary to add that Dr. Torrey was, in 1855, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and likewise, in 1863, was one of the incorporators named by Congress to form the National Academy of Sciences. Belonging to this period is also the eminent Dr. John C. Jay, who was an ardent student of conchology. He was successful in accumulating the most complete and valuable collection of shells in the United States. This and his costly library pertaining to this branch of science were purchased by Catherine L. Wolfe and presented, in memory of her father, to the American Museum of Natural History, where it is known as the Jay collection. Dr. Jay served the Lyceum as treasurer during the years 1836–43. It should not be forgotten that John James Audubon, who was long a resident of New-York city, contributed valuable papers on ornithology to the first volume of the "Annals of the Lyceum."

Of the long line of distinguished men who have held the high office of president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, a few have come from this city, and at the meeting held in New-York in 1887, the venerable Barnard said: "It was your first president, William C. Redfield, whose sagacity earliest detected and presented to us the laws which govern the great storms of the Atlantic coast, and demonstrated their cyclonic character, thus stimulating the spirit of meteorological investigation which has erected so many local observatories, and given us at length a central and national Weather Bureau at Washington." Mr. Redfield was born in Connecticut, where he was apprenticed to a mechanic, and received but a slight rudimentary education. His name has been handed down to posterity as that of a philosopher and meteorologist, while scant recognition has been given to him for his practical contributions to humanity. As a naval engineer he deserves special credit, for he was the first to devise and carry into execution the plan of a line of safety-barges to ply on the Hudson between New-York and Albany. In 1826 he established the Steam Navigation Company, and the fleets of barges and canal-boats, sometimes numbering forty or fifty, "which make so conspicuous a feature on the Hudson River, were thus set in movement by Mr. Redfield," and for thirty years the superintendence of the line first established constituted the bread-winning occupation of his

life. He was largely identified with the introduction of railroads, and in 1829 he issued a pamphlet to the American people in which he described a plan of railroads by means of which the Hudson River might be connected with the Mississippi River, which route subsequently became that of the New-York, Lake Erie, and Western Railroad as far as it goes. His views extended even further, and he marked out with prophetic accuracy the course of the railways which would connect with the Atlantic States the then infant States of Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois. These various projects have all been forgotten, while we credit him for meteorological observations. His first paper on the "Atlantic Storms" was published, in 1831, in the "American Journal of Science," and in 1834 it was followed by his memoir on the "Hurricanes and Storms of the United States and West Indies," which subject he continued later with numerous papers, descriptions, and tables of particular hurricanes. His biographer, Professor Denison Olmsted, tells how the attention of Mr. Redfield was first drawn to the subject of storms by examining the position of trees prostrated by the great September gale of 1821. He says:

> On tracing further the cause and direction of prostrated objects, and comparing the times when the storm reached different places, the idea flashed upon him that the storm was a progressive whirlwind. A conviction thus forced upon his mind after a full survey of the facts, was not likely to lose its grasp. Amid all his cares it clung to him and was cherished with the enthusiasm usual to the student of Nature who is conscious of having become the honored medium of a new revelation of her mysteries. Nothing, however, could have been further from his mind than the thought that the full development of that idea would one day place him among the distinguished philosophers of his time.

Mr. Redfield came to New-York in 1827, and continued a resident of our city until his death, in February, 1857. He was one of the vice-presidents of the Lyceum in 1847–51, and for a brief period, in 1851, the meetings were held in his residence. During the last years of his life he devoted some attention to geology, studying the fossil fishes of the sandstone formations. In 1856 he demonstrated that the fossils of the Connecticut River valley and the New Jersey sandstones, to which he gave the name of Newark groups, all belonged to the lower Jurassic period.

Conspicuous among the institutions of learning in New-York city is its university, which, since 1832, has had its home on Washington Square. It was in this building, around which so many interesting memories cling, that Samuel Finley Breese Morse perfected the electric telegraph. Here he made his apparatus,—"made as it was," he says, "and completed before the first of the year 1836. I was enabled to and did mark down telegraphic intelligible signs for telegraphing, and having arrived at that point, I exhibited it to some of my friends early in

this year, and among others to Professor Leonard D. Gale." Over his many struggles and final victory we cannot tarry, for, indeed, in this electric age, the story of the first practical application of this force can be found in every text-book; but no history of the development of science in New-York would be complete without mention of it. His application for a patent was dated September 28, 1837, but it was not until May 24, 1844, that the mastered lightning flashed the ever memorable "What hath God wrought!" from Washington to Baltimore and return. Professor Morse gained his first knowledge of electricity from Professor James F. Dana, a young scientist of promise, who came to New-York in 1825 to fill the chair of Chemistry in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, but died, at the early age of thirty-three, two years later. During 1826–27 Professor Dana lectured on electro-magnetism and electricity before the New-York Athenæum, and at these lectures Professor Morse was a regular attendant. The establishment of the submarine telegraph is likewise due to Professor Morse, and in October, 1842, he made experiments with a cable between Castle Garden and Governor's Island. While the experiment was not regarded as worthy of being continued, still the results were sufficient to show the practicability of the undertaking. Professor Morse was long a resident of New-York city, and his winter home at No. 5 West Twenty-second street bears a marble table with the inscription: "In this house S. F. B. Morse lived for many years and died."

Contemporaneous with Professor Morse, and associated with him somewhat in his work, was John William Draper, who, although of English birth, early came to the United States and settled in Virginia. In 1836 he was called to the chair of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy in the Hampden Sidney College, but a year later accepted an appointment to the professorship of chemistry of a medical school then about to be established in conjunction with the university; but as this project failed, owing to the financial crisis of 1837, he was elected to the chair of Chemistry in the undergraduate department of the university, and accordingly removed to New-York city in 1839. Thereafter, until 1881, for more than forty years, he continued his intimate connection with that institution. In 1840 he was active in the foundation of the medical department of the university, and, besides filling the chair of Chemistry there, was also its president, succeeding Dr. Valentine Mott in that capacity in 1850. It will not be possible to follow the long line of painstaking researches made by him, the results of which are included in the more than one hundred titles of memoirs variously contributed between the years of 1832 and 1880. But mention must be made of those on radiant energy, beginning in 1847 with an able paper on the "Production of Light by Heat," concerning which, with others of similar nature published before 1858, his biographer, Pro-

fessor George F. Barker, has written: "Surely these researches, with the prophetic conclusions which he drew from them, entitle Professor Draper to a recognized position among the pioneers in the science of prismatic analysis." His researches in this direction gained for him the conferment, in 1875, of the Rumford medals of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Daguerre's announcement, in 1839, of his discovery of the action of sunlight on silver, and its application to the permanent preservation of views, was at once taken up by Draper. "The first photographic portrait from life was made by me," he says, and in these days of rapid dry-plate photography it will be of interest to follow his experience as detailed by himself.

> In the first experiment I made, the face of the sitter was dusted with a white powder, but a few trials showed that this was unnecessary. On a bright day and with a sensitive plate, portraits can be obtained in the course of five or seven minutes in the diffused daylight, even when an ammonia-sulphate of copper cell is interposed. The hands should never rest upon the chest, for the motion of respiration disturbs them so as to make them of a thick and clumsy appearance, destroying also the representation of veins on the back, which, if they are held motionless, are copied with surprising beauty. A person dressed in a black coat and thin waistcoat of the same color must put on a temporary front of a drab or flesh color, or by the time that his face and the fine shadows of his woolen clothing are evolved, his shirt will be solarized, and be blue or even black, with a white halo round it. Owing to the circumstance that yellow or yellowish-brown requires a long time to impress the substance of the daguerreotype, persons whose faces are freckled all over give rise to the most ludicrous results—a white portrait mottled with just as many black spots as the sitter has yellow ones.

He also made the first photograph of the moon, for which the daguerreotype plate was exposed twenty minutes, and the image was about an inch in diameter. In this image the places of the dark spots can be indistinctly traced. Likewise he made the first photograph of the diffraction spectrum. Simultaneously with Becquerel, he photographed the Fraunhofer fixed lines of the spectrum, and the ultra-violet, and was the first to discover the great bands in the ultra-red region. It was his researches on the conducting power of wires, undertaken to aid his colleague, Professor Morse, in perfecting the electro-magnetic telegraph, that established with certainty the practicability of utilizing electricity for sending messages over long distances. His lectures on "Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America," before the New-York Historical Society, as well as those on "Evolution: its Origin, Progress, and Consequences," are evidences of his literary ability; while his "History of the Conflict between Religion and Science" passed through more than twenty editions in the English language, and has been translated into the French, Spanish, German, Dutch, Russian, Italian, Portuguese, Polish, and Servian languages. To quote Professor Barker: "It has now been placed on the 'Index

Expurgatorius' of the Romish Church, an honor which its author has shared with Galileo, with Copernicus, with Kepler, with Locke, and with Mill." Professor Draper died early in 1882.

His three sons have been conspicuous in the history of science. The eldest, John C. Draper, after graduating from the medical department of the New-York University in 1857, was professor of analytical chemistry in the university, and subsequent to 1863 professor of natural sciences in the College of the City of New-York, which chair, together with that of chemistry in the medical department of the university, he held until his death in 1885. The second son was Henry Draper, who during his career devoted himself largely to astronomy, and especially to celestial photography. His observatory, built at Hastings-on-Hudson, has become celebrated. In 1872 he photographed the spectrum of Alpha Lyræ (Vega), showing dark lines, a result then unique in science; and in 1873 he made the finest photograph of the diffraction spectrum ever made up to that time. His work in this direction culminated in 1877 in his famous paper in which was announced "The Discovery of Oxygen in the Sun by Photography, and a New Theory of the Solar Spectrum." This beautiful investigation brought him high honors, and although more recent students have questioned the correctness of his deductions, none have disputed the value of the research. Indeed, how could they?—for, as has been written elsewhere, "the sun told its own story, and its light, acting on the delicate film on the glass negative, was evidence that could not be disputed." His untimely death in 1882 deprived the work of its chief director, but with funds contributed by his wife the investigations have since been continued under the direction of Professor Edward C. Pickering at Cambridge, where regular reports are issued of the work, with the title of the "Henry Draper Memorial." The youngest son is Daniel Draper, who since 1869 has been director of the New-York Meteorological Observatory in Central Park, where his many researches have gained for him a distinguished reputation. Of these, his consideration of the question "Does the Clearing of Land Increase or Diminish the Fall of Rain?" showed that the prevalent opinion of its diminishing was not founded on fact. Besides several researches concerning the variations in temperature, he took up the subject, "Do American Storms Cross the Atlantic?" and he found that from 1867 till 1873 eighty-six out of eighty-nine disturbances were felt on the European coast. This led to telegraphic announcement of storms from the United States to Great Britain. A later research demonstrated the increased prevalence of pneumonia at times when the atmosphere is richest in ozone.

Reference has already been made to the early work in meteorology by William C. Redfield, and it must not be forgotten that from 1844

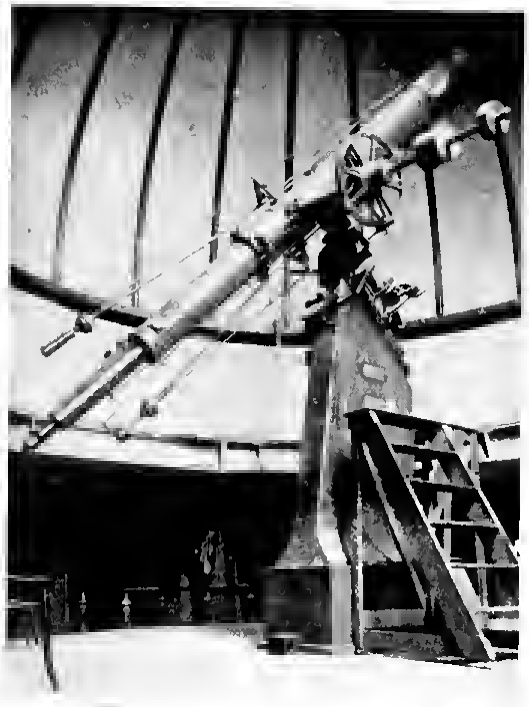
till 1860 Elias Loomis, whose "Contributions to Meteorology," made during his long service at Yale, placed him high among scientists, was professor of natural philosophy at the University of the City of New-York. During his sixteen years of teaching he was for the most part occupied in the preparation of that well-known series of text-books embracing the entire range of mathematical subjects that are taught in high schools, and which were subsequently extended to include natural philosophy, astronomy, and meteorology. He accepted a call to New Haven in 1860, and continued there as professor of natural philosophy and astronomy until his death in 1889.

Meanwhile the progress of science had been steadily advancing at Columbia. In 1843 Professor Charles W. Hackley was called to the chair of Mathematics and Astronomy, and in 1854 Richard S. McCulloh, then holding a chair at Princeton, was called to succeed to the charge of science as previously taught by Professor Renwick. In 1857 the college moved to its present home on the block bounded by Forty-ninth and Fiftieth streets, Fourth and Madison avenues. Professor Hackley was then made professor of astronomy alone, which place he held until his death four years later, while Professor Charles Davies was given charge of the mathematics. Professor Hackley was the author of several mathematical text-books, and it is said of him that he exerted himself particularly to establish an astronomical observatory in this city. Professor McCulloh was transferred to the chair of Mechanics and Physics, and as he proposed to devote himself exclusively to the department of physical science, the chair of Chemistry, which had been combined with other scientific branches since 1820, was restored to an independent condition, and Charles A. Joy, then of Union College, invited to fill it. Professor McCulloh was a man of distinguished ability, but on the outbreak of the Civil War abandoned his post and joined the Confederates, for which he was expelled in 1863. Professor Ogden N. Rood, then at Troy University, was promptly called to the vacancy, and has since continued at Columbia, making extensive contributions to science, chiefly in the direction of color, of which branch he is easily one of the first authorities in this country, and also in electricity, as shown by his papers on the "Nature and Duration of Electric Discharges" and the "Nature and Duration of Lightning Discharges." His "Modern Chromatics," published in the International Scientific Series, is probably the best modern work on color written in the English language. In June, 1858, the trustees of Columbia authorized the opening of a postgraduate course in the autumn, and endeavored to secure the services, for "such portions of the next two years as they may be able," of Professor James D. Dana in the department of geology and natural history; of Professor Arnold Guyot in physical geography and kindred subjects; of George P. Marsh in the English language;

of Professor Theodore W. Dwight for the law department; and of such other instructors as the committee might deem proper. As a result of this action Professor Guyot delivered a course of lectures on "Comparative Physical Geography in its Relations to History and Modern Civilization"; Professor William G. Peck upon "Engineering in all its Branches"; and Professor Hackley on "Physical Astronomy." Courses were given by others, but the time was not ripe for this advanced step, and the scheme was relinquished after a year's trial.

Astronomy has never been developed in this city with the same results as elsewhere. This is largely due to the fact that as yet we have no large observatory in the metropolis. Still there have been assiduous workers in that science, and some brilliant achievements have been made. We have previously mentioned the work in astronomical physics by the elder Draper, and also that in celestial photography by his son Henry. Among the early workers in spectroscopic investigations was Lewis Morris Rutherfurd, who in 1849 relinquished the practice of law, in which he had been associated with Peter A. Jay and Hamilton Fish, to devote his leisure to science. In his garden on Eleventh street and Second Avenue he built a small but excellent observatory, in which he arranged a transit instrument, clock, and equatorial telescope. Stellar spectra were the objects of his study, and his paper, published in the "American Journal of Science" in 1863, on the spectra of stars, moon, and planets, was the first published work on that subject. It included also the first attempt to classify the stars according to their spectra. In the course of his work he photographed the moon, and the negative taken on the night of March 6, 1865, was the finest ever made up to that time, and has only been equaled in very recent years. His photographs of the sun were quite as remarkable as those of the moon. Professor John K. Rees, in an admirable résumé of his work recently published, says: "The series taken in 1870 showed beautifully the details of the spots, the faculæ, and the mottled surface of the photosphere, and exhibited clearly the rotation of the sun and the changes in the forms and groupings of the spots." Mr Rutherfurd was exceedingly happy in the various apparatus which he devised. Not only were the different instruments provided with appliances of his own invention, but he contrived and constructed a measuring micrometer for his plates. Another instrument of great value to science was a ruling engine of his own construction. According to Professor Rees, "with this beautiful apparatus he produced superb interference gratings on glass and speculum metal. Some of the ruled plates had 17,000 lines to the inch; they were superior to all others down to the time when Professor Rowland (of the Johns Hopkins University) perfected his machine." In 1858 Mr. Rutherfurd became a trustee of Columbia College, and in 1881 took a leading part in the for-

mation of a department of geodesy and practical astronomy, to the charge of which Professor John K. Rees was called. Later, in 1883, he gave to that department his valuable apparatus, and in 1890 added his negatives of the sun, moon, and star groups, numbering nearly fifteen hundred, with many volumes of measures. The reduction of the measures was placed by Professor Rees in the charge of Harold Jacoby of the College Observatory, and there has been published so far "The Rutherfurd Photographic Measures of the Group of the Pleiades," a copy of which was placed in Mr. Rutherfurd's hands while on his death-bed, in the spring of 1892. He was aged seventy-six.



THE RUTHERFURD TELESCOPE

Subsequent to the advent of Professor Joy to Columbia, in 1857, came the rapid development of the study of chemistry, and especially of chemistry in its application to the arts. Professor Joy had the advantage of early study in the laboratory of Charles T. Jackson, in Boston, where the anesthetic properties of ether were first discovered; and then he pursued a course in chemistry at Göttingen, under the learned Woehler, whose discovery of the metal aluminum has made his name almost a household word. With the prestige of this education and with fine social qualities, he was well equipped to advance the cause of science. For exactly twenty years he continued in the chair to which he was chosen, and then, owing to the results of a severe illness, he was retired; but in the interim he accomplished much. With a view of giving a complete professional education in chemistry to such as might desire, he organized in connection with his department a school of chemistry, where, according to the prospectus issued early in the decade beginning with 1860, it is stated that the laboratory "is furnished with the best modern appliances for

acquiring a thorough knowledge of chemistry and the applications of this science to agriculture and the arts." Among the first list of students occurs the name of William Jay Youmans, now editor of the "Popular Science Monthly," a scientific journal which began publication with its issue for May, 1872. The success of this effort had much to do with the subsequent action taken by the board of trustees of Columbia in founding the great scientific school of New-York.

In March, 1863, Thomas Egleston, Jr., a recent graduate of the École des Mines of Paris, prepared a "plan for a school of mines and metallurgy in New-York city," in which he succeeded in interesting the trustees of Columbia, so that they consented to establish such a branch of the college on condition of its not being a burden upon the funds of the college. In the preliminary prospectus issued it was stated that "the necessity that exists for more fully developing all the material resources of the country has led the trustees of Columbia College to take measures for establishing a school of applied science" also, "as a first step in this direction the trustees are organizing a school of mines and metallurgy." According to this original scheme "the course of the school is to cover three years, and to include analytical chemistry, mineralogy, metallurgy, lithology and the formation of metallic veins, geology, paleontology, machines, mining, mining legislation, etc. The method of instruction will be by lectures and by practical training in analysis and in the inspection and study of mines in actual operation." In January, 1864, Mr. Egleston was made professor of mineralogy and metallurgy, and soon followed the appointment of General Francis L. Vinton, likewise a graduate of the École des Mines of Paris, as professor of mining engineering, while later in the year Professor Charles F. Chandler, who had been Professor Joy's assistant at Union, was made professor of chemistry With these three men as its first faculty, the School of Mines of Columbia began its work on November 15, 1864. A circular issued after its opening stated that "it was thought that the success of the school would be assured if twelve students presented themselves during the first year. Nearly fifty are now in attendance, and display the utmost assiduity, intelligence, and interest in their work."

Meanwhile, in 1864, Dr. Frederick A. P. Barnard had been called to the presidency of the college, and to him much credit is due for his faith in the newly inaugurated school. In Professor Van Amringe's "Historical Sketch of Columbia College," he says of that fact: "It was chiefly his enlightened spirit, foresight, judgment, and devotion that established it upon a firm basis, carried it through the most critical period of its existence, and finally expanded and developed it until, in the thoroughness and scope of its teaching, it is believed to be unsurpassed by any professional school in this country or

abroad." At the outset the question of ways and means soon became a very embarrassing one. Expected endowments were not obtained, and the school suffered for want of apparatus, chemicals, and other necessary appliances. In this emergency several gentlemen—among whom George T. Strong, Dr. John Torrey, and William E. Dodge, Jr., were the most prominent—contributed three thousand dollars to equip the small laboratory, and thus to permit the opening of the school. The professors themselves were unpaid, except so far as they might derive compensation from the fees of the students. Professors Joy, Peck, Van Amringe, and Rood of the academic department lent their aid to make the course of instruction complete. Rooms in the basement of the college were assigned for the laboratory, and there the instruction began as stated above. During the second year appropriations were made for this school in the same manner as for other departments of Columbia, and salaries were assigned to the professors. At this time the faculty was further strengthened by the addition of Dr. John S. Newberry, who, on the completion of his labors as secretary of the Western Division of the United States Sanitary Commission, was called to fill the important chair of geology. Later, various buildings were erected, and in 1874 a laboratory building was put up at a cost of $150,000. It would carry us to great lengths to continue the history of the development of this famous school of science, but in the report of the dean for the academic year ending June 30, 1892, it is stated that three hundred and fifty-one students were in attendance on the exercises of the school, most of whom were pursuing one of the following courses: mining engineering, civil engineering, metallurgy, geology, and paleontology, analytical and applied chemistry, architectural or sanitary engineering. The different studies are included in the following departments: mathematics; mechanics; physics; chemistry, including assaying, analytical chemistry, organic chemistry, qualitative analysis, quantitative analysis, and chemical philosophy; biology and hygiene; botany; mineralogy and metallurgy; geology and paleontology; astronomy; engineering, including mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, civil engineering, mathematical physics, and drawing; mining; and architecture.

From the growth of science in connection with individuals, we have passed by gradual steps to the development of institutions, and the present intimate connection of the Lyceum of Natural History with Columbia College must be briefly traced. Subsequent to the sale of the Lyceum building its members gathered for a time at 104 Franklin street, at the home of its president, Major Joseph Delafield, who, from 1827 till 1837, and again from 1839 till 1865, was its chief executive. For six years, during 1845–51, its meetings were held in Stuyvesant Institute, 659 Broadway, opposite Bond street. Thence it moved to

the University Medical College, where meetings were held for fifteen years. Thus far in the history of the Lyceum no mention has been made of the valuable collections of specimens that it had accumulated These unfortunately passed away in the fire on the night of May 21 1866, when the University Medical College was destroyed. Previous to that date "it was the principal collection in the city, and did a noble work." By a fortunate circumstance the library of the Lyceum was in Clinton Hall, on the shelves of the Mercantile Library Association After various removals from place to place, including a seven years stay in the American Museum of Natural History, it has since 1886 found a permanent resting-place in the library building of Columbia College, where, on the fourth story, it occupies a large long room, well lighted at both ends, and provided with electric illumination on dark days. This final home of the library was the result of an offer by the trustees of Columbia College to care for it under the following conditions—namely, "absolute and continued ownership by the academy, free use of the books by both parties, and the contract to be terminated at the will of either party; and in addition to relieve the academy of all expenses for care and binding." At present it includes more than eight thousand titles, and is especially rich in sets of the publications of foreign societies.

During 1866–7 the Lyceum met in the rooms of the American Geographical Society, under the presidency of Professor Joy. It then moved to Mott Memorial Hall, at 67 Madison Avenue. Here it remained for eleven years. Mention has been made of the call of Dr Newberry to Columbia College. This distinguished scientist was then in the strength of his full maturity. Of great executive ability and remarkable attainments, he was, during the quarter of a century that followed, perhaps the foremost man of science in New-York city. He became president of the Lyceum, and continued to hold that office until his death in 1892. It was largely through his influence that, in 1876, a new charter was obtained granting the Lyceum of Natural History the larger and more comprehensive title of the New-York Academy of Sciences, and also by his efforts that its regular meetings since 1883 have been held in Hamilton Hall. Meanwhile, however science has continued to develop in the smaller institutions. At the University of the City of New-York, besides the Drapers, father and sons, of whom mention has already been made, Leonard D. Gale during 1834–38, was professor of geology and mineralogy. He was among the few to whom Professor Morse confided the secret of his experiments in telegraphy by means of electricity. In 1838 the Rev Charles Brooks was called to the chair of Natural History in this institution, and for some years held this professorship. He was the author of several works on ornithology. John J. Stevenson has,

since 1871, been professor of geology and biology; and the chair of Chemistry has been held successively, since the death of Henry Draper, by Albert H. Gallatin, Robert Hall, and Morris Loeb. The College of the City of New-York, established in 1848, has numbered among its teachers of science Wolcott Gibbs, now the most distinguished American chemist living, who for many years was the professor of physics and chemistry, but subsequently was called to the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard University. Dr. Gibbs was a prominent member of the United States Sanitary Commission, and at his residence the Union League Club was organized in 1863. His successor

CHEMICAL LABORATORY OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW-YORK

was the genial Robert Ogden Doremus, who still fills the chair. With the progress of science in this city Professor Doremus has had much to do. He studied with the elder Draper, whose assistant he became, and aided him in his researches in light and heat. In 1849 he was chosen professor of chemistry in the New-York College of Pharmacy, and in 1850 was one of the founders of the New-York Medical College. A year later he was called to the chair of Natural History in the College of the City of New-York, then known as the Free Academy, which place he retained until called to his present appointment. For his researches in explosives and toxicology he is justly famous. In

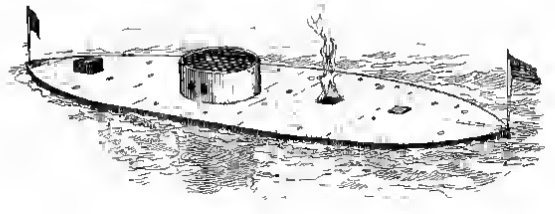
the department of natural history Professor Doremus was succeeded by John C. Draper, who continued as its head professor until his death, when Dr. William Stratford was chosen to the vacancy. In the early history of the college John T. Nichols was for a short time professor of natural philosophy. He was an excellent teacher, and on his death the instruction in his department was transferred to the professor of chemistry.

In 1829 the College of Pharmacy was organized. Two years later it was incorporated and its charter permanently extended in 1856. For many years it struggled with adverse circumstances, but it is now one of the first schools of its kind in the United States. Its teaching is purely scientific, and embraces theoretical, pharmaceutical, and analytical chemistry, including toxicology, theoretical and practical pharmacy and botany, materia medica, and pharmacognosy. Excellent laboratory instruction is given in different branches of analytical chemistry, including the testing of drugs for their identity and purity, especially those mentioned in the United States Pharmacopœia. The college has a fine building on Twenty-third street, near Third Avenue, and has in course of construction a new building, erected for its special wants, on the West Side. It possesses valuable museums and apparatus, and the largest pharmaceutical library in America. It is but natural that with the excellent opportunities afforded to our druggists, who by law are compelled to be educated men, that we should find among them quite a number of studious scientists, not a few of whom were educated at the New-York College of Pharmacy.

We pass to a brief notice of the Night School of Science, forming a part of Cooper Union. This magnificent gift to our city by Peter Cooper has received adequate attention elsewhere in this volume, but in the original deed executed in 1859 Mr. Cooper distinctly indicated his desire of its objects in the statement that forever it was to be devoted "to the instruction and improvement of the inhabitants of the United States in practical science and art." In science this has been accomplished by the maintenance at night of schools in mathematics, drawing, mechanics, chemistry, geology, and other branches of physical science useful and necessary for young men and young women engaged in mechanical, artistic, and manufacturing pursuits. The regular course now in operation requires five years for its completion, and to those who have successfully passed through it the Cooper medal and diploma and degree of Bachelor of Science are given. The scientific department is under the directorship of Professor George W. Plimpton, of Brooklyn, who himself gives the special instruction in physics, astronomy, and applied mechanics, while chemistry, geology, electrical measurement, mathematics, and mechanical drawing are included among the studies required for graduation.

In applied science New-York has shown considerable development, and for this growth reference is necessary to the American Institute, which was chartered in 1829. Its objects were then stated to be the encouragement and promotion of domestic industry. Among its earliest officers were William Few, John Mason, Curtis Bolton, Peter H. Schenck, Enos Baldwin, Anson Hayden, John B. Yates, and John A. Slidell. By means of its annual fairs inventors and manufacturers were afforded an opportunity of exhibiting their various productions. The first of these was held in Masonic Hall, on Broadway and Pearl street, nearly opposite where the New-York Hospital was then situated, and there, from 1828 till 1834, the exhibitions were held. For its seventh fair Niblo's Garden was chosen, and notwithstanding the fact that it was "deemed by many too far out of town," it continued to be used for the autumnal exhibitions until its destruction by fire in 1846. Then, until 1853, Castle Garden, a fashionable resort of the citizens, was used, after which the Crystal Palace, on Bryant Square, served the Institute till it was burned down in 1858. Palace Garden, on Fourteenth street, near Sixth Avenue, was used for a few years, and also the Academy of Music; but subsequent to 1869 the building on Third Avenue, between Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth streets, has served for the annual exhibitions. Besides William Few, the following gentlemen have held the office of president: Robert L. Pell, James Renwick, General William Hall, Horace Greeley, William B. Ogden, Frederick A. P. Barnard, Orestes Cleveland, Nathan C. Ely, Cyrus H. Loutrel, Henry Rutter, and J. Trumbull Smith. Among the exhibits may be mentioned Morse's telegraph, for which a large quantity of wire was run around Niblo's Garden to show its operations. The revolving firearms of Samuel Colt were first shown to the world at its exhibitions, while later the corrugated metallic life-boats and life-saving appliances of Joseph Francis were exhibited. The lightning printing-press of Richard M. Hoe, the submarine torpedo (to be fired by electricity) of Samuel Colt, and many other inventions were first shown at the American Institute fairs. During the years 1868–72 it gave courses of scientific lectures by eminent specialists. It has a valuable scientific library, and holds regular scientific meetings at which papers are presented for discussion. Its meetings are divided among four sections, as follows: the Farmer's Club, under the direction of the committee on agriculture; the Polytechnic Section, under the direction of the committee on manufactures and machinery; the Photographic Section, under the direction of the committee on chemistry and optics; and the Electrical Section, under the direction of the committee on electricity. Among the various works of the American Institute, it deserves special credit for its course which resulted in the passage of the act by the State legislature authorizing the publication of the "Natural History of the State of New-York."

It is interesting to observe that in his presidential address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1890, Sir Frederick A. Abel, in that portion devoted to the advances made in explosives, paid special credit to the researches of Professor Doremus, and characterized the Castner process for the melting of aluminum and sodium as constituting "one of the most interesting of recent illustrations of the progress made in technical chemistry, consequent upon the happy blending of chemical with mechanical science, through the labors of the chemical engineers." Hamilton Y. Castner was a student at the School of Mines, and made in this city one of the first discoveries that has since led to the cheapened processes for the manufacture of aluminum. This very brief mention of applied science must suffice. Fascinating as it would be to describe the transformation of a rocky wilderness into one of the most famous urban parks in the world, shown in the skilful treatment of Central Park under the scientific direction of Egbert L. Vielé, followed by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux; or to tell the story of the building of a "cheese-box on a raft," as the Confederate authorities termed the offspring of Captain John Ericsson's[1] brain until the Merrimac retreated in Hampden Roads before the invincible Monitor; or to trace the growth of electricity from a condition of unchained lightning to that of domestic illumination, as has been wrought by the genius of Thomas A. Edison[2]—works all of which,



ERICSSON'S MONITOR.

[1] A monument has been erected on the Battery to the memory of Ericsson, who lived for half a century in New-York, where he died March 8, 1889. EDITOR.

[2] Thomas A. Edison was born in Alva, Ohio, February 11, 1847, and became, at the age of twelve, a newsboy on the Grand Trunk Line running into Detroit. He soon developed studious habits, and began making chemical experiments while on the trains. Obtaining the sole right of vending newspapers on the road, he with four assistants set in type, printed, and sold the "Grand Trunk Herald" with his other papers. He became interested in the operations of the telegraph, and applying himself to its study, rose to a high rank as an operator. He invented an automatic repeater, capable of transferring messages from one wire to another without the aid of an operator, and in 1864 conceived the idea of the duplex telegraph, which he perfected in 1872. Settling in New York, in 1871, he accepted the superintendency of the Gold and Stock Company, inventing the printing telegraph for gold and stock quotations. For manufacturing these appliances he opened a large workshop in Newark, removing in 1876 to Menlo Park, N. J., and devoting himself entirely to inventing. In addition to the duplex telegraph, which he developed into quadruplex and sextuplex transmission, he invented the carbon telephone transmitter, used throughout the world; the microtasimeter, for detecting minute variations in temperature; the aerophone, for amplifying sound; the megaphone, which, when inserted in the ear, so magnifies sound that a whisper can be heard at a distance of one thousand feet; and the phonograph. Turning his attention to electric lighting, he invented and perfected the incandescent lamp; and solved the problem of the commercial subdivision of the electric light in a system of general distribution of electricity in the same manner as gas. His system is now in general use, and in 1882 Mr. Edison came to New-York to supervise its establishment in this city. EDITOR.

together with many others, abundantly testify to the ability of the scientific men who have lived in New-York city—yet we cannot, for space is wanting.

Besides the members of the American Institute, New-York has many earnest devotees of science who are prominent in such organizations as the American Chemical Society, the American Ethnological Society, the American Geographical Society, the American Microscopical Society of New-York City, the American Numismatic and Archæological Society, New-York Genealogical and Biographical Society, New-York Historical Society, the Huguenot Society, and the New-York Public Health Association.

Thomas A Edison

With the organization, in the autumn of 1891, of the Scientific Alliance, this chapter naturally closes. The Alliance is a federation, as it were, of the New-York Academy of Sciences, chartered April 20, 1818; the Torrey Botanical Club, incorporated April 21, 1871; the New-York Microscopical Society, incorporated in 1877; the Linnean Society of New-York, organized March 7, 1878; the New-York Mineralogical Club, organized in 1887; and the New-York Mathematical Society, organized November 24, 1888. Each of these societies retains its own organization and management, but belongs to the Alliance, so that the members of each society are invited to attend the meetings of all; the times and places are so arranged as to avoid conflict and inconvenience so far as is practicable; and the economy, efficiency, and extent of advertising are secured in a high degree by the issue of joint bulletins by the Alliance. Subsequently the New-York Section of the American Chemical Society, originally organized April 6, 1876, joined the Alliance, so that at present its total membership is nearly seven hundred. During the present year (1893) the question of removing the old City Hall has been largely agitated, and the Municipal Building Commission has been requested, in case that is accomplished, to set apart rooms for the permanent occupation of the different scientific societies, many of which have large libraries and valuable collections.

CHAPTER XVI

HOSPITALS AND OTHER CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS, ETC.

ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL

ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL represents the earliest effort of the Episcopal Church to provide a general hospital for the sick poor, without distinction of race or creed. The thought was conceived by Rev. Dr. William Augustus Muhlenberg, while rector of the Church of the Holy Communion, and was first expressed in an address to his own congregation, on St. Luke's Day, 1846, in which he named his ideal hospital St. Luke's, for "the beloved physician," and devoted one half the offertory—the sum of fifteen dollars—toward its erection. The spirit of the man is shown by his reply to a question asked of him that day: "Doctor, when do you expect your hospital to be built?" "Never! unless I begin." An "Appeal for a Church Hospital" soon after was made in other parishes. The doctor's enthusiasm and the evident need of the city kindled the flame of charity in other hearts, and Dr. Muhlenberg was soon surrounded by a noble band of fellow-workers. On All Saints' Day, 1845, the first "sister" of the Anglican Church had been received as "Sister of the Holy Communion," who consecrated her life to the work. Such men as Robert B. Minturn and Murray Hoffman offered their money and their talent in forwarding the project.

In 1850 the hospital was incorporated. While searching for a site the managers learned of the earnest but unsuccessful effort of the Rev. Moses Marcus, of the Free Anglo-American Church of St. George the Martyr, to establish a hospital for British emigrants. A small sum of money had been collected, and, supported by a claim of Trinity Church against the city, a lien on certain land had been secured on condition that the hospital should be erected within a definite term of years. This term was about to expire when, by an arrangement satisfactory to all concerned, the effort to establish St. George's Hospital was merged in the movement which founded St. Luke's, the corner-stone of which was laid by Bishop Wainwright, May 6, 1854.

On Ascension Day, 1857, the hospital chapel was opened with appropriate services; the sermon on the occasion was preached by the

Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooke, rector of St. Bartholomew's Church. Divine service was held regularly each Lord's Day, while the wards were being made ready for occupancy. The hospital work was really begun in 1853, by the Sisters of the Holy Communion, in a rear tenement near the church, from whence it was transferred to an infirmary adjoining the sisters' house. In these quarters over two hundred patients were treated before the hospital building was completed. On May 11, 1858, three sisters and nine patients moved into their new quarters. During the summer of 1859, the institution became the abode of the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, and until his death, April 8, 1877, he resided there, and, as pastor and superintendent, gave impetus and direction to the administration of the hospital. He had clear convictions and a strength of will which impressed themselves as permanent and living principles upon the institution. He believed that the hospital in all its departments should practically manifest to the patients the Christian charity which was appealed to for its support. He was radically opposed to institutionalism, which subordinates charity to the patient either to the experiments of science or to the assumptions of officialism. His patients were to be treated as "guests of the church," having souls to be saved from sin as well as bodies to be cured of disease. He adopted as the motto of the hospital, which he impressed upon its corporate

THE NEW ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL.

seal, the words, *Corpus sanare; Animam salvare* (to cure the body: to save the soul). In carrying out these principles, he believed that power should be commensurate with responsibility. His convictions, toward the end of his life, were embodied in a code of household law which, amplified by subsequent experience, has always guided its ad-

was established July 5, 1880. In the second ten years the number of patients treated was 19,649. The dispensary building, erected on the corner of Madison Aveuue and Seventieth street, for the establishment of an outdoor department, was opened for patients June 1, 1888. The hospital pavilion was destroyed by fire on December 19, 1889, all the patients heing removed, so that no lives were lost hy reasou of the catastrophe. The managers immediately decided to rehuild on an enlarged scale, so as to utilize the entire amount of ground at their disposal. The hospital as thus reorganized was opened for patients in January, 1891. The number of patients treated from Octoher 1, 1892, to January 15, 1893, was 1018, making a total of 26,172 patients treated in the wards by the hospital; hesides which there have heen treated through the ambulance 11,140, and through the dispensary 106,237; making a grand total on Jauuary 15, 1893, of 143,549 patients of all classes. The officers have been as follows: Presidents, James Lenox, 1868 to 1880; Rohert L. Stuart, 1880 to 1882; George W. Lane, 1882 to 1883; John S. Kennedy, 1883 to the present time. Vice-presidents—John C. Green, 1868 to 1876; Robert L. Stuart, 1876 to 1880; Edwin D. Morgan, 1880 to 1883; John S. Kennedy, 1883; Heher R. Bishop, 1883 to the present time. Treasurers—Aaron B. Belknap, 1878 to 1880; Rohert Lenox Belknap, 1880 to 1892; Elhert A. Brinckerhoff, 1892 to the present time. Corresponding secretaries—Rohert M. Hartley, 1868 to 1875; Otis D. Swan, 1875 to 1876; Walter Edwards, Jr., 1876 to 1884; Algernon S. Sullivan, 1884 to 1888; Elbert B. Monroe, 1888 to 1890; George E. Dodge, 1890 to the present time. Recording secretaries—Henry M. Taher, 1878 to 1884; Walter Edwards, 1884 to the present time.

THE ROOSEVELT HOSPITAL

This institution was erected in accordance with the terms of the will of James H. Roosevelt, who died in 1863. He bequeathed his entire estate for "the estahlishment, in the city of New-York, of a hospital for the reception and relief of sick and diseased persons, and for its permanent endowment." A sum aggregating over a million of dollars was realized from the estate, aud the trustees proceeded to carry out the testator's wishes. The pavilion plan was adopted in preference to others; the corner-stone was laid October 29, 1869, and the hospital was opened for the reception of patients on Novemher 2, 1871. The whole block of ground situated between Fifty-eighth and Fifty-ninth streets and Ninth and Tenth avenues is devoted to the uses of this institution; and its location, although near the North

River, is comparatively central owing to its accessibility by means of the elevated and surface railroads which pass its entrance.

The disposition of the various buildings thus far erected is as follows: the administration building on Fifty-ninth street, in the middle of the block, is a four-story brick structure in which, on the first floor, are the offices, examining-room, apothecary's department, etc.; the private apartments of the superintendent, a medical board-room, a trustees' reception-room, and a surgical operating-room are on the second floor; while on the third are several rooms for private patients, and on the fourth floor two surgical wards for women and children respectively. The medical pavilion, which is also a four-story edifice, is on Fifty-ninth street, east of the administration building, and contains wards for patients on the different floors, and also the living-apartments of the house staff and nurses. Adjoining this structure is erected the surgical pavilion, with accommodations for thirty-six male patients, as well as the house staff and nurses. The Syms Operating Theater is on the corner of Fifty-ninth street and Ninth Avenue, close to the station of the elevated railway, and was built from a fund of $350,000, left for that purpose and for its maintenance by William J. Syms. This structure is of brick, trimmed with granite; the floors are laid in tiling, and portions of the wainscoting are done in marble. The center of the building is devoted to the amphitheater, which is of semicircular shape, with seats arranged to command an unobstructed view of the operating-table. There are also reception-rooms for patients, an examining-room, a special operating-room, and rooms for photographing, etherizing, preparing bandages, etc., while on the two upper floors are rooms for the use of patients after undergoing operations, and rooms for the nurses and assistants.

THE ROOSEVELT HOSPITAL

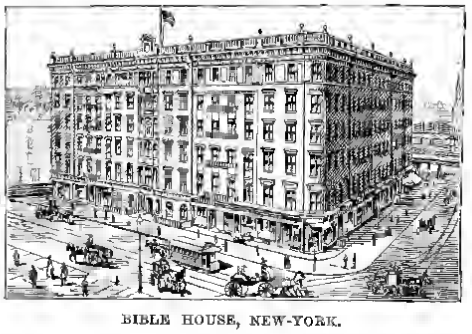
An additional building, presented by Dr. James W. McLane, in memory of his son and namesake, is known as the McLane Operating Room. It was opened in 1890, and is devoted to the department of gynecology. On Fifty-eighth street is a building containing the kitchen, store-rooms, laundry, linen-room, and sleeping- and dining-rooms for the assistants, and in the basement are located all the heating and ventilating apparatus. Near Tenth Avenue, on Fifty-

ninth street, is the out-patient department, where, in 1891, over 90,000 patients were cared for without interfering with the hospital's ward accommodations, where there are beds for one hundred and eighty patients. Dr. William H. Draper is the President of Roosevelt Hospital.

AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY

THE American Bible Society was founded in the city of New-York, in the month of May, 1816, by a convention of sixty members, who were appointed by various local Bible societies then existing, which had become deeply impressed with the importance of organizing a central national institution. These sixty delegates were among the most prominent men of their time, and not a few of them were the recognized leaders of the thought and effort of the principal branches of the Christian Church with which they were respectively identified. The committee to frame the constitution consisted of the Rev. Dr. Eliphalet Nott, Dr. John M. Mason, Dr. Lyman Beecher, Dr. John H. Rice, Dr. Jedediah Morse, Dr. James Blythe, the Rev. Simon Wilmer, the Rev. David Jones, the Hon. Samuel Bayard, the Hon. William Jay, and Charles Wright. These gentlemen, residents of six different States of the Union, in due time presented their report, which, after full discussion, was adopted with entire unanimity.

The sole object of the society, as stated in its constitution, is "to encourage a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment." The constitution also declares that the society will not only coöperate with other organizations in circulating the Scriptures throughout the United States and their territories, but that it will, "according to its ability, extend its influence to other countries, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or Pagan." These declarations of the original constitution of the society have never been changed, and for seventy-six years this beneficent work, inaugurated under such promising auspices, has been sustained by successive generations of devout and generous lovers of the Holy Scriptures, until the aggregate number of volumes issued, in many languages and dialects, exceeds fifty-five millions. If we glance at its work in the



BIBLE HOUSE, NEW-YORK.

United States, we find that, early in its history, the society began to translate the Scriptures into the languages of the North American Indians. It has published the entire Bible in the Dakota, the New Testament in Cherokee, Choctaw, Ojibwa, and Muskokee, and portions of the Bible in the Mohawk and the Seneca.

During the Civil War, the society furnished hundreds of thousands of volumes to the soldiers of both the Union and the Confederate armies. It has expended large sums in placing the Scriptures in the hands of immigrants from various lands, as they reach our shores. Through its auxiliaries and colporteurs it has four times made a general canvass of the United States, visiting from house to house, and supplying all who, being found destitute, were willing to receive the Scriptures, either with or without price.

In foreign lands the society conducts its work in full and friendly cooperation with the missionary societies of various Christian denominations. Among the new translations of the Scriptures prepared by the society, the most important are those into the Arabic and Turkish languages, which, it is stated, may be read, the former by one hundred and twenty millions of people, and the latter by thirty millions. It has made large expenditures in preparing the Scriptures for the Japanese, the Chinese, the Bulgarians, the Zulus, and many others of the eastern hemisphere; while the Sandwich Islands, the Gilbert Islands, and various other islands of the Pacific Ocean, have received the Scriptures in their respective languages from the presses of the society. In Mexico and South America, also, its work has been extensive for many years, and is still expanding.

The prosecution of a work so vast has called for liberal gifts from the friends of the Bible in all parts of the land, and upon these friends the society is still dependent. It is a gratifying fact that it has always held a warm place in the hearts of leading citizens of the metropolis. Many have given to its work wise counsels and self-sacrificing labors for successive years, and many have expressed their interest in its beneficent designs by generous legacies. Perhaps, however, the most impressive proof of the high regard in which the society is held by its friends residing in the city of New-York, is found in their bestowment of special contributions for the erection of the Bible House on Astor Place, which has for forty years been the center of its operations. Here are its presses, which print eight copies of the Scriptures every minute of every working day of the year; here its depository, from which the Word of Life is sent to all portions of the globe; here its valuable library of more than forty-seven hundred volumes, containing, among other valuable books, editions of the Holy Scriptures in more than one hundred and fifty languages and dialects. The board of managers of the society consists of thirty-six laymen, one

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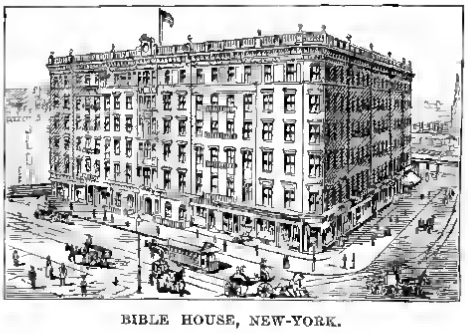

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fourth of whom retire from office each year, but are reëligible. The number of elected managers since the society was organized is two hundred and twenty-eight. Of many other matters the limits of this sketch will forbid mention, but we may not omit, in concluding, to state that the following persons have held the office of president of the society since its organization: the Hon. Elias Boudinot, Hon. John Jay, Hon. Richard Varick, Hon. John Cotton Smith, Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, Hon. Luther Bradock, James Lenox, William H. Allen, LL. D., S. Wells Williams, LL. D., Hon. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, and Hon. Enoch L. Fancher, LL. D. Portraits of the first seven of these distinguished men, and of President Williams and John Pintard, adorn the walls of the manager's room in the Bible House, as well as other portraits of honored officers of the society.

THE COOPER UNION

THE Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, for the free education of the people, is situated at the junction of Third and Fourth Avenues, and extends from Seventh to Eighth streets. It was founded by Peter Cooper, and incorporated and built by him in 1857. The six original trustees, to whom by the charter and trust deed were committed the operation and management of the institution, were Peter Cooper, Edward Cooper, Wilson G. Hunt, Abram S. Hewitt, John E. Parsons, and Daniel F. Tiemann. Peter Cooper died on April 4, 1883, and Wilson G. Hunt on December 7, 1892. The Cooper Union building is of brownstone, plain and massive in appearance, rhomboidal in shape, and seven stories high. The original cost of the building was $630,000, but since then more than $400,000 have been spent for additions and improvements. It has an endowment fund of $300,000. The expenses of maintaining the institution are about $50,000 a year, which is derived chiefly from the rents of stores and offices in the building, and the income from the endowment fund. Its object is to afford free education in science and art to persons of both sexes. In addition to this, there is a library containing about forty thousand volumes, consisting of works of reference, scientific works, books on industrial and mechanical arts, history and general literature. There are on file over five hundred newspapers and magazines, foreign and domestic. The daily average attendance is about fifteen hundred persons. It is open on week-days from 8 A. M. to 10 P. M., and on Sundays, from October to May, from 12 M. to 9 P. M.

One of the great features of the library is a complete set of both the old and new reports of the Patent Office, which are consulted yearly

by a large number of persons. Each volume has been carefully indexed, making the collection invaluable for reference. The evening schools of science and art are attended by nearly two thousand students annually, mostly from the various trades and occupations of the city. None are admitted under the age of fifteen, or who are not acquainted with the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Women are admitted to the lectures and to the scientific classes, but not to the evening art-classes, with the exception of perspective and architectural drawing, as a special art-school is provided for women in the day. The instruction in the scientific department embraces a very full and thorough course of mathematics, including algebra, geometry, trigonometry, analytical and descriptive geometry, differential and integral calculus, applied mechanics, natural philosophy, elementary and analytical chemistry, astronomy, geology, and electrical measurements. To those who have finished the regular five years' course, the Cooper medal and the degree of bachelor of science are granted. The degrees of civil engineer and mechanical engineer are granted to graduates of the institution upon receipt of a certificate from an examining board that the degree is merited. Instruction is also given in elocution, in oratory, and in debating. There is a class for women in telegraphy, and also one in stenography and type-writing. The woman's art-school gives gratuitous instruction to about four hundred persons yearly. The course of instruction embraces oil-painting in still life and portraits, drawing from life, antique and elementary casts, photo-crayon, photo-color, retouching of negatives, pen-and-ink illustration, normal drawing and designing. The basement of the Union is occupied by a large hall, in which have taken place nearly all the great and famous political meetings held in New-York since the year 1860, lending a national historic importance to it. Every Saturday evening during the winter months, free lectures are given in this hall by prominent lecturers on travels, physical, domestic, political, social, and applied sciences, art, geography, literature, etc.

The fundamental basis of the Cooper Union is laid down in the following principles: First, that the details of the institution in all the departments should be arranged with especial reference to the intellectual wants and improvement of the working-classes; and, second, that as far as might be consistent with the first principle, all interference with the plan or objects of other existing institutions in this city should be avoided. Since its foundation it has demonstrated on a large scale the great uses of practical schools of science and art, by transferring the lives of thousands of young men and women from the unproductive or servile employments to which they would inevitably have fallen, to the higher plane of skilled artisans and original designers, or teachers in the workshops and schools of the country.

As engineers, architects, huilders, foremen of machine-shops, teachers of engraving, painting, drawing, designers for large firms, illustrators for periodicals, and even as professors in the higher departments of science, it can point to its pupils all over this country. They return the cost of their gratuitous education a thousandfold to the country, in the superior direction they give to its productive energies, and in the moral toue they diffuse among the people.

IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE POOR

THE New-York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor is a charitable society, duly incorporated, and exercising its functions the year round. It is supported hy voluntary contributions, and is devoted to the interest of the working-classes and the laboring poor. The headquarters of the society are in the United Charities Building, 105 East Twenty-second street, New-York city. The association was formally incorporated in December, 1848, under "An Act for the Incorporation of Benevolent, Charitable, Scientific and Missionary Societies," chapter 319 of the laws of New-York, passed April 12, 1848; but the annals show that the society itself came into existence five years previously, viz., in January, 1843. The name and title of the society, as known in the law, is "The New-York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor." The particular husiness and ohjects of the association are the elevation of the physical and moral condition of the indigent, and, so far as is compatihle with these objects, the relief of their necessities. It is entirely non-sectarian. It knows no race, religion, or nationality. It maintains a Harlem hranch, and covers the entire city from the Battery to Two Hundred and Twenty-second street.

Puhlic baths are conducted during every day of the year at the People's Bath-house, 9 Centre Market Place, at five cents each. The numher of last year's hathers was 80,135. A People's Seaside Home is maintained at West Coney Island, where ocean parties, composed of mothers and children of worthy working people, are provided with fresh-air excursions, surf bathing, and substantial meals, free of cost, and where a term of rest and recreation is given to poor women and children. Number of last year's heneficiaries, 21,446. A Children's Convalescent Home, for the care and treatment of ailing, crippled, and convalescent children, is supported throughout the year at Chapel Hill, Atlantic Highlands. The membership fees of the association are as follows: life membership, $250; patron, per annum, $25; annual membership, $10 per aunum. The hoard of managers consists of

thirty members, chosen annually by ballot, and the officers consist of a president, five vice-presidents, one treasurer, one secretary, one counsel for the association, and one general agent, also elected annually. The work of the association is divided into departments, each department represented by a proper head. They all administer to the primal needs of the struggling poor. The following departments divide the work, namely: first, the department of finance; second, the department of temporary relief; third, the department of dwellings; fourth, the department of food supply; fifth, the department of schools and institutions; sixth, the department of hygiene. Each department is controlled by a committee of five members. At the head of the first department is the president of the board, and at the head of each of the others one of the five vice-presidents. A few explanatory remarks are necessary to be made with reference to each of these divisions.

First. The Department of Finance. To this department is intrusted the collection and management of all the funds of the association.

Second. The Department of Temporary Relief. This department deals with all applications for assistance, from whatever source they come. Its work includes temporary relief to the worthy poor in their dwellings, and the improvement and elevation of their home life, the furnishing of meals and lodgings to the indigent, and the finding and supplying of employment.

Third. The Department of Dwellings. To this department is committed the whole question of supervising the sanitary inspection of tenement-houses, the planning and building of model dwellings, and of promoting the formation of sound cooperative building societies.

Fourth. The Department of Food Supply. This department undertakes, in every practicable way, to spread among the people information in respect to the economic selection, purchase, and preparation of food, and can in its discretion establish cooking-schools and diet-kitchens.

Fifth. The Department of Schools and Institutions. This department gives its attention to the educational needs of children and young people, with special reference to those forms of training which are not provided by the municipal authorities, such as free kindergartens and sewing-schools.

Sixth. The Department of Hygiene. This department specially concerns itself with the bearing of light, air, and water upon the health of the poor. The people's baths and the fresh-air work of the society come under this head.

Attached to the department of temporary relief is a night office and a sewing bureau, the functions of which are as follows: The night office is open on week-days from 5 till 12 P. M., and on Sundays from 6 till 12 P. M. It offers an opportunity for safe reference to persons ac-

costed at night, on the street or at their homes, by alms-seekers who ask money for food and shelter. It is controlled by a competent officer, who investigates the circumstances of all applicants for relief, and aids those found worthy, by meals, lodgings, and employment. Many unfortunates are thus uplifted and encouraged. The sewing bureau provides instant employment for the women of distressed families when work ceases for the men. It offers a practical form of work to poor women as a self-respecting aid to support.

The number of last year's beneficiaries was 38,227. There were 22,031 visits made in the interest of the poor, 3365 consultation cases disposed of, temporary or permanent work obtained for 1255, 818 friendless applicants relieved, 516 sanitary inspections made, 1000 wood-yard tickets given out, 16,000 yards of material used in the sewing bureau, 5400 cheap garments sold at cost to the poor, 7000 garments made up, and 2000 orders for sewing distributed; besides groceries, coal, shoes, meals, lodgings, and provisions to a large extent given to worthy people, and ninety-three frauds exposed.

The officers of the society for the year 1893 are as follows: President, John Paton; vice-presidents, William R. Huntington, D. D., R. Fulton Cutting, Henry E. Crampton, M. D., James A. Scrymser, William G. Hamilton; treasurer, Warner Van Norden; secretary, George Calder; counsel to the board, John L. Cadwalader; general agent, Francis S. Longworth.

SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS

THE founder and first president of the parent Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in America, was Henry Bergh. In the year 1862, Mr. Bergh was appointed secretary of legation at St. Petersburg, and while there witnessed many acts of cruelty inflicted upon helpless animals by the peasantry of Russia. He interfered on several occasions in behalf of the animals, and but for his official position he would no doubt have been severely dealt with. While in London, on his way back to America, he became acquainted with the Earl of Harrowby, the president of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, who gave him much information on the operations of that society, and greatly interested him in the work of animal protection. On his arrival at home, he set to work to organize a similar society in this country. The proposition was so novel that he met with very little encouragement. He persisted, however, and finally succeeded in interesting many well-known citizens in the work. On February 8, 1866, he delivered a lecture in Clinton Hall, on cruelties to which animals are constantly subjected even in civilized

countries. His lecture was warmly received, and expressions of sympathy and offers of assistance were freely made. The publicity given to the lecture by the press aroused public sentiment, and an act to incorporate the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was passed April 10, 1866, by the legislature of the State of New-York. Among the charter members were the following well-known representative citizens: John T. Hoffman, Henry Grinnell, J. J. Astor, Jr., George Bancroft, Shepard Knapp, James T. Brady, John A. Dix, Marshall O. Roberts, James Brown, Horatio Potter, Thomas H. Taylor, Erastus Brooks, Charles P. Daly, Moses Taylor, George T. Trimble, John D. Wolfe, Henry W. Bellows, Peter Cooper, Francis B. Cutting, William H. Aspinwall, John Van Buren, Hamilton Fish, Daniel Parish, John J. Cisco, A. Oakey Hall, John McCloskey, William C. Bryant, Edward G. Steele, Horace Greeley, Samuel B. Ruggles, James Lenox, August Belmont, Moses H. Grinnell, William H. Webb, James Gallatin, Harper Brothers, James J. Roosevelt, C. V. S. Roosevelt, Alexander Stuart, D. C. Kingsland, James W. Gerard, Joseph P. Beach, George T. Olyphant, Oliver S. Strong, Henry Clews, Archibald Russell, Benjamin R. Winthrop, John A. Kennedy, Daniel Carpenter, George W. Dilks, Charles Addoms, George Griswold, Simeon Draper, Robert L. Stuart, Andrew Warner, Alexander T. Stewart, Daniel Butterfield, A. C. Kingsland, E. A. Washburn, M. S. Beach, John D. Jones, Frank Leslie, William Coventry, H. Waddell, Charles A. Bristed, Thomas C. Acton, William McMurray, James Leonard, Abram D. Russel, Henry Bergh.

A meeting to effect a permanent organization was held on Monday, April 22, 1866, in Clinton Hall, and at that meeting the first society for the protection of animals in this country was organized. The purpose of the association, as set forth in its title, was to provide effective means for the prevention of cruelty to animals throughout the United States, and to enforce all laws which then were or might thereafter be enacted for the protection of animals, and to secure by lawful means the arrest and conviction of all persons found violating such laws. As a matter of fact, there were at that time no laws on the statute-books to prevent and punish cruelty to animals. April 19, 1866, Mr. Bergh succeeded in having the first specific law passed for the protection of animals, in the following language: "Every person who shall by his act or neglect maliciously kill, maim, wound, injure, torture, or cruelly beat any horse, mule, cow, cattle, sheep, or other animal, belonging to himself or another, shall, upon conviction, be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor." This act was amended April 12, 1867, by an "act for the more effectual prevention of cruelty to animals," embodying provisions which were omitted in the previous act. These laws have been from time to time amended, until now there

is hardly a phase of cruelty which the society has not the legal power to prevent. The legal definition of the word "animal" now includes every living creature, except members of the human race, and the word "torture" or "cruelty" includes every act, omission, or neglect whereby unjustifiable physical pain or death is caused or permitted.

The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals is now one of the recognized institutions of the country, and its authority is everywhere respected. The police officers of the society wear a distinctive uniform and patrol the streets by day and by night. They have full power to arrest and prosecute offenders against the laws relating to animals. In addition to the uniformed force, over three hundred special agents, residing in different parts of the State of New-York, and having the same authority as the former, are engaged in enforcing the laws against cruelty. The society has several ambulances for the removal of injured, sick, or otherwise disabled animals; appliances for the rescue of drowning animals, and animals which have fallen into excavations; and a patrol wagon which carries with it the necessary apparatus and medicines for first aid to injured animals that may be found upon the streets. The official organ of the society is "Our Animal Friends," a monthly magazine which has an extensive circulation, and the object of which is to extend the influence of the society and to promote the cause of humanity to all living creatures. Through the influence and example of the parent society, laws for the protection of animals have been enacted in every State of the Union, and kindred organizations have been formed to enforce them. The latter have adopted the device of the parent society.

The officers of the society for 1893 are: President, John P. Haines; vice-presidents, Elbridge T. Gerry, Benjamin D. Hicks, Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix, Frederic Gallatin, William C. Schermerhorn, Alfred Wagstaff, Morris K. Jesup, John Claflin, Parke Godwin; executive committee, Elbridge T. Gerry, Benjamin D. Hicks, Charles Lanier, Anson Phelps Stokes, Joseph H. Choate, Arthur B. Claflin, George G. Haven, Horace Russell, Edward A. Hammond, George G. DeWitt, James Grant Wilson, Frederic R. Coudert, William Waldorf Astor, Frederick W. Vanderbilt, and William Fahnestock. The headquarters of the society for the present are at 10 East Twenty-second street, New-York.

SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN

THE New-York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children came into existence under the following circumstances: In 1874, in a miserable little room on the highest floor of a tenement-house of New-

York city, a dying woman lay in the last stages of consumption. A charitable lady visited her, and inquired what assistance could be afforded. The sufferer replied, "My time is short, but I cannot die in peace while the miserable girl whom they call Mary Ellen is being beaten, day and night, by her stepmother, next door to my room." She then stated that the screams of the child were heard repeatedly, and that it was kept locked up, and that this had been so for months. Prompted by the natural instinct of humanity, the lady first sought the aid of the police, but she was told that it was necessary to furnish evidence before the arrest could be made. "Unless you can prove that an offense has been committed, we cannot interfere, and all you know is hearsay." She next went to several benevolent societies in the city, whose object it was to care for children, and asked their interference in behalf of the child. The reply was, "If the child is legally brought to us, and is a proper subject, we will take it, otherwise we cannot act in the matter." She then consulted several excellent charitable gentlemen as to what she should do. They replied, "It is a dangerous thing to interfere between parent and child, and you might get yourself into trouble if you did so, as parents are proverbially the best guardians of their own children." Finally, in despair, and with the piteous appeals of the dying woman still ringing in her ears, she said, "I will make one more effort to save this child. There is one man in this city who has never turned a deaf ear to the cry of the helpless, and who has spent his life in just this work for the benefit of unoffending animals. I will go to Henry Bergh." She went, and the rescue of little Mary Ellen followed, by officers connected with the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, of which Mr. Bergh was president. The woman, whose name was Connolly, was arrested and sent to the penitentiary, and the child was provided with a home, and is to-day the wife of a well-to-do young farmer in the middle of the State, and the mother of a happy family.

Owing to the public attention which was attracted to this case, complaints of physical suffering inflicted upon children poured in upon Mr. Bergh from every quarter, and he soon found that it interfered materially with the work of his own admirable institution. A meeting of citizens was called by him on the subject, which resulted in the incorporation of the New-York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, under an act passed by the legislature of this State for that purpose in 1875. The names of the incorporators are as follows: John D. Wright, Henry Bergh, Elbridge T. Gerry, Benjamin H. Field, William L. Jenkins, John Howard Wright, Ferdinand de Luca, Sinclair Tousey, William M. Vermilye, Thomas C. Acton, Charles Haight, Adrian Iselin, Jr., Benjamin B. Sherman, Richard R. Haines, James Stokes, William H. Webb, Frederic de Peyster, and Harmon Hen-

dricks. John D. Wright was the first president. Upon his death in 1879, Elbridge T. Gerry was unanimously elected his successor. The work has extended so largely that now, throughout the entire United States, in nearly a hundred cities and towns, and in England, France, Italy, South America, Australia, the West Indies, and Canada, similar societies exist, forming an immense network for the purpose of protecting children in their rights, and preventing their abuse and degradation. The work of the society at its outset is well set forth by the president in its tenth annual report, as follows:

Impecunious parents drove them from their miserable homes at all hours of the day and night to beg and steal. They were trained as acrobats at the risk of life and limb, and beaten cruelly if they failed. They were sent at night to procure liquor for parents too drunk to venture themselves into the streets. They were drilled in juvenile operas and song-and-dance variety business until their voices were cracked, their growth stunted, and their health permanently ruined by exposure and want of rest. Numbers of young Italians were imported by *padroni* under promises of a speedy return, and then sent out on the streets to play on musical instruments, to peddle flowers and small wares to the passers-by, and too often as a cover for immorality. Their surroundings were those of vice, profanity, and obscenity. Their only amusements were the dance-halls, the cheap theaters and museums, and the saloons. Their acquaintances were those hardened in sin, and both boys and girls soon became adepts in crime, and entered unhesitatingly on the downward path. Beaten and abused at home, treated worse than animals, no other result could be expected. In the prisons, to which sooner or later these unhappy children gravitated, there was no separation of them from hardened criminals. Their previous education in vice rendered them apt scholars in the school of crime, and they ripened into criminals as they advanced in years.

Its eighteenth annual report shows that during that number of years of its existence 69,737 complaints have been received and investigated, involving the care and custody of over 209,000 children; 24,581 cases have been prosecuted, 23,947 convictions secured, and 36,359 children rescued and relieved. During the year 1892, 7994 complaints were received and investigated, 3299 prosecuted, 3250 convicted, and 3726 children rescued and relieved from destitution and vicious surroundings. The reception-rooms have sheltered, fed, and clothed 1801 children, and 2233 cases have been investigated at the request of the police justices and courts. These cases involved applications for the commitment of 3659 children; 1847 of these were committed, and 1812 found to be improper cases,—thus saving to the city and county of New-York, at the per capita allowance of $104 per year

THE SOCIETY BUILDING.

for each year the children remained therein, the total sum of $188,448. With the cooperation of the police justices, the society has been able to collect from the parents of children committed to institutions, $7773.75, and that amount has been paid over to the respective institutions, to be credited to the city and county of New-York.

The society has been most active in procuring proper legislation on the subject, and the provisions of the penal code relating to children have been copied by many legislatures throughout the United States, and furnish the basis of the laws under which these various societies act. It has recently, owing to the liberality of its patrons, and notably of the wife of one of its founders, constructed a large building on the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third street, which is the largest institution of the kind in the world, being seven stories in height. Elbridge T. Gerry is still president of the society.

CHAPTER XVII

THE THEATERS OF NEW-YORK

THE actual genesis of the New-York theater has been supposed by some authorities to be almost mythical. All that has been known hitherto on the subject, according to the most accurate and painstaking of the chroniclers of the early American stage, is "that a regularly organized theatrical company played in New-York as early as 1732." Although we have been left in the dark as to what pieces they performed, as well as to other particulars, still we have an inkling as to the locality in the city where they may have acted, from a tradition which tells us that "the earliest theatricals in New-York were in a store on Cruger's wharf, near Old Slip, where a number of young men used to amuse themselves with amateur performances." That there was a deep-rooted prejudice against the theater in the minds of early New-Yorkers is unquestionable, as evidenced by the attempted action of the authorities on no less than three occasions, in 1750, 1753, and 1761. And this is not to be wondered at, for the minds of the Dutch colonists, from the first settlement of Manhattan Island, ran in a different groove altogether. They, as well as the sprinkling of French Huguenots and English Puritans, who constituted the population of New Amsterdam, were chiefly a simple, frugal, and pious people whose principal thoughts were almost entirely devoted to trading and agriculture. The mimic war of the stage would most likely have been unheeded in the presence of the real battles waged with Indians and the troubles occasioned by rival English and Swedish settlers along the Connecticut and Delaware rivers.

The amusements of the Dutch colonists were as primitive as their lives. An occasioual game of bowls, and a dance in the gloaming, on holidays, around the May-pole set up ou "the Plain," now known as Bowling Green, constituted the principal pleasures of a community who retired at sunset. The only declamations listened to by them were the theological discourses of the "domine," or, perchance, the harangues of some embryonic Jacob Leisler. The British occupation of 1664 changed matters somewhat. New-York's populatiou began to in-

clude more of the official and leisure class, who were not only freer in their ways, but familiar with the habits and customs of England under the last two Stuart kings, as well, perhaps, as with the plays of the Elizabethan and Restoration dramatists. There were also more professional men, attorneys, physicians, surgeons, and schoolmasters, who had received a liberal education for those seventeenth-century days. Under the auspices of Governor Francis Lovelace, a race-track was established at Hempstead. There were also pleasure-groves, such as Adam Van Denberg's Garden. But it required many years to have the drama acclimatized, and as late as the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century it was a comparatively unknown quantity in the city of New-York.

William Smith, in his "History of the Province of New-York," makes no allusion to a theater on Manhattan Island, although he writes that "New York is one of the most social places on the continent. The men collect themselves into weekly evening clubs. The ladies in winter are frequently entertained, either at concerts of music or assemblies, and make a very good appearance." From the above and similar evidence one might be forced to believe that for nearly a century and a half after the occupation by the Dutch of Manhattan Island, with the exception of the dramatic dialogues in accompaniment of an occasional puppet-show and the efforts of the few amateur actors who met in "a store on Cruger's wharf," all matters theatrical were more or less repudiated by the phlegmatic but business-minded primitive inhabitants of New-York. Yet there had been acting going on in New-York city before 1732, the period assigned by Seilhamer as the time when "a regularly organized theatrical company" first played in New-York; and, furthermore, a "Play House" did probably exist there before October, 1733. An interesting discovery recently made by Thomas J. McKee leads us to an altogether different view, in some respects, of the beginning of the drama on Manhattan Island from that previously entertained by Daly, Dunlap, Ireland, Seilhamer, and Wemyss.

The first actor who ever played in America was Anthony Aston, and he did so, before the year 1731, in New-York city and elsewhere on this continent. In "The Fool's Opera; or, The Taste of the Age, written by Mat. Medley, and Performed by His Company," Mr. McKee found the fact stated above to be certainly inferred from that octavo brochure of twenty-two pages, which was published in 1731 by T. Payne, at the Crown in Paternoster Row, London, and the author of which was Anthony Aston, under the pseudonym of "Mat. Medley." At the end of this extremely rare little volume—which is decorated with a frontispiece, rudely cut on wood, depicting "Mr. Aston, sen., Mr. Aston, jun., Mrs. Motteux, Mrs. Smith," respectively, in the characters of "Poet, Fool, Lady, Maid"—are eight pages of "A Sketch of the Life

etc., of Mr. Anthony Aston, Commonly call'd Tony Aston. Written by Himself: — — — Now All Alive." In this Aston describes himself as "a Gentleman, Lawyer, Poet, Actor, Soldier, Sailor, Exciseman, Publican in England, Scotland, Ireland, New-York, East and West Jersey, Maryland, Virginia (on both sides Cheesapeek,) North and South Carolina, South Florida, Bahamas, Jamaica, Hispaniola, and often a Coaster by all the same." Then he tells of his first theatrical experience in London, when he "went to see Dogget make comical Faces in the two last Acts," and how later he "went into the Old Play-house and succeeded in many Characters," and "traveled with Mr. Cash, Dogget, Booker, Mins." Also of his voyage to Jamaica in the ship Diligence, and after leaving that West Indian island of being "Castaway in the Gulph, on the South Sand of Port Royal Harbour, twenty Leagues Southward of the Harbour of Charles-Town in South Carolina"; and after divers "Horrors" how he "arriv'd in Charles-Town full of . . Shame, Poverty, Nakedness and Hunger," and soon after "turn'd Player and Poet, and wrote one Play on the subject of the Country." Next, how after being wrecked a second time he returned to Charlestown, where he "got a frank Passage for New York a Board a Sloop of Wessel Wessels, Cobus Kirstead, Master, but heing in November, the Norwesters blew us from the New-York Coast." Then, after reaching "Nanticoke River," how he was entertained by

FRONTISPIECE TO "THE FOOL'S OPERA."

Justice Hickes, a Quaker, who "lent me, Dick Oglethorp and Lewen (both Passengers) Horses to Newcastle in Philadelphia. We lay at Story's—enjoy'd—rode through Elizabeth-Town, and so in Packet to New-York. There I lighted of my old Acquaintance Jack Charlton, Fencing-Master,—and Counsellor Reigniem, sometime of Lincoln's-Inn, supply'd me with Business,—'till I had the honour of being acquainted with that brave, honest, unfortunate Gentleman, Capt. Henry Pullein, whose ship (the Fame) was burnt in the Bermudas; he (to the best of his Ability) assisted me—so that after acting, writing, counting, fighting that Winter—My kind Captain Davis, in his Sloop built at Rhode, gave me free Passage for Virginia. Anthony Aston, who gives us many other details than those quoted, went back to England, where he continued in the profession of an actor till he "set up his Medley." From the foregoing quotations it is clear that Aston was before 1731 in New-York city "acting," and either gave there a dramatic entertainment of the character of the "Fool's Opera," or was associated with other players. There is an account given of this first known actor in America in the first volume of "Biographia Dramatica," by Baker, Reed, and Jones; and we are there informed that "he was bred an attorney; but having a smattering of humour, he left the study of the law for the stage. He played in all the theatres in London, but never long in any of them, being of too flighty a disposition to settle anywhere. His way of living was peculiar to himself and family; resorting to the principal cities and towns in England with his Medley, as he called it, which was composed of some capital scenes of humour out of the most celebrated plays. His company consisted of himself, his wife, and son; and between every scene a song or dialogue of his own was sung or performed, to fill up the interval." It was probably a dramatic entertainment of that kind with which about 1730 he favored New-Yorkers.

Whether this was so or not, "a change came o'er the spirit of their dream" in the year 1750, when, on February 26, appeared in the "Weekly Post-boy" the announcement that there had arrived the preceding week "a company of comedians from Philadelphia, who, we hear, have taken a convenient room for their purpose in one of the buildings lately belonging to the Hon. Rip Van Dam, deceased, in Nassau Street, where they intend to perform as long as the season lasts, provided they meet with suitable encouragement." On March 5 the same newspaper published the following advertisement, the first theatrical one, so far as known, that was ever seen in a New-York journal: "By his Excellency's Permission. At the Theatre in Nassau Street, This Evening will be presented The Historical Tragedy of 'King Richard III.' Wrote originally by Shakespeare and altered by Colley Cibber, Esq. Tickets to be had of the Printer hereof. Pitt, 5s.

Gallery, 3*s*. To begin precisely at Half an Hour after 6 o'clock, and no person to be admitted behind the scenes." The first theater on Manhattau Island of which there is definite information was situated on the east side of Nassau street, previously known as Kip street, in the vicinity of the Dutch Church; and in a room that would barely hold three hundred persons the New-York Stage, with its grand traditious, was evolved. The managers of this company, the first positively knowu to America of whom we have reliable details, were Murray and Kean. The stock star, who bore a now historic name in dramatic annals, was Thomas Kean. Originally a writer by profession, he became the first Richard III. and Captain Macheath on the American stage. The associate leading man of Kean was John Tremain, whilom a cabinet-maker by trade; other members of the company were Woodham, Jago, Scott, Leigh, Smith, Moore, and Marks, Master Murray, Misses Osborne and George, and Mesdames Taylor, Osborne, Leigh, and Davis. They probably comprised all the "Thespians of home-made production" who had been arrested and "bound over to their good behavior" the year before in Philadelphia, in consequence, as the recorder, William Allen, said, of their "drawing great sums ot money from weak and inconsiderate persons who are apt to be fond of such entertainment, though the performance be ever so mean."

Benefits were begun for members of the company on January 7, 1751, at which were produced various plays or farces by Centlivre, Philips, and others, in addition to those already performed. Mrs. Taylor, although she had two benefits, "endeavoured to perform her part iu a worse manner than she was capable," thereby causing it to be necessary for Mr. Kean, in the "Post-boy," to state that "there was no falling out between her and me." But shortly after, "by the advice of several gentlemen in town who are his friends," he deemed it desirable "to quit the stage, and follow his employment of writing, wherein he hopes for encouragement." The other benefits were characteristic of the period, Mr. Jago receiving his, "as he has never had a benefit before, and is just out of prison"; the "poor Widow Osborne's hers, because she had "met with divers late Hardships aud Misfortunes"; and Mrs. Davis hers, "to enable her to buy off her time." At one of them were given "a Harlequin dance, a Pierot dance, and the Drunken Peasant, all by a gentleman recently from London." In November, 1750, when performances were being given on Mondays and Thursdays, the management announced that "the house being new-floored is made warm aud comfortable, besides which Gentlemen and Ladies may cause their stoves to be brought." No new flooring could, however, save the company. which was disbanded on July 8, 1751, and the lone leading man of the Keau and Murray combination left, announcing shortly after that "John Tremain, having declined the

By a Company of COMEDIANS,

At the New-Theatre, in *Naſſau-Street*,

This Evening, being the 12th of *November*, will be preſented,

(By particular Deſire)

An *Hiſtorical Play*, call'd,

King RICHARD III.

CONTAINING

The Diſtreſſes and Death of King *Henry* the VIth; the artful Acquiſition of the Crown by *Crook-back'd Richard*; the Murder of the two young Princes in the Tower; and the memorable Battle of *Boſworth-Field*, being the laſt that was fought between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*.

Richard,	by	Mr. *Rigby*.
King *Henry*,	by	Mr. *Hallam*.
Prince *Edward*,	by	Maſter *L. Hallam*.
Duke of *York*,	by	Maſter *A. Hallam*.
Earl of *Richmond*,	by	Mr. *Clarkſon*.
Duke of *Buckingham*,	by	Mr. *Malone*.
Duke of *Norfolk*,	by	Mr. *Miller*.
Lord *Stanley*,	by	Mr. *Singleton*.
Lieutenant,	by	Mr. *Bell*.
Catesby,	by	Mr. *Adcock*.
Queen *Elizabeth*.	by	Mrs. *Hallam*.
Lady *Anne*,	by	Mrs. *Adcock*.
Ducheſs of *York*,	by	Mrs. *Rigby*.

To which will be added,

A Ballad FARCE, call'd,

The *DEVIL TO PAY*

Sir *John Loverule*,	by	Mr. *Adcock*.
Jobſon,	by	Mr. *Malone*.
Butler,	by	Mr. *Miller*.
Footman,	by	Mr. *Singleton*.
Cook,	by	Mr. *Bell*.
Coachman,	by	Mr. *Rigby*.
Conjurer,	by	Mr. *Clarkſon*.
Lady *Loverule*,	by	Mrs. *Adcock*.
Nell,	by	Mrs. *Baccelli*.
Lettice,	by	Mrs. *Clarkſon*.
Lucy,	by	Miſs *Love*.

PRICES: BOX, 6*ſ*. PIT, 4*ſ*. GALLERY, 2*ſ*.

No Perſons whatever to be admitted behind the Scenes.

N. B. Gentlemen and Ladies that chuſe Tickets, may have them at Mr. Parker's *and Mr.* Gaine's *Printing-Offices.*

Money will be taken at the DOOR.

To begin at 6 o'Clock.

stage," had returned to the more congenial task of cabinet-making, and that his patrons would be "supplied at the cheapest rates."

The Nassau Street Theater was reopened six months thereafter by Robert Upton, who arrived from England before the winter of 1753. He had been sent across the Atlantic by William and Lewis Hallam with "no inconsiderable sum" of money, in the interests of their company of comedians, "to obtain Permission to perform, erect a building and settle everything." Instead of doing anything of the kind, "Advance Agent" Upton not only "quite neglected the business" he was sent about from the mother country, but with the money of his employers was enabled to become the bright particular star of "a sett of pretenders," who were no less than some of the reunited members of the "company of comedians from Philadelphia," with John Tremain, actor and cabinet-maker, at their head. Upton made his first appearance on the American stage on the evening of December 26, 1751. He assumed the title rôle of "Othello," and thereby presented to an American audience the second Shakespearian play, bowing himself into dramatic history as the first Othello in this country. Mrs. Upton supported him as Desdemona, and Tremain as Iago. They continued to play at the Nassau Street Theater until March 4, 1752, when Upton finally retired from the stage. In addition to most of the Murray and Kean repertoire, he introduced "Othello," Vanbrugh's

For the Benefit of the Poor.

Thurſday, December 20, 1753.

At the New Theatre in *Naſſau-Street.*

This Evening, will be preſented,

(Being the laſt Time of performing till the Holidays,)

A COMEDY, called,

LOVE for LOVE:

Sir Sampſon Legend,	by	Mr. Malone.
Valentine,	by	Mr. Rigby.
Scandal,	by	Mr. Bell.
Tattle,	by	Mr. Singleton.
Ben (the Sailor,)	by	Mr. Hallam.
Foreſight,	by	Mr. Clarkſon.
Jeremy,	by	Mr. Miller.
Buckram,	by	Mr. Adcock.
Angelica,	by	Mrs. Hallam.
Mrs. Foreſight,	by	Mrs. Rigby.
Mrs. Frail,	by	Mrs. Adcock.
Miſs Prue,	by	Miſs Hallam.
Nurſe,	by	Mrs. Clarkſon.

End of Act 1ſt, Singing by Mr. *Adcock.*
End of Act 2d, Singing by Mrs. *Love.*
In Act 3d, a Hornpipe by Mr *Hulett*
End of Act 4th, a Cantata by Mrs. *Love.*

To which will be added, a Ballad Farce, called,

FLORA. or, Hob in the Well.

Sir Hob,	by	Mr. Hallam,
Friendly,	by	Mr. Adcock
Sir Thomas Testy,	by	Mr. Clarkſon.
Richard,	by	Maſter L. Hallam.
Old Hob,	by	Mr. Miller.
Flora,	by	Mrs. Becceley.
Betty,	by	Miſs Hallam.
Hob's Mother.	by	Mrs. Clarkſon.

Prices. *BOX,* 6s. *PIT,* 4s. *GALLERY,* 3s.

No Perſons whatever to be admitted behind the Scenes.

FAC-SIMILE OF EARLY PLAYBILL.[1]

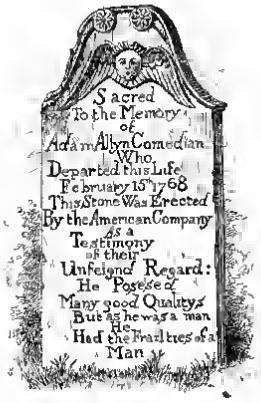
[1] From the original in the possession of Edward Harrigan, of New-York, author, actor, and manager.

"Provoked Husband," Otway's "Venice Preserved," Garrick's "Lethe," and Dodsley's "Miller of Mansfield."

The Hallams, who should be considered the real fathers of the American stage, next appeared upon the scene. They styled themselves the "London Company of Comedians Lately Arrived from Virginia," and in April, 1752, set sail from England on board of the ship Charming Sally, commanded by Captain William Lee, and "arrived after a very expensive and tiresome Voyage at York River on the 28th of June following." After appearing at Williamsburg, Va., and perhaps elsewhere, Lewis Hallam and his company, in June, 1753, reached New-York. Here they found difficulty in obtaining consent to commence their play-acting, as the authorities refused them permission to appear before the public. They presented to the chief executive of the province a certificate signed by Governor Dinwiddie, testifying to their decent and upright conduct while in Virginia. They also told the story of Upton's wickedness, and insisted that the crimes of another should be no bar to their efforts on Manhattan Island, as they were able to properly present "the instructive and elegant Entertainment of the Stage," and "capable of supporting its dignity with proper Decorum and Regularity." They were as fortunate in their pleas as the former companies, and duly received "His Excellency's Authority." They built "a fine large theatre in the place where the old one stood," and first appeared in New-York on September 17, 1753, according to the playbill published on that day in the "New-York Gazette, or Weekly Post-boy," which begins: "By His Excellency's Authority. By a Company of Comedians from London, At the New Theatre in Nassau Street, This Evening will be Presented, a Comedy, called 'The Conscious Lovers.'" The playbill concludes with the following: "A New Occasional Prologue to be Spoken by Mr. Rigby, and an Epilogue (Addressed to the Ladies) by Mrs. Hallam. Prices: Box, 8*s*. Pit, 6*s*. Gallery, 3*s*. No Persons whatever to be Admitted behind the Scenes. N. B.—Gentlemen and Ladies that chuse Tickets, may have them at the New Printing Office in Beaver Street. To Begin at 6 o'clock." It may be noticed here that the prices were reduced on the second night, and a month later seats in the pit were sold at four shillings, and in the gallery at two shillings. The company continued to act until March 18, 1754, the days of performance being Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, with a weekly change of bill.

William Hallam was the capitalist of the company, and Lewis Hallam, Sr., the star and manager. Both are said to have been connected with the Goodman's Fields Theatre, in London. Lewis Hallam appears to have been a fair actor. His wife was, from all accounts, "a woman of great beauty and elegance"; and the New-

York public, according to the dramatic historian Ireland, "regarded her with admiration reaching almost to idolatry." The second performance took place on September 24, and was the play of "Tunbridge Walks," Mr. Malone taking the leading part of Woodcock, and Mrs. Hallam of Hillaria. The audience represented a fair percentage of the population of New-York, which then consisted of some ten thousand whites and two thousand negro slaves. Other plays quickly followed that had not been presented in New-York. Among these were "King Lear," with Mr. Malone in the title rôle and Mrs. Hallam as Cordelia; and "Romeo and Juliet," with Mr. Rigby as Romeo and Mrs. Hallam as Juliet. The pieces chosen were those most popular in London, and included the best of Steele, Cibber, Farquhar, Fielding, Congreve, Gay, Garrick, Dodsley, and Rowe. The management was quite up to the times, for some of the productions were given the same year that they were first produced in London — as, for instance, Garrick's "Miss in Her Teens." The London Company of Comedians, which had worked on shares, disbanded at Philadelphia on June 27, 1754, and Lewis Hallam died in the island of Jamaica a few years afterward. The Nassau Street Theater was in 1758 converted into a church by a German Calvinist congregation, who pulled it down in 1765 and erected on its site a larger edifice, which remained until 1810.



IN TRINITY CHURCHYARD.

The next theater was that built in 1758 on Cruger's wharf, between Coenties and Old Slips, on the Front-street line. It is simply styled, in dramatic records, "a building suitable for the purpose." The proprietor and manager was David Douglass, whom Wemyss calls "a gentleman by birth and fortune," who by his marriage with Lewis Hallam's widow was placed "on the theatrical throne of the Western Hemisphere." When Douglass, having attempted to open the Cruger's Wharf Theater, had "received an absolute and positive denial from the authorities," he made an appeal to the public in the columns of Gaine's "Mercury." He stated how he had "begged in the humblest manner" of the magistrates to "indulge him in acting as many plays as would barely defray the expenses," but was "peremptorily refused." Douglass next explained in a card in the same journal, on December 8, 1758, how he had conceived the happy thought of starting "a Histrionic Academy," in which plays would be performed, or rather recitations given, — in costume, perchance, — authorities or no authorities to the contrary notwithstanding. The magistracy there-

upon relented, and on December 28, 1758, the new theater was opened with Rowe's "Jane Shore." "Richard III.," Home's "Douglas," and other popular plays were presented at frequent intervals, the performances concluding with "Damon and Phillida" on February 7, 1759, "being positively the last time of acting in this city, at the theater on Mr Cruger's wharf," which thus passes out of dramatic history.

The Chapel Street Theater was the next building erected in New-York city especially devoted to the drama. It was situated near Nassau street, on the south side of Beekman street, then styled Chapel street. It was constructed of wood by Philip Miller for Douglass, at a cost of $1625; yet it would hold a four-hundred-and-fifty-dollar audience. The scenery and wardrobe were worth a thousand dollars. Two circumstances in connection with the Chapel Street Theater should be mentioned. One—the presence of visitors behind the scenes—led probably to the other, the first "egging" known to the American stage. Both are preserved to us through "cards" printed in the columns of Gaine's "Mercury." The first reads:

Complaints having been several times made that a number of gentlemen crowd the stage and very much interrupt the performance, and as it is impossible that the actors, when thus obstructed, should do that justice to their parts they otherwise would, it will be taken as a particular favor if no gentleman will be offended that he is absolutely refused admittance at the stage door, unless he has previously secured himself a place in either the stage or upper boxes.

The other card states:

Theatre in New-York, May 3, 1762.—A Pistole reward will be given to whoever can discover the person who was so very rude as to throw Eggs from the Gallery upon the stage last Monday, by which the Cloaths of some Ladies and Gentlemen were spoiled, and the performance in some measure interrupted. D. Douglass.

Evidently the audiences were seriously annoyed by the men about town flirting in public with the ladies of the company and while performances were going on. Burns's New Assembly Room was utilized in 1767 for theatrical performances. It was here that David Douglass gave his famous "Lecture on Heads," and that such amateur entertainments occurred as, for instance, when Thomas Otway's "Orphan" was played "by Gentlemen and Ladies for their Amusement."

The Chapel Street Theater was superseded by the John Street Theater, situated near Broadway. Reference is made to it in Judge Royall Tyler's "Contrast," which was the "first American play produced in New-York, and the first comedy by an American that was American in theme." Ireland, however, gives a better description as follows: "The building was an unsightly object, principally of wood, painted red, and stood about sixty feet back from the street, having a covered way of rough wooden material from the pavement to the

"DO YOU WANT TO KILL THE COLONEL?"[1]

[1] "The Contrast | A Comedy in Five Acts, by a Citizen of the United States," Philadelphia, 1790, was written by Royall Tyler. It was the first play represented by a regular company on the American stage from the pen of an American author. A copy of this brochure which belonged to Washington, with his familiar autograph on the title-page, is included in the collection of Samuel P. Avery, of this city. The above frontispiece was engraved by Maverick from a drawing by William Dunlap. It is believed to represent a scene in the old John Street Theater, and contains portraits of Mrs. Morris as Charlotte, Lewis Hallam, Jr., as Dimple, John Henry as Colonel Manly, Owen Morris as Van Rough, and Thomas Wignell as Jonathan. EDITOR

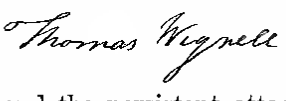
doors. The stage was of good dimensions, and the dressing-room and greenroom were originally under it, but after the Revolution they were removed to a wing added for the purpose on the west side. The auditorium was fitted up with a pit, two rows of boxes and a gallery, and when full, at usual prices, would contain eight hundred dollars." Lewis Hallam, Jr., and John Henry opened the John Street Theater on December 7, 1767, with the "Beaux Stratagem," by the American Company, at "six, exactly." Seats had to be reserved in accordance with the following suggestion on the playbill: "Ladies will please send their servants to keep their places at four o'clock. 'Vivant Rex et Regina.'" Mr. and Mrs. Douglass, Mr. Morris, Mr. Malone, and young Hallam were the principal members of the reorganized stock company, which also included Mr. Henry, the original American Sir Peter Teazle. He is described as "a man of extraordinarily fine personal appearance." His first wife was the eldest Miss Storer, who was burned to death at sea. Later he married or rather gave his name to two of her sisters, one of whom, Maria, was "a perfect fairy in figure." Mr. Wall was the walking gentleman, and the leading-lady business was divided between Mrs. Douglass and Miss Cheer. Mrs. Harman, another member of the company, Dunlap states, was a granddaughter of Colley Cibber.

The history of the John Street Theater is replete with interesting episodes that happened before the Revolution. The theater was closed after an excellent season, pecuniarily speaking, until 1773, when it was opened in April with one of Murphy's comedies, to be reclosed in August, when its last pre-Revolutionary performance, "She Stoops to Conquer," was given. Public excitement running too high for the safety of the performers, who were perpetually annoyed by the gallery, the company retired to the West Indies, where David Douglass left the stage, eventually becoming the extremely loyalist chief justice of Jamaica. The theater was closed the year following, upon the Provincial Congress passing a resolution suspending all public amusements. During the occupation of New-York by Lord Howe and Sir Henry Clinton, the officers of the British regiments reopened the John Street Theater with the title of the Theatre Royal, and frequently performed there for charitable objects. They had several seasons, the first beginning January, 1777, and the last ending April, 1782. The best English classical plays were produced, and King George's officers did not hesitate to appear in most of the parts common to leading professionals. The John Street Theater was again opened in June, 1782, with a company managed by Dennis Ryan, an actor of repute. "Macbeth," "Richard III.," "George Barnwell," and others of the old repertoire were represented,

[1] See Volume II, Chapter xiii, pages 533-35.

together with newer plays, including "Oroonoko." New-York was then held by the royal troops. Ryan's company included many performers of ability. One of them, however,—Mrs. Fitzgerald, who had played Miss Hardcastle,—disappeared somewhat suddenly. Ryan advertised for her, charging her with "entering into articles of indenture and immediately absconding," and offered a reward of twenty pounds sterling to any person who would "bring her to justice."

The first company of comedians who acted in New-York under the American flag appeared under the management of Hallam and Henry, who had returned from their enforced retirement in the West Indies. Desultory performances were given between August and October, 1785, Lewis Hallam advertising them as "Courses of Lectures," each of them with a prologue and pantomime. It was not until November 21, 1785, that the John Street Theater was reopened with a full company, and the house, according to McLean's "Independent Journal," had been "at a vast expense repainted, beautified and illuminated in a style to vie with European splendor."



Among the notable incidents of the season were the American début as Joseph Surface of Thomas Wignell (the first Brother Jonathan), and the persistent attacks of the clergy upon the stage. Petitions for the suppression of the drama in New-York, and counter-petitions, largely signed, were sent to the legislature, which did nothing. President Washington, accompanied by the Vice-President, used to frequently visit the John Street Theater, where a special stage box, with appropriate decorations, was set apart for him. "Hail Columbia" was first played there, it having been composed by Fyles, the German leader of the orchestra, in compliment to Washington.

Among the first appearances of note during the last decade of the John Street Theater, that of John Hodgkinson may be considered the most important, through his purchase later of Henry's interest in the old American Company for ten thousand dollars. That of an Irish baronet, Sir Richard Crosby, who was carried away in a balloon, picked up at sea, and taken to New-York, where he made a theatrical début, was, to say the least, curious. Joseph Jefferson, Sr., made his New-York début at the John Street Theater; also Mr. and Mrs. Brett, Mr. Carr, Madame Gardie, Mr. and Mrs. John Johnson, and Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland, who are described as "genteel and useful performers." The yellow fever caused the theater to be closed in the fall of 1795. The following year the house came under the united management of Hallam, Hodgkinson, and Dunlap. The Hallam-Hodgkinson riot took place in 1797, when Hodgkinson was hissed off the stage in consequence of the public not understanding the alcoholic peculiarities of their favorite, Mrs. Lewis Hallam, who greatly interfered with the management,

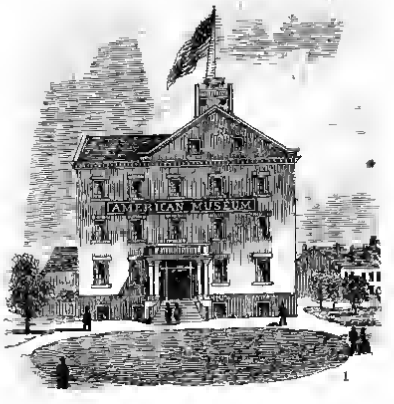
through her insisting upon appearing upon the boards regardless of consequences. John Sollee, the proprietor of the Charleston Theater, engaged the John Street Theater for a short season. During Sollee's brief New-York experiment, by which he lost money, President John Adams used to honor the old theater with his presence; but its time had come—the last performance, "The Comet," taking place within its walls on January 13, 1798. Shortly after it was transformed into a carriage-factory, and its site is now covered with warehouses and stores. The John Street Theater had but little rivalry during its thirty years of existence. In 1791 Joseph Coree, who had been cook to Major Carew, opened a theater in his garden on State street, facing the Battery. In July, 1800, Coree, who also owned the City Tavern, commenced a series of dramatic entertainments in his Mount Vernon Gardens, on the Leonard-street corner of Broadway, above the Hospital. At the Summer Theater, as it was called, members of the Park Theater Company played during the time that their own theater was closed. Their first performance here, "Miss in Her Teens," was acted with a good cast; later, Hodgkinson, his wife, and Mrs. Hallam acted in such plays as Dibdin's "Five Hundred a Year," and "Columbus's Daughter," by Mrs. Susanna Rowson, the accomplished author and actress who wrote the story of "Charlotte Temple."

John Scudder

Ricketts, a skilful equestrian, established in 1793 his New Amphitheater, which a year or two later came under the management of Wignell and Reinagle, of Philadelphia, who transformed it into the Greenwich Street Summer Theater, and reopened it, in 1797, with Otway's "Venice Preserved," concluding with a pantomime and a farce. At this theater Mr. and Mrs. Whitlock first appeared in New-York, in Southerne's "Isabella, or the Fatal Marriage." The lady was a sister of Sarah Siddons. William Francis here graduated from dancing to acting. John Bernard, noted later in association with the Beefsteak Club of London, made his American debut in the "Road to Ruin," as did also Thomas A. Cooper, whose Hamlet and Macbeth were claimed by New-Yorkers to be equaled only by those of Macready and Kean; and James Fennell, an old-time favorite, who broke down while

[1] John Scudder the predecessor of Peale and Barnum, was the founder of the first museum of importance in New-York. It was celebrated by Fitz-Greene Halleck and other poets of that period. Scudder's portrait has never appeared before. EDITOR

attempting Kiug Lear on his last appearance in 1815. The most famous, however, of all the Greenwich-street débutantes was Mrs. Merry, who made her first New-York appearance as Belvidera, after having successfully played Juliet in Philadelphia. Whether known as Miss Brunton, or Mrs. Merry, or Mrs. Wignell, or Mrs. William Warren, she was always welcome to a New-York audience, being entirely devoid of stage cant, and having "highly expressive features, fine, clear articulation, and sweetness of voice." The Greenwich Street Theater continued to be a favorite resort for years, and never more so than when under the management, in 1843, of Henry P. Grattan, one of the original contributors to London "Punch"; or in 1846, when Edward Eddy succeeded in the title rôle of "Othello" upon his first appearance in the American metropolis.



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The Park Theater has a history second to no other American theater; and few abroad, outside of the Comédie Française, can equal it. It stood on Park Row, opposite to the site now occupied by the General Post-office, facing what was then the lower part of City Hall Park. It had a frontage of eighty feet, and was one hundred and sixty-five feet deep, running through to Theater Alley. Designs had been made for it by Isambard Brunel, but its actual architects and builders were the Messrs. Mangin. Its corner-stone was preserved for many years at Windust's restaurant on Ann street, and upon it appear the names of its projectors.[2] It hoasted uo architectural magnificence, substantiality, with an interior adapted for sight and sound, being paramount to all other considerations. Two thousand persons could be easily seated within its auditorium. It had cost its managers, Hodgkinson and Dunlap, $130,000 wheu it was opened, in a somewhat unfinished condition, to the public on January 29, 1798, with "As You Like It." The first Park Theater playhill presents the names of Dunlap as treasurer, Hodgkinson as stage manager, and Ciceri and Audin as scene-painters, and, among other suggestions, a reqnest not

1 Scudder's American Museum, originally the first New York Poorhouse, stood in the Park, facing Broadway (*vide* Vol. II, p. 219). Fitz-Greene Halleck describes it as

"Once the almshouse now a school of wisdom
Sacred to Scudder's shells and Dr Griscom"

And again, in "Fanny," the New-York poet says:

"Sounds as of far-off bells came on his ears —
He fancied 't was the music of the spheres.
He was mistaken, it was no such thing:
'T was Yankee Doodle played by Scudder's band."

EDITOR.

2 See Volume III, Chapter iv, p. 147, where will be found an engraving of this corner-stone.

Theatre, Water Street.

MONDAY Evening, March 11, 1799.
And Every Evening this Week.
At Mr. GRANT's, No. 242, Water Street,
Between Beekman and Peeks Slip
Will be presented a GRAND MEDLEY of ENTERTAINMENTS in 5 Parts,
PART I.
Comic Scene between the Old Beggarman & the Termagant Landlady
PART II.
By the much admired

Ombres Chinoises,

Willl be presented the

BROKEN BRIDGE,

Or the Disappointed Traveller. With the Downfall of

The Impertinent Carpenter

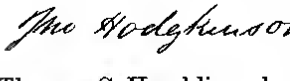
PART III.
The ingenious scene of the SPORTSMAN and his faithful DOG,
Which has never failed of giving universal satisfaction.
PART IV.
A Grand Collection of Wax-Work Figures, representing the ancient Court of

Alexander the Great,

Their graceful movements have never failed of giving universal satisfaction
The Performer has spared neither pains nor expence in the richness of their dress.

By the curious Prussian Fantoccina will be performed the following Figures
The Merry Humours of Old JONATHAN and his WIFE.
A Figure in the character of a Country Girl, will dance a JIG, as natural as Life,
A Hornpipe by a small Figure in the character of an American Tar.
The astonishing Lapland Lady will dance a Jig, and change her Face three times imperceptible. Likewise a brilliant Collection of FIGURES
Being the richest of the Kind ever exhibited
A Curious ITALIAN SCARAMOUCH will dance a Fandango, and put himself into twenty different shapes, being one of the greatest Curosities ever presented to an American audience.

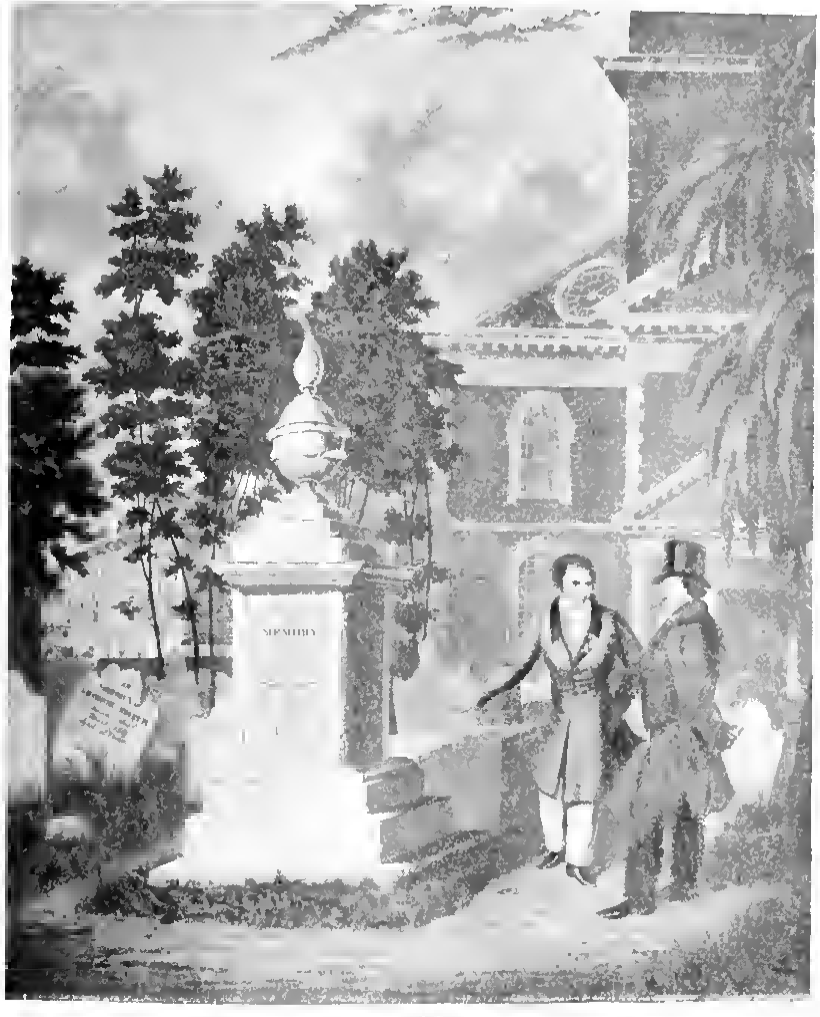
to smoke in the theater. Hodgkinson retired from the management in 1798, leaving William Dunlap, author of "The Arts of Design," and first historian of the American theater, in control; but it bankrupted him. In 1805 John Johnson became the manager of a "Republic of Actors," who attempted unsuccessfully to manage the Park Theater, and who were succeeded by Johnson and Tyler, who made way in 1810 for Dunlap, Price, and Cooper, the last named being the tragedian who married Miss Mary Fairlie, the Sophy Sparkle of "Salmagundi." The old Park Theater was burned down in 1820, to be rebuilt by Price and Simpson, and reopened under their management on September 1, 1821. The veteran Edmund Simpson retired from the management in 1848, and was succeeded by Thomas S. Hamblin, who had it remodeled by Trimble. Reopened on September 14, 1848, it had a further existence of only a little over two months, being finally destroyed by fire on December 16 following, and upon the thirteenth anniversary of the memorable Great Fire of New-York. It was the last relic of the old London Company of Comedians, who opened at the Nassau Street Theater in 1753; for Lewis Hallam the Second played within the walls of the old Park Theater for ten years after the drama had been settled on Park Row, which is now entirely given up to newspapers, stores, and offices.



During the Park Theater's half century of existence, most of the great actors of that period were seen within it. The memories of Cooke, Holman, Kean, Kemble, Cooper, Booth, Wallack, Mathews, and many others linger around its theatrical traditions. The first decade of its history chronicles the début, as Young Norval, of John Howard Payne, the author of "Home, Sweet Home," who was styled "the American Roscius"; and of Mr. Morse, "actor, lawyer, soldier, sailor, and clergyman," and the first American actor who ever played in London; also of Mr. and Mrs. George Stanley, who, although English by birth, first appeared on the American stage.

The Park Theater's second decade opened with the name of George Frederick Cooke, the first great star who visited the United States, and who was claimed to have been the superior of all actors ever seen here, with the sole exception of Edmund Kean. Cooke's first appearance in America was on November 21, 1810, as Richard III. His admirer, Dr. Francis, writes of him in his "Old New-York" as follows: "He had reached his fifty-fourth year, yet possessed all the energies of thirty, profiting largely on the score of health by his sea voyage. The old playgoers, by his expositions, discovered a mine of wealth in Shakespeare, now first opened. His commanding person, his expressive countenance, his elevated front, his eye, his every feature and movement, his intonations, showed the great master who

eclipsed all predecessors his matchless comprehension of his great author. The critics pronounced him the first of living actors; he engrossed all minds." His Shylock—"a new reading to the



KEAN AND DR. FRANCIS AT THE TOMB OF COOKE.[1]

Western World—was a most impassioned exhibition." A little over two years after his arrival in America, he died in New-York, and his remains lie buried in St. Paul's churchyard, where Edmund Kean

[1] This view of the monument in St. Paul's churchyard to George Frederick Cooke, "Three kingdoms claim his birth— Both hemispheres pronounce his worth, —" with portraits of Kean and Dr. Francis, shows the second Park Theater through the trees. The above engraving is taken from a fine engraving after the original painting by Smith.—EDITOR.

erected to his memory a handsome monument. Next, J. G. Holman, the second visiting star, made his first appearance in America as Lord Townly in "The Provoked Husband." Francis says that he "made a great hit in 'Orestes,' and his appearance as Romeo was a decided triumph." In the same year the first Mrs. Hackett came before an American audience; as also, in the rôle of Lady Townly, did Agnes Holman, afterward Mrs. Gilfert, who was the first actress in New-York to command a salary of two hundred dollars a night. Thomas Kilner, the most popular of "rich and racy old men," made his American début in 1815, and the next year came John Barnes as Sir Peter Teazle, and his wife as Juliet, both of whom were interred in the old Stuyvesant burying-ground, near St. Mark's Church. Incledon—in the words of Wemyss, "one of the best singers and worst actors belonging to the London stage, yet in singing his celebrated song, 'The Storm,' no effort of Kean's ever surpassed"—made his American début here, to be followed a year later by James William Wallack, Sr., as Macbeth, and who later at the Park Theater made equally great triumphs. Dr. Francis, in a contemporary criticism, styled him "a tragedian of power, and a comic performer of remarkable ability." About the same time Mr. and Mrs. George Bartley made their first appearance on the American stage at the Park, the husband appearing as Falstaff, and the wife in the title rôle of Southerne's "Isabella." Both are referred to by Dr. Francis, who asserts that "Mr. Bartley's Autolycus, his Sir Anthony Absolute, and his Falstaff will long hold possession of the memory; and Mrs. Bartley enacting the 'Ode on the Passions' was a consummation of artistic skill equally rare and entrancing." In 1819 Mr. and Mrs. Maywood made their appearance in New-York at this theater, the former as Richard III., and the latter in the "Heir at Law." Of Mrs. Maywood it is noted that she was the first actress in America who traveled as a star assuming various male characters.

From 1820 to 1829 the Park Theater—which always boasted a good stock company—witnessed some remarkable first appearances and débuts, which give a further idea of the dramatic glories of New-York's principal temple of Thespis. Joseph Cowell, the grandfather of Kate Bateman, heads the list, in 1821, as Leclair. The following year Junius Brutus Booth appeared in New-York as Richard III. Francis records his "extravagant displays of dramatic power," recognizing, nevertheless, that although Booth "lacked judgment, he possessed genius." Another great actor came in 1822; this was Charles Mathews, Sr., who made his first appearance upon the New-York stage in the rôle of Goldfinch. Francis describes, in somewhat humorous language, his nervous condition when, upon his arrival off Governor's Island, he discovered that the yellow fever was raging; but

the good old physician does not forget to eulogize as an actor this "master of mimic power, who used it with unparalleled effect." William A. Conway, whom Francis designates as "a man of acknowledged powers, high aspirations, and of close study," opened in 1825 as Hamlet, but within five years committed suicide off Charleston on board the ship Niagara. Lydia Kelly, styled the "greatest melodramatic artist," made her American debut as Lady Teazle, and remained here for seven years, until she left the stage to marry a French baron. Hamblin, who had made a great success as Hamlet at Drury Lane, London, gave his initial performance in New-York in that role in 1825, the same year that Watkins Burroughs made his first American début. The year 1826 saw three Shakespearian actors first appear on the New-York stage, and all at this theater. Macready's first American appearance was in the rôle of Virginius. Dr. Francis says: "Mr. Macready is less of a comedian than a tragedian, but in this latter the materials are ample to demonstrate that, in the maturity of his faculties, his efficiency justly placed him at the head of the English stage." Edwin Forrest was the next of this trio, he first acting in New-York, under the management of Price and Simpson, for the benefit of Mr. Woodhull, in July, 1826. And lastly, James H. Hackett, who made his début as Justice Woodcock in "Love in a Village," and whose Falstaff, in the words of Francis, has truly been "the theme of applause from the lips of even fastidious critics." Two other débuts at the same theater about this time are noteworthy—those of Thomas Placide and John Sefton.

Fanny Kemble

The decade beginning with 1830 is fully as remarkable from a dramatic standpoint as those preceding it. Charles Kean heads the list, having "crossed the Atlantic on the ship Caledonia, making his first appearance on the American stage, Wednesday, September 1, 1830, at the Park Theater, New-York." This was the same year that the veteran Charles R. Thorne made his début as Octavian in "The Mountaineer," and about three months before Master Joseph Burke, "the Irish Roscius," first acted at the Park as Young Norval. Charles Kemble and his daughter, Frances Anne Kemble, made their American appearance at the same theater, the former in the title rôle of "Hamlet," and the latter as Bianca in "Fazio." The preceding generation of New-Yorkers had long tried to prevail upon

John Philip Kemble and Mrs. Siddons to visit the city, but without avail. The acting of their gifted relatives, therefore, naturally gave the most unfeigned pleasure. What the playgoers thought about their visitors was expressed by Dr. Francis: "His [Charles Kemble's] Charles Surface, his Mirabel, his Edgar, his Pierre, and his Falconbridge were the parts that won him the brightest laurels; and his other achievements were crowned by his Hamlet. His daughter, Fanny, enlisted the warmest plaudits, and soon increased admiration by every new display of histrionic talent. She assumed tragic and comic parts, and demonstrated that she was fairly entitled to hereditary honors."

Mrs. H. J. Conway, under the stage name of Miss Courtney, made her début as Lady Teazle in 1832, as, in the same year, did "Yankee" Hill, who, considered an incompetent supernumerary in Philadelphia, quickly made a marked success in New-York. Tyrone Power, who was lost on the steamship President in 1841, first appeared in America at the same place as Sir Patrick O'Plenipo in 1833, the year of D. P. Bowers's first New-York appearance. The Park saw Charles Mathews, Sr., on its boards once more in 1834, on his second visit to America, when he opened with Monsieur Morbleu. Sol Smith's New-York début was made at this theater in 1835 as Mawworm. In 1836, at the Park, William Dowton as Falstaff, Mr. Denvil as Shylock, Mrs. Keeley as Gertrude in "A Loan of a Lover," Mrs. Shaw-Hamblin in "The Wife," and Mrs. Charles Kean (Ellen Tree) as Rosalind, made their first bows to New-York audiences. The Wood-Conduit riot took place at the Park Theater in 1836, on account of Mrs. Joseph Wood, whilom Lady William Lennox, refusing to appear at Mrs. Conduit's benefit. And in 1838 we find the record of Mrs. H. Cramer's New-York début as Julia; James E. Murdoch's as Benedick; A. J. Neafie's, who had to pay Manager Simpson three hundred dollars to appear as Othello with credit to himself and his future profession; and that of Madame Vestris, the famous wife of the younger Charles Mathews and daughter of the more celebrated engraver Bartolozzi. The last decade of the existence of the Park Theater shows as many famous débuts and first performances as its previous history does, and which are about the best criterion by which to illustrate a theater's importance. Thus, between 1840 and 1848, John B. Buckstone, John Braham, Fanny Elssler, Miss Poole, Mr. and Mrs. John Brougham, Mrs. John Drew, Anna Cora Mowatt, Mrs. D. P. Bowers, and John Gilbert were all first introduced at the old Park Theater, which from 1798 to 1848 had scarcely any competitor, although in that period many theaters came into being.

Shortly after the erection of the Park Theater, the Water Street Theater, situated between Beekman street and Peck Slip, was opened. From 1821 to 1848 there was preserved in the greenroom of the old

Park Theater a playbill, dated March 11, 1799, of this theater. The manager or owner of this place of amusement was Archibald Grant. The usual entertainment given at the Water Street Theater was a kind of variety performance, or, as it was then called, "a medley," in which farce, singing, dancing, waxworks, and puppets were performed or exhibited in those primitive days.

The Grove Theater, on Bedlow street, now part of Madison street, east of Catherine street, was opened in March, 1804, with a company among whom were Frederick Wheatley, William Bates, and Mrs. White, all connected later with the Park Theater. The Vauxhall Gardens, with their summer theater, were opened in 1806, between Broadway and the Bowery, near the site of the Cooper Union, with Mr. Delacroix as the owner and manager. David Poe, who married Miss Arnold, the actress, and was the father of Edgar Allan Poe, made his first appearance on its stage. The elder Poe was an inferior actor, but his wife, the poet's mother, was both an excellent vocalist and actress. The Vauxhall Gardens are recorded in 1838 as still having a neat saloon for dramatic purposes; and in 1840 Chanfrau, Sarah Chapman, and Malvina Pray (who married William J. Florence in 1853) were acting there. The new Olympic Theater on Broadway, at the corner of White street, originally known as the Broadway Circus, was opened in 1812 by Dwyer and McKenzie, who gave a mixed dramatic and equestrian entertainment. The company included Mrs. Courtney Melmoth. Among the other members of the company was Palmer Fisher, whose wife was afterward known as Mrs. Thayer, a well-known comic actress, whose daughter was Alexina Fisher. In its eighteen months of existence, among other pieces were performed "The Taming of the Shrew," with Mr. and Mrs. William Twaits (Miss E. A. Westray), and Lewis's equestrian drama, "Timour, the Tartar." In the winter of 1813 this theater was called the Commonwealth. It opened with "The Provoked Husband," with J. G. Holman[1] and his daughter, Miss Holman, later Mrs. Gilfert, as Lord and Lady Townly, which was followed by an afterpiece, "The Padlock," in which Mrs. Charles Burke made her first appearance in New-York. The Commonwealth Theater was under the general direction of Messrs. Twaits, Gilfert, and Holland. Its first season closed in January, 1814, shortly after the death of Mrs. Twaits and the secession of some of the members of the company to the Park Theater.

For many years after the war of 1812, Castle Garden was occasionally used as a theater, a suitable stage having been erected for the purposes of the drama, opera, and vaudeville. On September 6, 1852,

[1] "The London critics acknowledged that J. G. Holman's 'Lord Townly' was the perfection of the nobleman of the days of Chesterfield. He was not the actor but the declined lord himself." Donaldson, quoted by E. Cobham Brewer in "The Reader's Handbook."

a "great dramatic festival," in commemoration of the supposed first introduction of the drama into America one hundred years before, took place there. This centenary was celebrated in accordance with the then prevalent belief based upon the "History of the American Theater," by William Dunlap, whose theory of the origin of the stage in this country has been dissipated by the investigations of later authorities. At this festival Lola Montez assisted; "The Merchant of Venice" and Garrick's "Lethe" were acted; Braham sang, and a comic ballet pantomime was presented by the French dancers from Niblo's Garden. The Anthony Street Theater, named after the thoroughfare now known as Worth street, was situated near Broadway, and was opened on April 18, 1814. It was managed by Holland, with Twaits, late of the Commonwealth Theater. The company included Harry and James Placide, both of whom were performers of the old school, and Mrs. Beaumont, from Covent Garden. In 1819 the theater was renamed the Pavilion, and opened in July under new auspices. Upon the destruction of the Park Theater by fire in 1820, its managers leased the Anthony Street Theater, opening June 10 with their company, and remaining there until 1821. In consequence of this fire, Edmund Kean, who was to have appeared at the Park, made his American début in November, 1820, in Anthony Street, as Richard III. Upon his first visit to New-York, it was impossible for this great tragedian, whom Byron called "the sun's bright child," to have been more admired and honored. Old theater-goers realized with Coleridge that "to see Kean act is reading Shakespeare by lightning." Dr. Francis, who became his intimate friend,—and remained so, even under the after-light of the insults that Kean received as the consequence of his dissipated conduct,—wrote: "He individualized every character he assumed—we saw not Mr. Kean. Wherever he was, he was all eye, all ear. Everything around him, or wherever he moved, fell under his cognizance." Francis insisted that Kean's first visit to this country, so far as New-York was concerned, was a complete triumph, and in particularizing his Lear said: "As an inspiration beyond mortals it was crowned with universal praises." About this time a notable event happened at this theater, which was the American début of Mrs. Alsop, the daughter of Mrs. Jordan.

The City Theater on Warren street was opened in 1822 by a company of amateurs with the "Belle's Stratagem." Among the players was William Dinneford, who during his career was an actor, author, manager, auctioneer, broker, and merchant; also in the company was Mrs. Bannister,[1] who was always popular on the stage, whether known by her maiden name or by that of one of her four husbands, under

[1] Bannister and Barrymore were great favorites with Charles Lamb, who praises them highly in his most admirable essay "On Some of the Old Actors." EDITOR

which names she alternately appeared. The yellow fever closed this theater for some months during the first year of its existence, and when it was reopened there was seen on its boards George F. Smith, known as "The Prodigy," who afterward became a dentist; but who, at the City Theater, played Romeo to his sister's Juliet. The new Broadway Circus was a large wooden building situated on Broadway, between Howard and Grand streets, and was taken possession of in September, 1822, by the Park Theater management. This was necessary in consequence of the yellow fever raging in the lower part of the city, from which the inhabitants had fled. The building, which was afterward known as Tattersall's Stables, was used also for dramatico-equestrian performances. The Mount Pitt Circus at Grand street and East Broadway, managed by General Charles W. Sandford, was put to similar uses.

The Chatham Garden Theater, in Chatham street between Duane and Pearl streets, extended through to Augustin street, now City Hall Place. The proprietor was Henri Barrière, a gentleman of taste and experience, who erected a saloon in his gardens for light entertainments. Here, in 1823, the operetta of "Rosina" was presented, and Barrière, having found this class of entertainments successful, determined on the erection of a permanent theater, which, being completed and fitted up with great neatness, taste, and convenience, was opened to the public on the evening of May 17, 1824, with Inchbald's "Wives as They Were and Maids as They Are." A repertoire covering the best plays of the English dramatists was presented by an excellent stock company, including Henry Wallack, George Barrett, Kilner, Spiller, Burke, and Jefferson, and Mesdames Entwistle, Henry, and Durange. William R. Blake made his New-York début in 1824 at this theater; Mrs. W. H. Smith, in 1827; Mrs. Burroughs, in 1828; and Mrs. Eliza Kinlock, mother of Mrs. John Drew, the same year. After 1825 Henry Wallack and Freeman became the managers, and upon the death of Barrière, in 1826, the former was sole manager, but becoming financially embarrassed, fashion soon seemed to leave Chatham Garden Theater. Ryder and Stevenson were its managers in 1828, and two years later it was renamed Blanchard's Amphitheater. "Yankee" Hill was a great favorite, and it was here that Mrs. Barney Williams made her début as a dancer, and Danford Marble, who paid twenty dollars to be transformed from an amateur into a professional star. Thorne and Phillips were in 1830 the managers of this theater, which was soon after converted into a Presbyterian chapel, and later into a hotel. The Lafayette Theater and Amphitheater, built by General Sandford[1] on Laurens street, near Canal street, existed from 1825 till 1829,

[1] Since the above was penned an editorial writer in the New-York "Sun" furnishes the following additional information: "The Lafayette Theater in Laurens street (now South Fifth Avenue) near Canal street, upon the present site of St. Alphonsus's Catholic Church, was erected by General

when it was destroyed by fire and never rebuilt. It was first a circus, with equestrian dramas as well as farces and ballets, but its owner soon abolished the former, and in 1826 it was opened as a theater for the regular drama It was here that the audience rose and cheered Enoch Crosby, Cooper's Harvey Birch, who was seated in a stage box, upon the production of a dramatization of "The Spy." The Lafayette was entirely rebuilt in 1827 and changed into a large theater. With its front of Eastern white granite, its boxes with real bronze columns and gilded Ionic capitals, its wondrous glass chandelier and immense stage, it was one of the attractions of the town.

The Old Bowery Theater was built in the year 1826. It has had an extraordinarily long life for an American theater, and still stands, a relic of the past, although fire has visited it several times. The site of the Bowery Theater, now known as the Thalia, was an old tavern and cattle-market, called the Bull's Head, belonging to Henry Astor. It was at first named the New-York Theater. It was an elegant structure for those days; and its stage, the first lighted by gas, and its auditorium, which would seat three thousand people, were both larger than any others in the United States. Its interior decorations were unrivaled, and its exterior, of a white marble effect, was considered a wonder, with its spacious portico and lofty columns. Upon the opening night, October 23, 1826, Holcroft's "Road to Ruin" and the farce "Raising the Wind" were presented under the management of Charles Gilfert. The stock company included Mr. and Mrs. Duff, Mr. and Mrs. Young, Mr. and Mrs. George Barrett, and Edwin Forrest. The year 1827 was noticeable in its annals by the appearance of Ma-

Sandford, and opened in 1825 General Sandford was a commander of city militia, and although a lawyer by profession was a worshiper of good horsemanship While projector and proprietor of the Mount Pitt Circus, on the east side of town, near the Grand street ferry, General Sandford was induced by his wife (who had been an actress of considerable reputation) to build and manage a theater upon the west side of town, for fashionable patronage. He consented, but as he could not subdue his passion for equestrianism, the Lafayette was constructed so as to serve a dual purpose: standard plays enacted by a good company, and 'horse shows' like 'Mazeppa,' 'El Hyder,' 'The Cataract of the Ganges,' and other melodramas wherein horses were features, in which many theater-goers of half a century ago delighted. Mrs. Sandford resolved upon the introduction of an equally novel feature, and under her direction the ballet made its appearance as an organized corps upon the American boards." General Sandford died in this city at fourscore.

dame Hutin, whose *pas seul* in modern ballet costume forced the majority of the audience blushingly to retire, and the famous French dancer was obliged for a time to appear in Turkish trousers. Madame Celeste also made her first American appearance at the New-York Theater; so did the dramatist Cornelius Logan, the father of three famous actresses, Eliza, Olive, and Celia Logan. When Hackett and Thomas F. Hamblin assumed the management of the house, they named it the Bowery Theater, as it has ever since been known, although once, owing to a patriotic impulse, it was christened the American Theater. The elder Chapman made his début here as King Henry in "Richard III.," but did not then cause the hilarity that he did later when he appeared as the ghost of Hamlet's father, in tin armor and broad-rimmed spectacles.

The Bowery was burned down in 1828, but was rebuilt within ninety days, Forrest delivering the opening address. Upon the death of Gilfert, in 1829, it passed into the hands of the Park Theater management. Hamblin again became manager in 1830, and remained so until it was a second time burned down, in 1836, at a loss to him of sixty thousand dollars, he recently having become its sole owner by purchase. During the few years before this fire, we note the appearance of the Vestris dancers; George Holland's début in seven different characters on the same evening; the last appearance of Mrs. Charles Young, whose husband was shot by Gilfert in a duel; and Archer's American début. Mrs. J. W. Wallack, Jr. (Mrs. Sefton), made her first New-York appearance here; also Josie Clifton, who was the first native American actress to play in London; and Spencer likewise, who killed Frombley in a duel, and was not long after assassinated in Texas. Noteworthy, also, in 1834, was the début of Miss Priscilla Cooper, from the circumstance of her marrying Robert, son of President Tyler, and thereby becoming the mistress of the White House. In 1836 Charlotte Cushman made her first New-York appearance here as Lady Macbeth.

After its destruction in 1836, the Bowery was rebuilt in 1837, to be again destroyed by fire, and once more reconstructed in 1839. Since then it has been burned down in 1845 and in 1866. Many famous actors and actresses, in addition to those named, have performed within its walls during the past sixty years. Here John Gilbert first appeared in New-York as Sir Edward Mortimer; Mrs. Melinda Jones, wife of "Count Joannes," as Bianca; John Drew as Doctor O'Toole; and the original Mrs. Potter as Juliet. Whether in later years, 1850–1860, when John Brougham was the manager and George L. Fox and John W. Lingard lessees; when Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Wallack, Jr., Edward Eddy, Thomas S. Hamblin, or even Harry J. Seymour were playing there,—it was still the people's theater, and therefore melodrama

and tragedy were always yearned for. It was full of surprises, as, for instance, when John Oxenford, of the London "Times," saw John B. Studley playing "The Bells," and acknowledged that at the Old Bowery he had seen "an actor of leading business, who is not only one of the best performers in New-York, but who could not be easily surpassed in London." Again, when Adah Isaacs Menken electrified her former patrons with the news of her triumphs in London and Paris, Dickens, Swinburne, and Dumas enrolling themselves among her admirers. But memories only of the Old Bowery now remain, since it was handed over in September, 1879, to German playgoers, and was rechristened the Thalia, and where now Jewish pieces in a Hebrew-German patois are heard within its ancient walls.

[1]

Niblo's Garden and Theater was built on Broadway, near Prince street, within two years of the erection of the first Bowery Theater, and was originally called the Sans Souci. It was an attractive and popular little theater, opened in 1828, in the Summer Garden of William Niblo, by Charles Gilfert, when the Bowery Theater was burned down. A year later it became a concert-saloon, Niblo soon after reopening it for dramatic purposes. The Ravels were performing there in 1837, and William E. Burton in 1839. The same year the elder Wallack leased Niblo's when burned out at the National Theater, and Charles Kean, Edwin Forrest, and Miss Vandenhoff appeared there. From 1840 to 1842 the theater was under the management of W. Chippendale, the leading performers being Burton, Placide, and Mrs. Fitzwilliam. E. L. Davenport appeared at Niblo's in 1843, and soon after Mitchell with a burlesque company. In 1844 John Brougham was playing there, and in 1845 John Nickinson, Henry Placide, and Mrs. Mowatt. Shortly after George Holland's engagement, and Hackett's impersonations of Falstaff, in 1848, the theater was burned down. It was rebuilt, and reopened in July, 1849, to be again rebuilt in 1850, enlarged in 1854, and burned down once more in 1872, at a loss of $200,000. Many well-known members of the theatrical profession have been managers of this house, and have kept up its great reputation. On its stage have appeared Charlotte Cushman, Dion Bouci-

[1] This rare portrait of Charlotte Cushman is from the original tinted lithograph by R. J Lane, A. R. A., after a drawing by Miss Teresa Kenney.

cault, the Wallacks, Mr. and Mrs. Barney Williams, Mrs. John Wood, Maggie Mitchell, Lydia Thompson, Margaret Mather, and others of equal popularity. Here William E. Burton made his last appearance in Toodles and his other humorous rôles; and Charles Fechter and Daniel E. Bandmann made their American débuts in English. But more than all, it was where the great Rachel appeared as Thisbe and Phèdre. Many plays were first produced successfully at Niblo's, not least among which were the "Black Crook," and "Leah," the foundation of Kate Bateman's reputation, brought out in 1863. The name of Niblo's still survives, but it has no longer a stock company, being devoted to the starring combination system, with popular prices.

The Richmond Hill Theater, also known as the Greenwich Theater, comes next to Niblo's in chronological succession, having been opened on November 14, 1831, with the "Road to Ruin," which was preceded by a beautiful address from the pen of Halleck, commencing, "Where dwells the Drama's spirit?" Its site on Varick and Charlton streets has many historical associations, for the Richmond Hill mansion, built in 1770 by Paymaster Abraham Mortier, once stood there. It was Washington's headquarters at the beginning of the Revolution, and Sir Guy Carleton's residence during the British occupation. Later it was sold by Aaron Burr to John Jacob Astor, and was by him converted into the Richmond Hill Theater. Its name was changed several times. In 1836 it was Miss Nelson's Theater, in 1837 Mrs. Hamblin's, in 1840 the Tivoli Gardens, in 1846 the Greenwich Theater, and in 1847 the New-York Opera House. It was taken down in 1849.

Edwin Forrest[1]

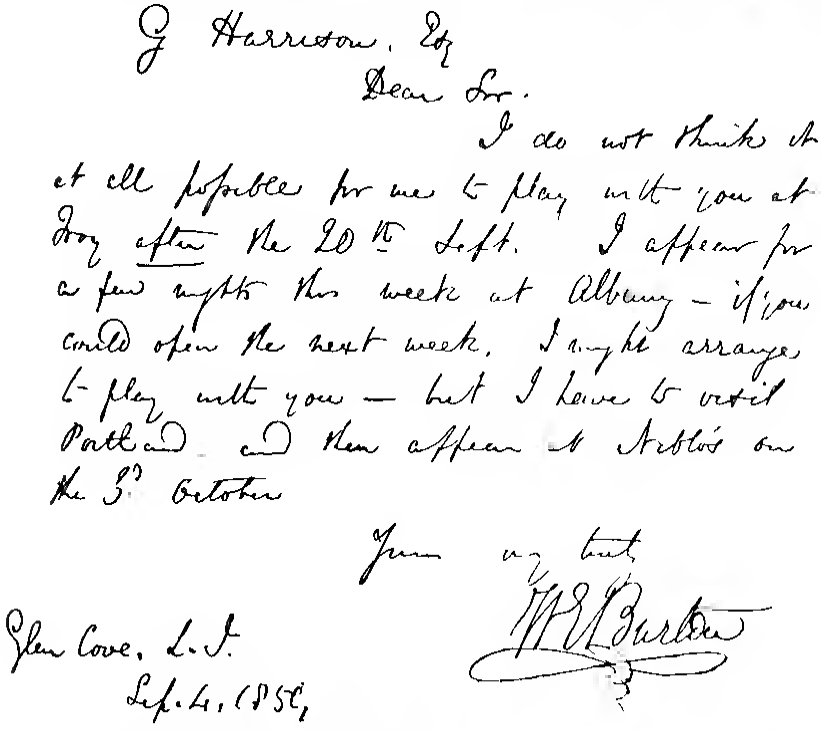
The National Theater was opened on January 29, 1836, with the "Merchant of Venice," Junius Brutus Booth, Sr., appearing as Shylock. In the same year a "grand complimentary and farewell benefit," realizing $3000, was given in this playhouse to Hamblin, whose theater had been destroyed by fire. "Henry IV." was played, with Hackett as Falstaff, Hamblin as Hotspur, the younger J. W. Wallack as Douglas, and Barrett, Burke, Placide, and other noted actors in the cast.

[1] Excellent portraits of James H. Hackett, Matilda Heron, Laura Keene, and Anna Cora Mowatt will be found in Chapters X and XI of Volume III. — Editor

James W. Wallack, Sr., became owner of the theater in 1837, and his son, James W. Wallack, Jr., in 1839 made his New-York début there as Fag in "The Rivals." The original Robert Macaire, James S. Browne, also first appeared in America at the National, as Bob Acres. William E. Burton and Mr. and Mrs. John Vandenhoff made their first appearance in the metropolis at this house, and Charles Kean played Hamlet here in 1839, just before it was destroyed by fire. In 1840 it was rebuilt and leased to Alexander Wilson, and later to Burton; but before six weeks were over, during which he produced "The Naiad Queen," with Miss Josephine Shaw, afterward Mrs. John Hoey, in the cast, the National was once more burned down.

The Franklin Theater, on Chatham street, between James and Oliver streets, was erected in 1835, and was opened with Morton's "School of Reform," among the cast being John Sefton and Miss Alexina Fisher. Barney Williams and William Sefton made their début here. In 1840 George H. Hill opened it as Hill's Theater, but it was not a success, and the house was soon after named the Little Drury. The Olympic Theater on Broadway, near Grand street, was built in 1837, and was opened on September 13. It was especially intended for light comedies, with farces, sparkling burlettas, and humorous burlesques. The auditorium and stage were small and notable for the drawing-room effect obtained. Ireland remarks: "The Olympic Theater, diminutive as it was, displayed a more tasteful and beautiful interior than any other on the Atlantic seaboard." George W. Mitchell leased it in 1839, and it was henceforward generally known as Mitchell's Olympic, in contradistinction to others of that name afterward built. Associated with Mitchell were Mrs. Maeder, previously known as Albina Mandeville, and Blake and Barrett. Mitchell retired from the Olympic in 1850, and three years later George Holland became acting manager. The first Broadway Theater was east of Broadway, near Walker street, and had been previously designated as Euterpean Hall and Apollo Saloon. Erected in 1837, it had a very short life under the management of James Anderson. It was reopened in 1838 by Edwin Forrest and Fanny Wallack. J. W. Wallack, Jr., appeared there, making a great success of Claude Melnotte in the "Lady of Lyons," as did General Tom Thumb as General Bombastes. The Chatham Square Theater, erected in 1839, had quite an eventful history, whether under its original name or that of the National Theater, as it was called when Wallack's old National was burned down in 1839. Barrett was its star in 1844, and the year following Anna Cruise made her début. Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Wallack, Jr., and Junius Brutus Booth, Sr., were playing there in 1845. Chanfrau renamed it the New National Theater in 1848, opening with Bulwer's "Richelieu," John R. Scott in the title rôle. Joseph Jefferson first made his bow

to the public in 1849, at this theater, and Edwin Booth his first New-York appearance as Wilford in "The Iron Chest." Shortly after the New National was used as a circus, and it was in consequence of Jenny Lind, who disliked the odor of horses, objecting to Mr. Barnum "compelling her to sing in a stable," that she dissolved her contract with the great showman; but it was at the National, nevertheless, that she sang upon her third visit to New-York, in June, 1851. During the years 1851–53 it was known as Purdy's National Theater, and was given up to melodramas and tragedies,


J Harrison. Esq
Dear Sir.
I do not think it
at all possible for me to play with you at
Troy after the 20th inst. I appear for
a few nights this week at Albany – if you
could open the next week, I might arrange
to play with you – but I leave to visit
Portland and then appear at Niblo's on
the 3d October
Yours very truly
W. R. Burton
Glen Cove, L. I.
Sept. 4, 1852.

with after-performances. In 1853 Mr. and Mrs. Barney Williams and Mr. and Mrs. William J. Florence were seen there.

In Palmo's Opera House, which afterward became Burton's Theater, William Dinneford and George Vandenhoff, in 1845, gave the Greek tragedy of "Antigone," and, in the words of Vandenhoff, "repeated this classic entombment twelve successive nights." Samuel Lover, the Irish novelist, in 1846 presented here his entertainment consisting of recitations from his own writings. Palmo's was opened as Burton's Theater[1] on July 10, 1848, with "Maidens Beware!" Burton

[1] See Chapter vi. page 175, for illustration.

was successful from the outset, and ere long his new venture was the most popular resort in town, Lester Wallack, Hackett, Johnson, E. L. Davenport, Mrs. Warner, and many others of note coming before the public, always under the pleasant auspices peculiar to this theater. In 1856 it was leased by Edward Eddy, who was equally successful. The second Broadway Theater, situated between Pearl and Anthony (now Worth) streets, was built by Colonel Alvah Mann, and opened in September, 1847, with "The School for Scandal," Lester Wallack making his début there as Charles Surface, under the name of John Wallack Lester. George Barrett was the stage-manager of this large and elegant edifice, which was primarily intended as a rival to the Park Theater. The Mont-Plaisir troupe made its appearance at the Broadway in 1848, in which year James R. Anderson played Othello. In 1850 Eliza Logan made her New-York début at the same theater as Pauline, and Madame Ponisi also, as Lady Teazle. The year following, Gustavus Vaughan Brooke made his first appearance in this country at the same house; also Julia Bennett, Madame Celeste, and Lola Montez. Anderson, "The Wizard of the North," performed at the Broadway in 1851; and Edwin Forrest appeared as Damon, the engagement being continued for sixty-one nights, in the spring of 1852.

The Astor Place Opera House, which had not experienced an unqualified success as a home of song, was equally unfortunate with the drama, although a Shakespearian revival was attempted with encouraging results. A company was brought together which produced, among other plays, "The Merry Wives of Windsor," with Hackett, Vandenhoff, Chippendale, Sefton, Miss Telbin, and Mrs. Maeder in the cast. The Astor Place Opera House will ever remain most memorable in dramatic and civic annals as the scene, on May 10, 1849, of the Forrest-Macready riot, which occurred after the English actor's appearance as Macbeth.[1] In 1854 the building was sold to the Mercantile Library Association, who reconstructed and renamed it Clinton Hall. Barnum's Museum, at the corner of Broadway and Ann street, where the "New-York Herald" building now stands, had the small theater attached to it opened on June 17, 1850, with the play of "The Drunkard.' There appeared here Alexina Fisher; Kate and Ellen Bateman, then known as the Bateman Children; Emily Mestayer; and Edward Askew Sothern, then an indifferent actor with the stage name of "Douglas Stewart." The last engagement played there before it was burned down was that of John B. Studley, in the legitimate drama. Barnum's American Museum, which was opened shortly afterward, was again destroyed by fire, on a bitterly cold night, March 3, 1868, together with its three hundred thousand curiosities. The immense

[1] A full account of the Astor Place riot will be found in Vol. III, Chap. xi, pp. 430–435, and of the Opera House in Chap. V, p. 177, of Vol. IV. EDITOR.

volumes of water poured upon the burning beams and rafters of the building formed rapidly into icicles of fantastic shape and massive crystals, which, glistening with a thousand sparkling reflections from the moon, presented a scene which no artist could hope to rival.

Brougham's Lyceum, on Broadway, near Broome street, afterward Wallack's Lyceum, and in 1867 called for a short time the Broadway Theater, after the two former theaters of that name, was opened on October 15, 1850, with "Esmeralda," Julia Gould appearing as Phœbus. Wallack's Lyceum, the old Wallack's Theater, came into existence on September 8, 1852, and Ireland, commenting on the change of name from Brougham's Lyceum, remarks that the new departure "soon succeeded not only in rivalling, but in a measure superseding Burton's Theater in public esteem. The hand of a master was visible in every production, and the taste, elegance, and propriety displayed about the whole establishment gave it a position of respectability never hitherto enjoyed in New-York, except at the Old Park Theatre." Morton's "Way to Get Married" and "The Boarding School" were presented at the initial performance, under the management of James W. Wallack as lessee and owner. The company included Lester Wallack, W. Chippendale, Mr. and Mrs. Blake, Mr. and Mrs. Brougham, and Miss Julia Gould. Later, Laura Keene made her American début here. William Stuart leased Wallack's in 1856, in which year Lester Wallack and E. A. Sothern played there together. The Wallacks, in 1861, abandoned this theater, and in 1867 a new one called the Broadway Theater was erected on its site.

Lester Wallack

The Winter Garden next demands attention as one of the most important theaters, historically speaking, in New-York. It was erected on the site of Tripler Hall, on Broadway, opposite Bond street, and adjoined the La Farge House. In 1854, while the Jullien concerts were being held in Tripler Hall, then known as Metropolitan Hall, this beautiful edifice and the La Farge House adjacent were burned to the ground. Where these buildings stood was erected the New-York Theater and Metropolitan Opera House, which was opened on September 18, 1854. Rachel, on September 3, 1855, made her first appearance in America, at this theater, as Camille in "Les Horaces,"

and followed it with other famous rôles, such as Adrienne Lecouvreur, Hermione, and Marie Stuart; and it was also here that she contracted the pulmonary complaint from which she died at Cannes two years and a half later. Laura Keene, at the termination of Rachel's engagement, leased the theater, had it remodeled, and reopened it as Laura Keene's Varieties. Burton soon obtained possession of the building, and called it Burton's New Theater, Edwin Booth and other celebrities performing there. The Winter Garden, or Conservatory of the Arts, was the next name by which the Metropolitan was christened, and it was opened on September 14, 1859, with Boucicault's version of "The Cricket on the Hearth," entitled "Dot." Boucicault also produced the "Octoroon," with Agnes Robertson as Zoe. To enumerate the list of famous actors and the plays in which they performed at the Winter Garden, would take pages. Such pieces as "The Naiad Queen" and "Midsummer Night's Dream" were put upon the stage at great expense. Kate Bateman delineated Julia and Evangeline, and Charlotte Cushman, supported by Studley, pleased playgoers with her renditions of Lady Macbeth, Meg Merrilies, and other impersonations. Charles Mathews and Barry Sullivan were seen here, and also Burton, Brougham, Mark Smith, and Charles Fisher. Here, too, on an eventful night in 1864, the three Booth brothers, Edwin, John Wilkes, and Junius Brutus, were seen together in "Julius Cæsar." The Booth revivals were held here in 1867, and were suddenly stopped by the total destruction by fire, on March 23, of the Winter Garden. The Academy of Music, on Fourteenth street and Irving Place, was built in 1854, and, although primarily dedicated to opera, its audiences have listened to other voices than those raised in song. Rachel once appeared here, and Salvini and his rival Rossi equally delighted their hearers. In 1856 Mr. and Mrs. John Wood made their débuts, and in 1858, at the Dramatic Fund benefit, Edwin Booth, Mark Smith, Fanny Herring, and Mary Gannon played together in the historic pageant of "Shakespeare's Dream," arranged by John Brougham. It was destroyed by fire on May 22, 1866, and the present edifice, erected on the same site, was opened in February, 1868. It continued to be the home of grand opera until 1887, when the new Metropolitan Opera House was built, and when it

THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC.

was given up to theatrical combinations and other purposes. Latterly it has been devoted more to spectacular and melodramatic productions, the "Old Homestead" and the "Black Crook" having nightly filled the building, which will hold twenty-seven hundred people, and which Rachel considered too large for her voice. Laura Keene's New Theater was built for her, on Broadway, near Houston street, two years after the Academy of Music was erected, and soon after Burton had obtained control of the Varieties, later called the Winter Garden. At its opening in 1846, "As You Like It" was performed, Rosalind being played by Laura Keene, who controlled the house until the season of 1863–4, whether under her own name or as the New Olympic, as it was later known. E. A. Sothern first appeared here under his real name, at Jefferson's benefit, and made the great success of his life as Lord Dundreary in "Our American Cousin," with John T. Raymond supporting him as Asa Trenchard. Mrs. John Wood managed the New Olympic for a time, and produced the spectacle of "Monte Cristo."

Wallack's Theater, at Broadway and Thirteenth street, was opened as the second Wallack's, in 1861, by James W. and Lester Wallack, for whom it was built when the old Wallack's, on Broadway, near Broome, was abandoned by them. The repertoire of the best old and modern English comedy, which had made the old house so famous, was continued in the new building until 1881, when the third Wallack's Theater, on Broadway and Thirtieth street, was erected. Lester Wallack was the star of his own theater, being supported by a stock company which comprised, from time to time, John Gilbert, John Brougham, George Holland, Henry J. Montague, Harry Becket, Owen Marlowe, Mark Smith, Charles Fisher, Dion Boucicault, Charles Mathews, Mrs. Vernon, Madeline Henriques, Mary Gannon, Effie Germon, John Sefton, Annie Deland, Laura Phillips, Rose Lisle, Fanny Morant, Madame Ponisi, Ada Dyas, and Rose Coghlan. Boucicault's "Shaughraun" and the Robertson comedies were always particularly strong in their casts and settings. Adolph Neuendorff leased Wallack's from 1881 to the end of 1883, calling it the Germania, and here the best plays of the Fatherland were presented by Ludwig Barnay and Friedrich Haase. The house was renamed the Star Theater when the Germans left it in January, 1883, and has since been managed on the combination plan, but with a high order of performers, notably Henry Irving and Ellen Terry, Modjeska, Mary Anderson, William H. Crane, E. S. Willard, Edwin Booth, and Lawrence Barrett. Laura Edwin's Theater, on Broadway, facing Washington Place, was erected during the Civil War. To make way for it the Church of the Messiah had to be taken down. After running unsuccessfully for a time, it was renamed the New-York Theater, and in 1866 Mr. Daly presented there his adaptation of "Griffith Gaunt," in which Rose

Eytinge appeared, as she did the following year in the original local drama of "Under the Gaslight." The Worrell Sisters leased the New-York Theater for a time, and were well supported. It came later into the hands of Harrigan and Hart, who called it the Theatre Comique, after their old house opposite the St. Nicholas Hotel, where, as early as 1876-7, they had been successful with their Irish-American comedy creations. They opened the second Theatre Comique on August 29, 1881, and remained there until it was destroyed by fire, producing plays like "The Mulligan Guards' Ball" and "Squatter Sovereignty." The desolate building called "Old London Street" now gloomily occupies the ground upon which once stood the Church of the Messiah.

The Fifth Avenue Opera House, on West Twenty-fourth street, adjoining the Fifth Avenue Hotel, was, on November 30, 1865, thrown open to the public, after being changed from an up-town night "gold room." Negro-minstrel troupes first leased the house, and were followed by opera burlesque. John Brougham then obtained the lease, and prevailed upon James Fisk, Jr., to build on the site a small but elegant theater, the second Brougham's Lyceum, but it proved a failure. Fisk next had an unsuccessful season of opera bouffe, after having again called the theater by its original name. As the Fifth Avenue Theater four years of prosperity followed, when Augustin Daly became its lessee and manager. Here were played "Frou Frou" and "Fernande," introducing Agnes Ethel; "Man and Wife," "Saratoga," "Divorce," and "Article 47," in which Clara Morris, Fanny Davenport, Kate Claxton, Linda Dietz, Sarah Jewett, Mrs. G. H. Gilbert, James Lewis, George Clarke, George Holland, and Louis James played in the leading parts. Goldsmith's "Good-Natured Man" and the "Merry Wives of Windsor" were admirably revived. There also appeared at this theater, under Mr. Daly's management, Mrs. Scott-Siddons, Charles Mathews, E. L. Davenport, and Mrs. Jennings. The theater was burned on January 1, 1873, and in the same month its energetic manager opened the Broadway, formerly the New-York Theater, with "Alixe." The present Madison Square Theater was opened on February 4, 1880, with "Hazel Kirke," by James Steele Mackaye, who introduced the celebrated double stage. Daniel Frohman next managed the theater, producing, amongst other plays, "Esmeralda," "The Professor," and "May Blossom." Albert M. Palmer, who had made a reputation in his management of the Union Square Theater, took the Madison Square Theater in 1884, and with his stock company presented "Jim the Penman," "The Private Secretary," and other productions.

The Théâtre Français, on Fourteenth street, near Sixth Avenue, was erected as the original home of opera bouffe in New-York, and was opened May 26, 1866. Adelaide Ristori, on September 20, 1866, made

her American début at this theater, giving fifty-five performances, and the year following filled a second engagement. In 1872 Charles Fechter obtained possession of the building, renamed it the Lyceum Theater, and spent over sixty thousand dollars in improvements. It now has an imposing Greek portico, the pillars of which stretch to the curb-line. Next it became Haverly's Theater, and in March, 1879, it was named the Fourteenth Street Theater. The late Bartley Campbell was also its lessee under this name. It is now a combination theater, star companies playing there melodrama and burlesque. Within two years of the opening of the Théâtre Français, Pike's Opera House was constructed on the northwest corner of Eighth Avenue and Twenty-third street. It was later called the Grand Opera House, and its massive white-marble front, its fine entrance, lobby, grand staircase, and spacious auditorium, made it a worthy rival of the Academy of Music. Unfortunately its situation was antagonistic to its success, and it was not long until its unlucky projector, Samuel Pike, had to sell it, James Fisk, Jr., and Jay Gould becoming the purchasers, and using the offices in part of the building as the headquarters of the Erie Railway. Fisk also tried to transform it into the chief home of opera bouffe, by which he lost heavily, as well as on "The Tempest" and Sardou's "Patrie." Daly leased the Grand Opera House from 1872 until 1874, and produced "Le Roi Carotte," "Around the Clock," "Uncle Sam," and "Monte Cristo," with Charles Fechter, George L. Fox, and Mrs. John Wood. Then it passed through the hands of Max Maretzek; of Poole and Donnelly, who introduced many contemporary stars at popular prices; of Henry E. Abbey, who perpetuated that system and redecorated the house in 1882; and finally of T. Henry French, its last lessee.

Edwin Booth, after appearing in various theaters, obtained, in 1869, the fine edifice called Booth's Theater, which was especially built for him, on the corner of Sixth Avenue and Twenty-third street. He opened with "Romeo and Juliet," aided by Lawrence Barrett, in 1869, and presented the most classic plays of the English drama in a manner that insensibly recalled to veteran theater-goers the glories of the old Park. Here Sara Bernhardt played, in 1880, "Adrienne Lecouvreur," "Hernani," and other dramas, to which she gave new interpretations. Mary Anderson, John B. Studley in "The Bells," Joseph Jefferson as "Rip Van Winkle," and others equally well known assisted in extending the reputation, during its too short existence, of Booth's Theater, which now is devoted to offices and stores. The Union Square Theater, on East Fourteenth street, next to the Morton House, was built, and opened on September 11, 1871, by Sheridan Shook, who, a year later, associated with himself Albert M. Palmer; an excellent stock company was organized, and a continuous series of plays produced, commencing with Sardou's "Agnes," which completely changed the

complexion of the American theater, when taken into consideration with what Augustin Daly and Lester Wallack were doing at this time. Among the plays which enjoyed long runs were "Led Astray," "The Two Orphans," "The Danicheffs," "A Celebrated Case," and "Rose Michel." American plays of a high character were also presented, such as "The Geneva Cross," "The Banker's Daughter," and "My Partner." Many actors and actresses distinctly identified with Mr. Palmer's management obtained their reputation through association with this theater, or gained new laurels. Among these should be specified Charles Thorne, Agnes Ethel, Sara Jewett, Stuart Robson, Clara Morris, McKee Rankin, Kate Claxton, Maude Granger, Richard Mansfield, Katherine Rogers, Charles Coghlan, E. M. Holland, J. H. Stoddart, Maurice Barrymore, and Frederick Robinson. Mark Twain's "Gilded Age," with John T. Raymond as Colonel Sellers, was brought out here; also Bret Harte's "Two Men of Sandy Bar." Margaret Mather here made her first New-York appearance, and Leona Moss her début. Mr. Palmer gave up the Union Square Theater in 1883, and within two years the famous stock company was a thing of the past. James M. Hill, in 1885, became the lessee, and three years later the theater was destroyed by fire. It was rebuilt and reopened in March, 1889, and since then has been devoted to combinations mostly of a mediocre character.

Edwin Booth[1]

Where Apollo Hall stood, on West Twenty-eighth street, near Broadway, was erected in 1872 the St. James Theater, in which James Steele Mackaye developed the Delsartian method and produced "Monaldi" and "Marriage" in accordance with those principles. The property belonged to the Gilsey estate, the trustees of which built for Augustin Daly, who had been driven by fire out of the Fifth Avenue Theater, a theater named after his old one. The new Fifth Avenue was managed by him from December, 1873, until September, 1877, and he produced "Monsieur Alphonse," "Man and Wife," "Pique," and "Divorce." Charles Coghlan, Edwin Booth, Emily Rigl, and Adelaide Neilson played under Mr. Daly's auspices. "Love's Labor 's Lost" was

[1] This uncommon portrait of Edwin Booth is from an original India-ink drawing, after a photograph taken in New-York in 1860.

first produced in America at this theater, which, after Mr. Daly left it, came under the management successively of Colonel Haverly, John Stetson, Eugene Tompkins, and, in 1890, of Harry Miner. It was burned out in January, 1891; but Mr. Miner reopened a new theater on the same site in May, 1892. Mary Anderson made her début here before a metropolitan audience. Mme. Duse, a young Italian actress of undoubted talent, who has been named as a possible successor to Rachel and Ristori, played a successful engagement of several months at this theater early in 1893.

The San Francisco Minstrels opened their hall at Broadway and Twenty-ninth street in 1874. Later it became the Comedy Theater, and successively the Gaiety, New Comedy, Dockstader's Minstrels, and the Gaiety once more. Hermann rebuilt it in 1890, and opened it for his own exhibition of legerdemain and for dramatic purposes. Jacobs' Third Avenue Theater, at Thirty-first street and Third Avenue, was opened in 1875, and eventually became a "variety" house, and was called the American Theater. In 1883 it was renamed the Third Avenue by the McKee Rankins, who reconstructed it. For a short time it became a German theater, under the name of the Apollo, until the present manager, J. M. Hill, in 1885, once more adopted its original name.

The Eagle Theater, on Sixth Avenue, between Thirty-second and Thirty-third streets, was opened in 1875. William Henderson became the lessee in 1878, and called it the Standard Theater, presenting Gilbert and Sullivan's comic operas, then in the height of their popularity. It was burned down in 1883, but reopened within twelve months, J. M. Hill becoming its manager; and there combination companies with both comic opera and popular comedy have since been performed. Of the same general character as the Standard is the Bijou Theater, on Broadway, between Thirtieth and Thirty-first streets. In 1878 it was the Theater Brighton, devoted to negro-minstrelsy. Then it became Wood's Broadway Theater, and, in 1880, the Bijou Opera House. It was later rebuilt under the auspices of Colonel John McCaull, and named the Bijou Theater, where at first comic opera and burlesque flourished. Dixey appeared here in "Adonis" during six hundred continuous performances. Then followed farces and comedies like "The Brass Monkey" and "The City Directory," under the management of J. Wesley Rosenquest.

Daly's Theater was opened under its present management on September 17, 1879. Where it now stands on Broadway, near Thirty-first street, was once Banvard's Museum, and still later Wood's Museum. Daly's Theater is one of the handsomest in New-York, owing to its artistic embellishments. In 1879 Mr. Daly brought out Ada Rehan, John Drew, and Catherine Lewis; and afterward, James

Lewis, George Clarke, and Mrs. Gilbert. The performances at this theater are of too recent occurrence to require extended notice. It will suffice to say that many excellent plays of the character of "Dollars and Sense," "The Passing Regiment," "Nancy and Co.," and "The Foresters," have been given, as well as the "Taming of the Shrew," "As You Like It," and other standard pieces.

Between 1870 and 1879 there also flourished several other New-York theaters, one of which was Henry E. Abbey's New Park Theater, on Broadway, near Twenty-first street, which was burned down on the night Mrs. Langtry was billed for her American début. Another was the Lexington Avenue Opera House, or Terrace Garden Theater, where German operetta has been given. A third was, and is, Tony Pastor's Theater, under Tammany Hall, which once was Bryant's Minstrel Hall, and later the Germania Theater, and where, under Pastor's management, Lillian Russell made her début.

The third and last Wallack's Theater, now Palmer's Theater, on the corner of Broadway and Thirtieth street, was built under the auspices of the late Lester Wallack, and opened on January 4, 1882, with the "School for Scandal." The traditions of the two former Wallack's Theaters were perpetuated and the excellence of the stock company kept up until Lester Wallack retired in May, 1887, when Henry E. Abbey assumed the management. In October, 1888, Mr. Palmer became the lessee, and, at Mr. Wallack's suggestion, renamed it Palmer's Theater, continuing the admirable methods that marked his managership of the Union Square and Madison Square theaters. Tommaso Salvini, Constant Coquelin, Jane Hading, E. S. Willard, and John Drew have all been seen recently at this theater, which has been marked by a continuous series of successful performances. The former site of the Aquarium, opened in October, 1876, on the northwest corner of Broadway and Thirty-fifth street, is occupied by the New Park Theater, which, considerably changed from the Aquarium building, was inaugurated in 1882. The management adopted the combination plan, which now unfortunately usurps nearly the whole New-York stage, thereby eliminating entirely the careful preparatory training formerly considered necessary when stock companies were in vogue. After the fire at the Theatre Comique, Edward Harrigan occupied the New Park Theater, where were heard the laughable Irish-American farces from his pen, such as "McAllister's Legacy." Harrigan left there in 1890, since which time it has been mainly used for melodrama and vaudeville. The Metropolitan Opera House should have a passing notice in this chapter, as Salvini played one of his engagements there, and on May 10, 1888, "Hamlet" was given for the benefit of Lester Wallack.

The new Casino, in the distinctively Moorish style of architecture,

situated on the corner of Broadway and Thirty-ninth street, has been given up, since its opening in October, 1882, almost entirely to comic opera. Proctor's Theater, on West Twenty-third street, occupies the ground once covered by a church, and later by the Temple in which Salmi Morse endeavored to present to the New-York public his American reproduction of the "Passion Play" of Ober-Ammergau. The municipal authorities, however, would not allow its production in New-York. During an attempt at rehearsal it was suppressed in the middle of the first act. Finally, after an entire private performance was given before Mr. Morse's friends, the "Passion Play" was refused presentation; the result being that it broke the heart of, and financially ruined, its projector, who committed suicide. In 1883 Morse's Temple was called the Twenty-third Street Theater, and when rebuilt in 1889 was opened as Proctor's Theater. The Lyceum Theater, on Fourth Avenue, near Twenty-third street, is quite unique in its decorations, which are mainly of artistic colored and jeweled glass. It is the only theater in the city without a family circle, and was opened in 1885 by Steele Mackaye. Helen Dauvray preceded in its management Daniel Frohman, who has followed the old traditions of a stock company, and good comedy and refined drama have always predominated. The Lyceum's presentation of "The Charity Ball" was noteworthy for its excellence, and "Lord Chumley" had E. H. Sothern, the son of the original Lord Dundreary, in the title role. One of the interesting associations of the theater is that it has been the headquarters of the American Academy of the Dramatic Arts, of which the director is Franklin Haven Sargent. This is a school of elocution, dramatic action, stage technique, and operatic work. The Theatre of Arts and Letters, an American evolution of the "Théâtre Libre" of Paris, is affiliated with it. The Windsor Theater, on the Bowery, although only known as such from 1886, has a history dating back to the old Bowery Amphitheater, later called the Zoological Institute. In 1845 a company played there for some months; later, on its site was built the Stadt Theater, the original home in New-York of German drama and opera. Here Daniel E. Bandmann acted in his native tongue before he played in English. Just prior to 1880 the Stadt was rechristened the Windsor Theater, but was burned down in November, 1883. It was rebuilt, and reopened on February 8, 1886, and has since been managed on the combination plan. The Amberg Theater, on Irving Place, built in 1888 on the site of Irving Hall, has since occupied the same position relatively to the German-American population in matters theatrical as had previously the Stadt, Germania, Apollo, and Thalia theaters. Ernst Possart, Emil Thomas, Josef Kainz, and Marie Barkany are among the noted Germans who have appeared at Amberg's.

The last of the Broadway Theaters was opened on March 3, 1888, with "La Tosca," Fanny Davenport in the title rôle. It is situated on the corner of Broadway and Forty-first street, where once stood the old Metropolitan Concert Hall, afterward successively named the Casino, Alcazar, and Cosmopolitan Theater. Edwin Booth, Helen Modjeska, De Wolf Hopper, and Francis Wilson have been the principal performers who have starred there. The Garden Theater was opened on September 27, 1890, as an annex of the new Madison Square Garden, with its lofty Sevillan tower and graceful arcades. The new Madison Square Garden stands on the site of the old Harlem and New Haven Railroad depot. Barnum established his hippodrome here in 1872–3; it was afterward called Gilmore's Garden, and still later the Madison Square Garden. When the new garden was opened a stage was erected on the Fourth Avenue side on which theatrical spectacles and ballets were performed. This was afterward taken down, and the whole available space utilized for seating accommodations, so that now an audience of twelve thousand persons can be comfortably seated. The Garden Theater, which, from its inception, has been managed by Mr. French, has been chiefly devoted to comic opera. Harrigan's Theater, in West Thirty-sixth street, near Sixth Avenue, was opened on December 22, 1890, since when Mr. Harrigan has continued to delight New-York audiences with his local comic dramas, in which he himself, and John Wild and Mrs. Annie Yeamans, take the leading rôles. The Berkeley Lyceum, on Forty-fourth street, near Fifth Avenue, was opened in 1888 for amateur theatricals, and in this pleasant but small theater several professional actors of repute have been developed. The People's Theater was built in 1883 by Harry Miner, on the Bowery, facing Spring street, on the site of the old Volks Garden, for cheap dramatic performances by combination companies. The new Theatre Comique, on One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street, was opened in 1884, but in 1890 was given the name of the Harlem Theater. Oscar Hammerstein is the builder and owner of three theaters. The Harlem Opera House, on West One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street, was opened by him in September, 1889, and the Columbus Theater, on East One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street, near Lexington Avenue, in October, 1890. Both of these theaters are given over to the star and combination system, at popular prices. The Manhattan Opera House, on Thirty-fourth street, which possesses many novel features borrowed from Parisian theaters, was opened in November, 1892, by Mr. Hammerstein.

Nor will all those specified close the roll of theaters on Manhattan Island; for there are in process of erection three playhouses, in which it is claimed all that art and science can possibly aid in construction, for theatric effect and for public comfort, will be utilized. The

American Theater, on Eighth Avenue and Forty-second street, will be managed by Mr. French, who will present spectacular pieces; the Empire Theater, at Broadway and Fortieth street, by Mr. Frohman, solely for the production, by his stock company, of the American drama; and Abbey's Theater, on the corner of Broadway and Thirty-eighth street, will be devoted to stars and combinations.

The evolution of the New-York theater has now been briefly described, in not only a greatly condensed but most certainly in a somewhat superficial manner, when the mass of facts involved is realized. Whether we regard its beginning from the standpoint of a few theatrically minded young men meeting in a store on Cruger's wharf, or from that of the visit to New-York city about 1730 of actor Anthony Aston, or from that of the Murray and Kean company of comedians, from Philadelphia, playing "Richard III." in the year 1750, in a room of a building belonging to Rip Van Dam, on Nassau street,— it must be remembered that between then and now about a century and a half have elapsed. To-day there are over forty theaters in the city, and there have been as many more during the last one hundred and fifty years, the former locations of which are positively unknown except to a very limited number of our population of one and three quarter millions. All the performers attached to the companies playing in those hundred theaters, or thereabouts, during the period described, lived, moved, and had their being — their home joys, domestic anxieties, and social pleasures, as well as their theatrical triumphs and disappointments. Since the year 1730 there have been many thousands of actors and actresses in New-York, and as with the players, of whom there have been good, bad, and indifferent, so with the plays, for their number is not only legion, but many of their titles, as well as the names of their authors, have passed away into the limbo of forgetfulness. It would, therefore, have been impossible in a brief account of the theaters of Manhattan Island — to which this chapter is limited — to have mentioned all associated therewith, much less to have done justice to every factor in what has constituted the past of the New-York dramatic stage.

CHAPTER XVIII

COMMERCIAL HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK
1626–1806

FROM its birth New-York has been a trading city. It was conceived in that idea, and it has always been true to the purpose of its origin. It has been recited how the charter of the West India Company was obtained from the States-General of the Netherlands in 1621, and that among the powers it bestowed was included the raising of fleets for predatory warfare. Never was the adage "As the twig is bent so is the tree inclined" more thoroughly exemplified thau in the taste thus early grafted on the Manhattan settlement for privateering and its natural corollary, smuggling; or, to use the gentler term later applied to it, "illicit trade." In granting this privilege, which was tantamount to what was called a "roving commission," the States-General reserved a share of the treasures that should be captured. As a further privilege they exempted all exportations of Holland manufactures made by the company, and all importations received by it of American products, from all duties for eight years.

The first act of Peter Minuit, the first director-general of New Netherlands, on his arrival in 1626, was one of trade. He purchased a tract of tweuty-two thousand acres on Manhattan Island from the tribe of the Reckgawawancks for the sum of sixty guilders, or twenty-four dollars. The first commercial transaction was that recited in the sale to the Pilgrims of the New Plymouth colony of some strings of wampum,—a somewhat peculiar transaction, as the Narragansett Indians were the principal makers of wampumpeage of both kinds: the white of the periwinkle, and the black of the quahog, or hard-shell clam—the sole currency of the Indians over a vast surface of country before the arrival of the white man either at Plymouth Rock or the Island of Manhattan. Furs were the first articles of export. During the administration of Walter Van Twiller the exports to the old country reached the sum of 134,953 florins ($53,981), the value of 14,891 beavers and 1413 otters. Smuggling even then began to make such inroads on the revenues of the West India Company that

the Chamber of Accounts reported in 1644 a net loss to its treasury of over five hundred and fifty thousand guilders. Yet the year previous two Spanish prizes were brought in with tobacco, sugar, and ebony from Cuba by a privateer owned by a New Amsterdam company. The little fleet which brought over Director-General Peter Stuyvesant took a Spanish prize on the voyage, and about the first thing the doughty governor did on his arrival was to order the two men-of-war then on the station "to go to sea and cruise" against the Spaniards. The erudite and careful student who wrote the chapter in the first volume of this history on Stuyvesant's days, says: "Of the trade regulations under former governors of the province, but little is known." Not till 1642 was trade with foreign countries permitted to New Amsterdam merchants on their own account. In 1651 a discrimination of sixteen per cent. duty was ordered on all imports from the English-American colonies into New Amsterdam, while goods exported thence to the same colonies were exempt from all duties. In 1655 an ordinance settled the values of wampum, which was the only money of the settlement and a legal tender, and so remained until 1656, when Stuyvesant conceived the idea of making beaver-skins a currency, and so declared them by an ordinance of 1657. Their money value was eight florins ($3.20). There is no accessible summary of the trade of the port during Stuyvesant's rule.

After the English occupation (1664) regular reports to the home government render the study of the commercial relations of New-York more easy and satisfactory. A request of Stuyvesant himself to the Duke of York in 1667 informs us as to the status of the Hollanders under the new régime. "Beaver, the most desirable commodity for Europe, hath always been purchased from the Indians by the commodities brought from Holland, as Camper, Duffles, Hatchetts, and other iron works made up at Utrick [Utrecht] and much esteemed by the Natives, asks for two such vessels, the Crosse Heart of 200 tonn, the Indian of 120 to go from Holland to N. Y." A note attached to this document reads: "Granted for seven years on Colonel Nichols's pass emitted to three ships." This was in accordance with the stipulations in the surrender, August 29, 1664: "It is consented that any people may come from ye Netherlands and plantations in this country and that Dutch vessels may freely come hither, any of ye Dutch may freely return home or send any merchandize home in vessels of their own country." Upon a petition of the common council of New-York, this permission was withdrawn. Though the town had changed its name, its population was as yet unchanged; in the words of the petition, "the inhabitants being for the most part Dutch born." The English had long coveted the fur trade up the Hudson River. Our readers remember the incident of the ship William, sent out by a company of London

merchants in 1633. She sailed up to Fort Orange, now Albany, and took on board a load of peltries, which the Dutch soldiers from Fort Amsterdam made them discharge. Now that the English were in possession, they continued the old exclusion. "No foreign vessel," wrote the duke's agent, 167$\frac{5}{6}$, "is permitted to pass up the river and sell at Albany." And he complained to Andros that the Bostonians and other strangers were allowed to send small vessels to Esopus (Kingston) and Albany. Governor Edmund Andros showed liberality in allowing free access to the Indian tribes up the river. The city wharf was improved this year, and the contract with the builders was for payment in "beaver pay," one half of which in "ready wampum." This is a late date for the use of wampum in a bargain between whites, though it no doubt lasted much longer in the trade with the Indians, both Iroquois and Huron tribes. Rhode Island was the last of the New England colonies to give it up; but in 1662 the General Assembly of that colony, considering that "wampumpeage is fallen to too low a rate and it cannot be judged that it is but a commodity and that it is unreasonable that it should be forced upon any man," ordered that all public fines should be paid in current pay according to merchants' pay, and repealed all former laws. Black peage had fallen in 1649 to "four a penny."

Flour was the chief staple even of the Dutch settlement. In the earliest known map (1661), a town windmill for the manufacture is shown within the limits of the present Battery Park. But the product was limited, and Andros in 1675 found it uecessary to fix the price for winter wheat at 5*s.* 6*d.* per bushel, summer wheat at 2*s.* 6*d.*, Indian corn at 2*s.* 6*d.* As the French pushed their trade along the Great Lakes and far into the interior, aud gradually grasped the fur trade, flour became more and more a necessary article of export. Andros, in his report to the Council of Plantations in 1678, says: "Our principal places of trade are New-York and Southampton, except Albany for the Indyans. Produce is land provisions of all sorts as of wheate (exported yearly about sixty thousand bushels), pease, beef, pork, and some Refuse fish, Tobacco, beavers, peltry, or furs from the Indians, Deale and oak timber, planks, pipe staves, lumber, horses and pitch or tarr lately begunn to be made commoditys imported are all sorts of English manufacture for Christians and blanketts Duffals etc., for Indians about fifty thousand pounds yearly. Pemaquid affords merchantable ships and masts. Our merchants are not many but most inhabitants and planters about two thousand able to bear arms, old inhabitants of the place or of England, Except in and neere New Yorke of Dutch extraction and some few of all having but few servauts much wanted aud but very few slaves—a merchant worth one thousand or five hundred pounds is accompted a good substantiall

merchant and a planter worth half that in movables is accompted rich — with all the Estates may be valued at about £150,000. There may lately have trade to ye Colony in a yeare about ten to fifteen ships or vessels of which together 100 tonns each English, New England and our own built of which five small ships and a Ketch now belonging to New York four of them built there. No privateers on the coast." And again, "imported European goods of all sorts chiefly woven and other English manufactures and linings, some wines from Fyall and Madeira; and a Barbadoes and West India trade from whence chiefly comes rum. The Acts of Trade and Navigation are sayed and is generally believed not to be observed in the Colonies as they ought, there being no Custom Houses. But the Governor of Massachusetts gives cleerings certificates and passes for every particular thing from thence to New York."

Governor Thomas Dongan, in 1686, is more specific, and shows a considerable advance in the trade of the port. "New-York and Albany live wholly upon trade with the Indians, England and the West Indies. The returns for England are generally Beaver Peltry oil [whale oil], and tobacco when we can have it. To the West Indies we send, flower, bread, pease, pork, and sometimes horses; the return from thence for the most part is rum which pays the king a considerable excise, and some molasses which serves the people to make drink, and pays no custom. There are about nine or ten three mast vessels of about eighty or one hundred tons burthen, two or three ketches or barks of about forty tun, and about twenty sloops of twenty or five and twenty tun belonging to the government—all of which trade for England, Holland, and the West Indies, except six or seven sloops that use the river trade to Albany and that way. No product of Europe or the West Indies be imported into this province unless it were directly from England or such part of the West Indies where such commodities were produced without paying as a custom to his Majesty, ten per cent." The growing importance of the flour trade is shown by the change in the arms of the province. The beaver had figured on the great seal since 1654, and the flour-barrel was added in 1686,—not for long, however, as on the accession of the Duke of York to the throne as James the Second, the colonies were consolidated into a new dominion, and by the king's instructions to Andros, the viceroy, the seal of New-York was broken in council, and the great seal of New England thereafter used. Governor Dongan, by his wise management, secured in 1685, by an expedition of traders to the western Indians, a restoration of the channel of the fur trade to Albany, from which it had been diverted by the French governors of Canada. That year the Seneca Indians brought in ten thousand beaver-skins to Albany.

The English revolution of 1688, the overthrow of the Stuarts and the accession of William of Orange to the English throne, with the consequent Leisler troubles in the New-York province, greatly deranged trade,—many of the principal merchants seeking refuge in New Jersey from the dangerous agitations of the town, which continued until the arrival of Governor Fletcher restored confidence and tranquillity to the city, and was not distasteful to the inhabitants; but commerce was by no means thriving. The beginning of King William's war (as the war with France which was proclaimed in the colonies in March, 1690, and continued till 1697, was called) was the signal for a descent of French privateers, seven of which swept the coast of New England from Cape Cod to New London in the May succeeding, and each year thereafter hung about the entire Atlantic coast-line in May, June, and July. In November, 1694, Fletcher advised the Board of Trade: "The trade of this place to the West Indies has much declined, our merchants fall upon new inventions to trade to New Foundland, if the Kings ships were permitted to convoy our vessels thither." The king's revenue from the customs at that time was £1000 per annum, "more than sufficient in time of peace for the public charge of the country." Whatever his faults may have been, Governor Fletcher has the credit of having established many excellent institutions: among others the first exchange for the daily meeting of merchants for trade, which was ordered to be on the Long Bridge at the foot of Broad street.

Privateering was ever found to be a two-edged sword; limitations of truce and treaty stipulations were soon disregarded in the eager pursuit of easily gotten wealth. Always practised in New-York, it became a recognized profession, and nearly every merchant of consequence had an interest, not only in one, but in many ventures. In the time of King William's war, under Fletcher's administration, it passed all bounds of decency. The capture of the Great Mogul with its offerings to Mecca, in 1695, was the crisis of its existence. The story has been told in a prior chapter devoted to the subject.[1] The depredations of Captain Kidd, who was employed by Lord Bellomont, Robert Livingston, and others, to suppress piracy, are well known. They occurred in 1697.

In 1697 the instructions to the Earl of Bellomont were precise "to suffer not the adjoining Colonies to endeavour to obstruct the trade of New York and Albany," and "not to suffer any innovations within the River of New York, nor any goods to pass up the same but what shall have paid the duties at New York"; and he was further directed "to give all due encouragement and invitation to merchants and others who shall bring trade into the said province or any way contribute to

[1] *Vide* Vol. I., p. 515.

the advantage thereof, in particular to the Royal African Company of England."[1] This was a slave-trading company. England found she could not get negroes fast enough by her licensed companies, and now opened the trade to all comers, with its consequent unrestrained barbarities which are still within man's memory.

The preparation of flour for export was always a chief industry of the city and colony. In 1678 a monopoly was granted to a few leading citizens of bolting all the flour and baking all the bread for export, baked bread being in demand in the West Indies. The neighboring towns of the province protested, but Fletcher, at the instance of Mayor De Peyster and the common council, by his intervention with the king, continued the privilege. In 1694 the privilege was abolished as "unlawful by law." The common council petitioned for its restoration in 1696. This curious document appears in this history (I. 496). There is another equally quaint preserved in the English records; it speaks of "grain as the staple commodity of the province of New York," and adds that "the citizens had no sooner perceived that there were greater quantities of wheat raised than could be consumed within the said province but they contrived and invented the art of bolting, by which they converted the wheat into flour and made it a manufacture not only profitable to all the inhabitants of this province, by the encouragement of tillage and navigation, but likewise beneficial and commodious to all the plantations, and the improvement thereof is the true and only cause of the growth, strength, and increase of buildings within the same and of the riches, plenty of money and rise of value of lands of other parts of the province and the livelihood of all the inhabitants of this city did chiefly depend thereon." The minutes of the common council of 1692 record that the Supreme Court was of the opinion that the city of New-York had the charter or privilege of bolting or packing flour. Of this, as stated, they were deprived by the Assembly in 1694. Governor Andros somewhat mended matters by prohibiting the transportation of wheat, "that the same might be improved by the inhabitants of this City by bolting it into flour and to bake 'bisketts' for transportation." The writer of the document quoted complains that the city of New-York, which had been called the "Granary of America," where more or less than 40,000 to 50,000 bushels were in store, suffered greatly in consequence of this legislation, and the supply fell off to scarce 1000 bushels, insufficient for the supply of the inhabitants. The sketch closes with the remarkable statement that of the 983 houses then in New-York 600 depended on

[1] There had existed in England three trading companies to Africa — the first, incorporated in the reign of Elizabeth, was succeeded by the Company of Royal Adventurers, chartered in 1662, which in turn sold out to the Royal African Company, chartered in 1672. Parliament opened the slave-trade to all merchants June 21, 1698, for a term of fourteen years. The act of Parliament opening the trade stated that it was "for the well supplying of plantations with sufficient numbers of negroes at reasonable prices."

"bolting," while in the three counties of Kings, Queens, and Ulster there were not over thirty "bolters."

The common-council petition of 1696 gives the number of ships in New-York as sixty, of boats forty, of sloops sixty-two, which later decreased for various reasons. Governor Fletcher was charged with connivance in the piratical trade, but in his defense he says that the province had improved more in building and trade in the five years of his rule than in many years before. And Bellomont, who had entered on his government in the spring of 1698, while he complains of "finding the greatest abuses as to trade," corroborates Fletcher's statement as to the growth of the city, which is "double to what it was ten years since, and the City grown vastly rich and populous and increased to double the amount of houses." Yet he complains that "there hath been a most lycencious trade with Pyrats, Scotland and Curacoa." He attempted to bring it to a stop, but reports that on his seizing "some East India goods imported in an unfree bottom the whole City seemed to be in an uproar and looked upon it as a violent seizing of their property." There was no naval officer distinct from the collector, nor any register, which rendered violations by connivance easy. It was by Fletcher's connivance, says Bellomont, that "the City had been greatly enriched, while the revenues from the Customs was less than ten years before." "Here at New-York," he adds, "they run all the goods they can and too much unlawful trade there is." Bellomont had been warned in March, 1698, of "his Majesty's just resentment against piracy as so much encouraged from his Majesty's dominions."

An account of goods imported from England to Boston, 1699–1700, states "the invoices at £120,000 Boston money, bona fide; probably £30,000 more in New-York, on which the duty at two per cent. would be £6000; 1200 entries and clearings show that New-York had nearly one half as much trade as Boston." A comparison of the trade of the ports shows Boston twenty-five ships, one hundred to three hundred tons; fifty brigantines, thirteen ketches, and sixty-seven sloops, in all one hundred and ninety-four tons; New-York six ships above and eight under one hundred tons; two ketches, twenty-seven brigantines, and eighty-one sloops. Upon the Earl of Bellomont's representations of the increasing evasions of the revenue acts, the Board of Trade in 1700 ordered him to enforce the act of 10 Charles II., forbidding "that any commodity of the growth product or manufacture of Europe be imported into any of his Majesty's plantations but what shall be bona fide and without fraud shipped in England, Wales, or the town of Berwick." Of the condition of the trade on his arrival he wrote: "The Beaver Trade here and at Boston is sunk to little or nothing and the market is so low for beaver in England that it is scarce worth the transporting. I have been told that in one year when this province

was in possession of the Dutch there were 66,000 beaver skins exported from this town, and this last year there was but 15,241 beaver skins exported as by Colonel Cortlandt's account."

Queen Anne's war with France and Spain, which lasted till 1713, was proclaimed in the colonies in May, 1702, and the same month Lord Cornbury superseded Bellomont in the New-York government. The summer which followed was that known as the "time of the great sickness." The disease was the yellow fever, brought in a vessel from St. Thomas, and "killed almost every patient seized with it." Every merchant that could left the city. Cornbury was as harsh in his reports of Bellomont as those of that gentleman had been of Fletcher. "The trade of this place," wrote Cornbury, in 1703, to the Lords of Plantations, "was formerly very considerable beyond any of the neighboring provinces, but hath been extremely ruined and impaired ever since my Lord Bellomont came hither." Later he informed the board that the war had cut the New-York province out of the trade with Spain, France, and Flanders, and part of the Baltic, and his lieutenant-governor, Richard Ingoldesby, wrote home, in 1704, that "the manufacturing of flour was of little value here because of the war, a stop being put to its consumption in the Spanish West Indies," and that the inhabitants of New-York were greatly impoverished thereby.

The condition of the trade is well displayed in the petition of the merchants of New-York (fifty-seven in number) to Governor Cornbury, on June 25, 1705. The petition reads that "the principal staple of the trade of this province is the manufacture of wheat, expended chiefly in the West Indies by the English, and in their trade with Spanish subjects upon the continent; that the returns made from England (excepting the small trade of peltry, which is now so diminished as to be scarce worth regarding) were heavy pieces of eight [the Portuguese johannes, a gold coin of the value of eight dollars], and other produce of the West Indies, which came to us in return for our said manufacture. That upon peace after the last war, the greatest part of the heavy money in this province was remitted to England. That since the breaking out of the present war between France and Spain, our manufactures have been of small value in the West Indies to our great impoverishment." The petition asked the suspension of the proclamation as to foreign coins issued by order of the queen. The province would never have suffered under any reasonable management by the Lords of Trade. These gentlemen were repeatedly informed that, if encouraged, it could supply England with all manner of naval stores in abundance—pitch, tar, resin, turpentine, flax, hemp, masts, and timber of all kinds and sizes, and very good of their kind. Of the trade of the period, William Smith (the historian) gives a very gloomy account. "Though," he says, "a war was proclaimed by England on May 4,

1702, against France and Spain, yet as the two Nations had entered into a treaty of Neutrality with the French in Canada, this province, instead of being harassed on its borders by the enemy carried on a trade very advantageous to all those who were concerned in it."

On June 3, 1705, a ship bound for Jamaica was taken by a French privateer from Martinique, and on the 14th the same came to Sandy Hook, and sent her boats up to the watering-place on Staten Island to capture a vessel, but did not find her. Her men landed below the Navesink, and burned two country houses. On October 6, 1706, two sloops belonging to the port of New-York, going to Jamaica, were taken by the French, "and the conveyance by the way of the West Indies [to England] has hitherto proved very uncertain with respect to the Colonies on this Continent." Upon this day the merchants of New-York petitioned for fortifying the city. Subscriptions were raised till the Assembly, prorogued to November 12, should meet. A conference was held between the council and the merchants, and four of the latter, Colonel Abraham De Peyster, Captain Robert Lurting, Captain Reed, and Captain David Provoost, were appointed to receive the moneys subscribed. The same day, however, Lord Cornbury advised the Lords of Trade: "The Lowestoff and the Triton's[1] prize are both here, and are ships fit for the service for which they are sent." He asks the appointment of "a Clerk of the Cheque in this port, or else to empower the Governor to meet the men belonging to her Majesty's ships of war in this province; by this means as soon as a ship has her complement, the press will close, and the Merchants will be able to man their vessels." "And," he adds, "I do not find the people are very willing the Queen shall be served, but they think it very hard that the men must be pressed under pretense of the Queen's service, when, indeed, there is no need of it." There seems to have been some doubt in the minds of the officials as to the use of the queen's colors for privateersmen, but the Admiralty on being inquired of made no objection. In 1705 a French privateer sailed into the wholly unfortified harbor, and threw the city into the greatest consternation. The Assembly, in 1707, adopted resolutions declaring their condemnation of the raising of money for any purpose "by any tax impost or burthen on goods imported or exported, or any clog or hindrance in traffic or commerce, as having driven many persons out of the province and impoverished the planters, the freeholders, and the inhabitants generally"; and also, that "the excessive sums received from masters of vessels trading here under the notion of port charges," visiting the said vessels by supernumerary officers and taking extraordinary fees,

[1] The Triton cruised from the east end of Long Island to the capes of the Delaware. This season she had an encounter with a privateer which had fourteen guns and one hundred and eighty men. The privateer fought stoutly and got away. Either she or one of her confederates, under the French flag, took several vessels while cruising off the capes of Virginia that same summer.

is "the great discouragement of trade, and strangers coming among us, beyond the precedent of any other port, and without color of law."

Before Cornbury's administration there had grown up an *in transitu* trade in the export to England of "Logwood and other dyeing wood, Cochineal, Indigo and Cocoa nuts," which came from the islands of Barbadoes, Montserrat, St. Christopher, Nevis, Antigua, and Jamaica; and now and then a vessel would go to the coast of Africa for a cargo of negroes, but Virginia and Maryland were even then a better market for the slave. Complaining in 1708 of the decay of the trade in the ten years preceding, Cornbury ascribes it to the repeal of the flour-bolting privilege, and to the freedom allowed New-Englanders, who purchased corn in the New-York province with clipped coin, and, carrying it home, ground or bolted it and shipped it to the West Indies. Notwithstanding the war and the severity with which hostilities were carried on, the New-Yorkers managed to maintain friendly relations with the French in the West Indies, and to a greater degree with the Spaniards on the main, and traded with them to such an extent that the Board of Trade complained to Governor Hunter, in 1710, that New-York not only supplied the French islands but their privateers with "goods and provisions." In 1710 a slave-market was opened at the foot of Wall street.

Queen Anne's war was concluded by the Peace of Utrecht in March, 1713. One of its provisions was the "full liberty" of the subjects of France and England in America, "of going and coming on account of trade." Queen Anne died in August, 1714, and an entire concord, for the first time in a long period, between the executive, Brigadier Robert Hunter, the governor, and the Assembly, seemed to indicate renewed prosperity; but, unfortunately for the New-York colonists, whose trade was chiefly in provisions, there was an exclusion of vessels from their coast. To make up for this, Hunter again urged on the Board of Trade an increase in the use of the naval stores produced here; and in support of his claims he gave a long list of the ships in this port, "almost all of which have been built here." It was at this period that William Walton established his great shipyards on the East River, above where Catharine street now touches the water. In 1719 the British sugar-colonies demanded of Parliament a prohibition of all intercourse between the northern colonies and any tropical islands except the British, though they did not hesitate to maintain an illicit trade with their French and Spanish neighbors. In 1720 Hunter reports that the trade, and consequently the extent of shipping and the numbers of mariners, had been gradually increasing. Tar had again come into request, and whale-oil and -bone were added to the outgoing cargoes to England; while flour, pork, and other provisions were shipped to the southern islands, and horses to Surinam, Curaçoa,

and St. Thomas. There was little or no trade from any foreign country. The returns from St. Thomas, Curaçoa, and Surinam were only in gold or silver—at least such trade as was avowed. He adds that there was no sort of manufacturing deserving of mention.

A "Report of the State of Plantations in America," made in 1721 by the Lords Commissioners, gives an account of the effort to increase the product of naval stores. In 1709 it is here stated, "the commissioners sent over about three thousand Palatines for this work. They settled on the shores of the Hudson's River and prepared trees for the making of tar, and in 1713 prepared above one hundred thousand trees, capable of producing about thirty thousand barrels of tar, worth at 8*s*. per barrel in New-York, say £17,000. Governor Hunter maintained these men as he was able until they dispersed, some taking to husbandry, others leaving the province." The report states also that there was iron in great quantities, some copper and lead in the far back Indian settlements, and coal-mines on Long Island not worked. The average of exports to Great Britain for three years last preceding was £50,000 a year; the imports from there were £16,000, a balance of trade in favor of New-York of £34,000. The vessels of the province were small and not numerous, and most, as stated, employed in carrying provisions to the southern islands, and in the coasting colonial trade. The population was increasing. By the same document it appears that there were cleared in the three years 1714–17, sixty-four ships, 4330 tons, and that in this branch New-York was then exceeded by every colony except Pennsylvania.

Governor William Burnet undertook the affairs of the province in 1720. Coming from the office of comptroller of the customs in London, he had the advantage of an intelligent understanding of this branch of his executive duties. Cadwallader Colden was his chief adviser here on subjects of this nature. The first Assembly after his arrival passed two laws affecting trade: one for laying a duty of two per cent. prime cost on the importation of European goods, which the king shortly repealed; another prohibiting the sale of Indian goods to the French, which was little favored. As has been stated, there had been a great trade since the Peace of Utrecht between Albany and Canada for goods valuable among the Indians. This caused discord between the importers of this class of goods and the governor, who, however, persisted in the hope of drawing the trade to our own hands. The London merchants joined their New-York brethren in a petition to the king to disapprove the prohibition of this French trade. The war grew hot in the council, and divided families into hostile camps. The report of the council in opposition to the measure, addressed to the Board of Trade and Plantations, Smith, the historian, styles "memorable," and gives the text in full. It certainly

has a great historical value as to the condition of the Indians. As to the merits of the controversy, able as the argument of James Alexander and Cadwallader Colden may have been, and perhaps correct in their opinions as to the influence of the trade on our Indian and French relations, it may be supposed that in this as in most cases the merchants knew their own interests better than the lawyers, who disputed even this claim of the traders themselves. But, as was usual, the lawyers had their way, and a steady continuance in their policy brought about the Revolution.

In 1723 Colden reported the state of trade: "Trade chiefly to Britain and the British West Indies. Wines from Madeira, and a trade with Curaçoa; some with Surinam and a little private trade with the French Islands. That with the West Indies wholly to the advantage of this province, Curaçoa and Jamaica taking great quantities of flour for the Spanish trade. Trade to Barbadoes most considerable because of the transportation thence to the Spanish coast and to the French Islands, so that we consume more of the produce of that island in rum, sugar, and molasses than of all the others put together. The trade to Madeira is to our loss. Whatever advantages are with the West Indies, it is hard to make it even with England, so that the money imported from the West Indies seldom remains six months in the Province before it is exported to England, current cash here being wholly in current bills of this province and a few Lyon Dollars. American wheat better than European, and is profitable trade when provisions are scarce in France. Staple Commodity, Flour and Bread, sent to West Indies, where we are allowed to trade, also Wheat, Pipe-Staves, and a little beeswax to Madeira. Also considerable Pork and Bacon and Staves, some Beef Butter and a few candles to the West Indies. Trade to the Spanish Coast dangerous under unarmed vessels; occasional log-wood from Campeachy and Honduras. From Barbadoes rum, molasses and Sugar, all consumed here. Some rum for the country, and some rum and sugar to England. From Jamaica, Rum, Molasses, and the best Muscovado for consumption of this Colony, sometimes Log-wood, but principal returns are in Spanish money. From Curaçoa, Spanish money and Cocoa for England. From Surinam only returns in Molasses and a little Rum. From St. Thomas the Danes supplied the French with our provisions. We have cotton from there and from the French Islands Cocoa, Sugar, and Indigo chiefly exported to England. We supply Boston and Rhode Island as well as South Carolina with wheat and flour. Pennsylvania alone rivals us in our trade to the West Indies but the credit of this province in manufactures exceeds that of Pennsylvania. Besides the sea trade, considerable inland trade with the Indians for beaver, other furs and peltry, and with the French of Canada for Beaver. This province has the

largest share of this to England most profitable trade, and is the only rival in it to the French. Great Quantities of English goods in English Cloaths sold to the Canadian Indian traders yearly."

The London Custom House returns from 1723–28, under Governor John Montgomerie's administration, were rendered from Christmas, 1723, to Christmas, 1724: imports from New-York, £35,316 18*s.* 9*d.*; exports to, £63,020 0*s.* 0*d.*; 1725–26, imports from New-York, £38,307 17*s.* 0*d.*; exports to, £84,850 18*s.* 0*d.*; 1727–28, imports, £20,045 12*s.* 11*d.*; exports to, £78,561 6*s.* 4*d.* Up to the year 1725, information as to the commerce of New-York is only to be obtained from the reports of the governors to the Board of Trade. Thereafter the newspapers appear. The New-York Society Library possesses what is probably a unique copy of the "first Bradford"—that is, the first issue of the "New-York Gazette." Examining the entries and clearances of vessels, there appears in the spring quarter from March 28 to June 28, 1726, twenty-three coastwise and forty-three foreign arrivals, and eighteen coastwise and forty-three foreign departures; and in the autumn quarter from August 28 to November 28, there appear twenty-four coastwise and forty-five foreign arrivals, and twenty-nine coastwise and thirty-four foreign departures. On November 22, in No. 109 of the "Gazette," it is announced: "Tomorrow morning the Eastern and Western posts set out to perform their stages once a fortnight during these Winter Months." The prices current, May 2 to May 9, were: "Flour, 12*s.* 6*d.*; Brown Bread, 13*s.* 6*d.*; Middling Bread, 15*s.*; White, 18*s.* to 19*s.*; Beef, 34*s.* per barrel; Pork, 55*s.*; Pease, 4*s.* 6*d.* per hushel." In No. 107, October 2 to 9, 1726, appear copies of an advertisement from the "London Journal": "All merchants and owners of ships and others, sufferers by Spanish seizures and captures since 11th of February last, desired to send in writing an % of ships, master's name, values to Michael Shaw at the Crown Coffe House behind the Royal Exchange." The issue for June 20 gives a graphic account of a pirate on the coast. "Sloop Rachel Hains, London to Liverpool, captured hy a pyrat snow, Wm. Fox, Captain, six guns and 23 men on the 12 off Cape May captured on the 11th held to 12th, robbed and then let go, Pyrat said they would go to Block Island and wait for Rhode Island sloops and then go to Newfoundland. They also gave out that Law and Sprig were on the coast and waited to take Capt. Sterling's great ship built at New London. A sloop reported the pyrat snow in a calm of Block Island, who sent out a boat full of hands with a black flag, they came within pistol shot of the sloop, but the sloop bringing some quarter deck guns to fire upon them they made off."

In 1732, under Governor Clarke's administration, the imports from Great Britain were: "India goods, with silk manufactures chiefly; the exports, the legal enumerated articles to London and outports,

the latter seldom; from Ireland Linen and Canvas; to Ireland Flax seed and staves—from British Colonies, Rum, Wine, Lime, Snuff, Sulphur, Strawplait, hides, Deer skins, Cochineal, Negroes, Mahogany, and Ebony. To other parts of Europe, Grain, hides, elk and deer-skins, ox-hams, Spanish snuff, Logwood, Indigo, Cocoa nuts, and foreign produce and lumber. From Europe and the English and foreign settlements in America, Salt; from Africa, Negroes, though less than formerly; from Madeira and Canary Islands, wines. From North and South parts of the Continent, Cider, oil, blubber, hops, flax seed, flax, bricks, sealskins, wrought tin, and brasiery. Lastly from foreign plantations small quantities of Rum, Molasses and sugar (since the act imposing new duties thereon),[1] snuff, Spanish tobacco, Virtue, Indigo, Log-wood, and other dyeing woods, cocoa-nuts, cotton, wool, etc. To Madeira, and the Azores, Grain, beeswax and Staves. To English districts North and South of this Continent and West Indies, Provisions, Chocolate, Lumber, European goods. Lastly to the Neutral Ports, St. Thomas, Curaçoa, and Surinam, Provisions, lumber, and horses with provender. Production: The country people make their own homespun of wool and flax. From 1715 linseed raised and milled into oil, hats made of beaver fur and exported by act of Michaelmas, 1732; also lamp black from the year 1730. Sugar baking and refining for home consumption and that of the American Continent and to the West Indies by Certificates, and latterly two rum distilleries have been erected. Mines of Iron and Lead ore, the manufactory of which has been lately proposed, and also raising of hemp. Grain of all kinds. Some little tobacco.'

On October 23, 1739, England wantonly declared war upon Spain, determined to open the ports of South America to her own trade and destroy the colonial system of Spain. The colonies gave in their quotas for attack on the Floridas. Governor Clarke issued his commission of reprisal on the Spaniards, June 17. Privateers took the seas on both sides, and English vessels were plundered on every sea with quite as much resolution as the colonies displayed in their ventures against Spain. In 1743 seven Spanish privateers sailed from

[1] Sugar Act of 1733, passed February 14: "I. That no sugar Panelles syrup or Molasses of the growth product or manufactures of any of the Colonies or Plantations in America, nor any rum or spirits of America, except of the growth or manufacture of his Majesty's sugar Colonies there be imported into Ireland but from Great Britain only. II. That a duty of 4s. per hundred weight sterling money be laid on all foreign sugar and Panells imported into any of his Majesty's Colonies or Plantations in America. III. That a duty of 6d. per gallon sterling money be laid on all foreign molasses and syrups imported into any of his Majesty's Colonies or Plantations in America. IV. That a duty of 9d. per gallon sterling money be laid on all foreign rum imported into any of his Majesty's Colonies or Plantations in America. V. That all the duties charged on the importation of all sugars and Panelles of the growth product and manufacture of his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America into Great Britain be drawn back on exportation of the same. VI. That a drawback or allowance of 2s. per hundred weight on all sugars refined in and exported from Great Britain to be paid on the exportation thereof over and above all drawbacks or bounties now payable thereon." (Historical Register, 1734.) Panelles was a kind of raw sugar coming from the Antilles portions of the West Indies.

Havana to cruise on the English. France would not look on and see the Spanish colonies fall into English hands, and in March, 1744, she also declared war against England. The contest in America was but a phase of the famous struggle called the War of the Austrian Succession. England, with enough on her hands, took care not to involve herself with the Dutch, and by order of December 13, 1744, warned her captains not to make prizes of Dutch ships on pretense of their having on board Spanish effects, contrary to the intentions of the Marine Treaty. In January, 1746, a similar report to that of 1737 appears under Governor George Clinton's administration, but it gives the number of distilleries as three. In 1749 the shipping is reported at one hundred and fifty-seven registered vessels, tonnage 6406, navigated by 1228 seamen, and "latterly six distilleries." The winter was so mild in this and three followiug years that sloops went from New-York to Albauy in January and February.

In 1748 the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle closed the War of the Austrian Succession. England realized nothiug from it. The right of English subjects to navigate in the American seas without visitation, for which she had declared war, was not even mentioned in the articles. The struggle had passed from a contest for principle into a great continental contest, and in its settlement minor differences were waived. One looks in vain to find the fruits which England reaped from the long, desperate, and bloody struggle; Hume says "that they are to be found in a dreadful expeuse of blood aud treasure, disgrace on disgrace, and the national debt accumulated to the euormous sum of eighty million pounds sterling." The New-York province entered into the contest with zeal, and its privateers were as usual numerous and active, but the histories of the period contain sparse reference to the effect of the contest on trade. Indeed, many of their authors seem not to have been aware that there ever was such a war as that of the Austrian Succession, though it shook all Europe like an earthquake, and the waters of the Atlantic must have boiled high in the general couvulsion.

In 1754 the Seveu Years' War began in the Ohio Valley, and it is told of Washington that near Fort Du Quesne he gave the order to fire which opened the contest. In the chapter on "Life in New-York in the Stamp Act Period," in a previous volume of this history, was shown the wonderful activity in the privateering of the New-York merchants of every class. England, with her restless ambition for domination, was in perpetual war, and the colonies had no choice but to take that part in the struggle which was best suited to their genius—that of individual effort, which has always been the characteristic of the English-American race. Smugglers seized the occasiou to "run in" their wares. Governor Sir Charles Hardy, in 1757, in the very heat of the struggle, wrote the Lords of Trade that he found a Holland

smuggling trade to Sandy Hook, thence to New-York, in tea, canvas, gunpowder, and rum, for the Indians, to be a common practice. He broke it up, but the scene of action was only shifted; it went to Connecticut. Those who remember Sir Walter Scott's description of Dirk Hatteraick in "Guy Mannering," can realize the pertinacity of a Dutchman on a smuggling errand; and in the very heat of the war also the French got the supplies, which came originally from New-York, from the neutral islands. The French were unusually enterprising by sea in this war. In the absence of the king's cruisers in the spring of 1758, a French letter-of-marque of twenty-six twelve-pounders went up to Quebec. On her return from Cape François, in Hispaniola, she stopped to cruise on the Atlantic coast and took twenty-five vessels coming to or going from New-York to Philadelphia and Virginia, among which one with the artillery and baggage of the Forty-seventh British regiment.

In 1758 Lieutenant-Governor James De Lancey being in administration, an embargo was laid on all ships and owners above fifty tons. The governor complained that "the country was drained of many able-bodied men by almost a kind of madness to go a-privateering." In 1763 Lieutenant-Governor Colden in his turn complains of the activity of the smugglers, whose trade was again broken up, at least as far as his knowledge went, by the men-of-war in the harbor. Casting about for occupation after the peace of 1763, when the privateers went out of commission and the trade was stagnant under the financial burdens of the long contest, it was found that the high price of labor made it impracticable in the colonies to interfere with the manufactures of Great Britain. It is not surprising that many found in this kindred occupation of illicit trade[1] an outlet for their energies and a more than reasonable profit.

The victory of General James Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, with the surrender of Quebec on September 13, 1759, was the decisive event of the Seven Years' War. This war, which opened at Fort Du Quesne for the possession of the Ohio Valley and a safe frontier, had ended in the control of the continent, and had doubled the debt of England, increasing it to one hundred and forty million pounds sterling, or seven

[1] Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, January 8, 1758, to the Lords of Trade: "The persons who carry on illicit trade by importing tea and other goods from foreign ports enter into a pretended Charter Party to carry them to a Dutch or other neutral island with liberty to land at any one of the English ports on this Continent (Rhode Island in this case) where they privately land their cargoes in fraud of the laws of trade."

English Customs Rates, 1751–56 (from Postlethwaite's "Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce"):

Table of Rates of Imports.—Currants, figs, prunes, raisins, and sugar may not be imported in any other than British ships or ships of the country producing them, or of the place where they are usually first shipped; and if such goods be imported by British merchants in foreign ships they are to pay a duty as if imported by foreigners.

Per Cents	Paid on Import	In British Vessels	In Foreign Vessels	
Brown Muscovado	1 10 0	0 4 9	0 [illegible] 2	0 [illegible] 1
St. Thomas Pan Ibs	2 0 0	0 7 8	0 4 2	0 [illegible] 2
White from British Plantations	[illegible] 0 0	1 6 1	0 17 4	0 13 8

hundred millions of dollars. The sugar-islands of the West Indies were considered to be of such importance in the economy of the western world that they were weighed in the balance, in the negotiations for peace, against the Canadas. Pitt would have held them back, but, overruled in this wish, held fast to Canada. The Earl of Bath, while he urged a solid peace, would not hear of any surrender of Canada, even though the islands were given up. To leave the French any footing in Canada would "lay the foundation of another war." Even Pitt "would not weigh the West India islands against half a hemisphere." In the same spirit of exclusive continental possession, the young king (on October 26, 1762) offered to return Havana to Spain for either the Floridas or Porto Rico. Benjamin Franklin was of the same opinion, and in a spirit truly loyal to England pleaded the advantage to the mother country of the possession of Canada over the control of the West India Islands. He estimated the increase of population in North America to be doubling their numbers every twenty-five years by natural generation only, exclusive of the accession of foreigners, who would constitute a market for manufactures of more value to Great Britain than the exclusive trade to the West India Islands. Nor was there a murmur of discontent in the colonies, which found the chief outlet for their products in the trade with the islands. Their final relief from the incessant dangers with which they were threatened on the northern frontier would have reconciled them to even greater disappointments. But they had at least a right to expect freedom from irksome exactions by the British government.

The Earl of Bath had prophesied "the infinite consequence of North America," which "by its inhabitants would consume British manufactures; by its trade employ innumerable British ships; by its provisions support the sugar-islands; by its product fit out the whole navy of England." The first small cloud which appeared on the horizon was in the form of an interdict addressed by Secretary Halifax in a circular letter to the colonial governors, forbidding trade with the French West India Islands. General Amherst, it seems, had complained that they were supplied, during the war, with provisions from America. The American merchants were encouraged by the French commercial regulations to engage in the carrying-trade of the French sugar-islands. This trade was very profitable, and protected by flags of truce granted by the colonial governors, but few of whom ever showed themselves to be above the temptation of a handsome *douceur*. Pitt supported his secretary, and indignantly condemned the practice, "not," says Bancroft, who had access to private letters on the subject, "with a view permanently to restrain the trade of the continent with the foreign islands, but only in time of war to distress the enemy by famine." As has been seen, from the very beginnings of the settle-

ment of Manhattan, the island, with its innumerable waterways adjacent, was the abode and refuge of smugglers and forbidden trade: at first by the Dutch with their English neighbors, and later by English and Dutch settlers alike, at the expense of the British themselves.

George Grenville, whose "idol," in the words of Burke, was the colonial mercantile system, increased the customs officers and imposed upon them the enforcement of their duty under penalty of dismissal. The navy was ordered to assist in the sea-guard, and the commander-in-chief received instructions to aid with his troops in the suppression of contraband trade. Lord Colville, the naval commander on the Atlantic station, was placed at the head of a newly chosen revenue corps, and each of his captains was supplied with a set of instructions from the Admiralty, and they had power to seize persons on suspicion. The promise of emolument and an interest in the forfeitures sharpened their greed and quickened their zeal. In their intemperate haste they committed illegal acts, from the consequences of which the sufferer had no appeal but to the Privy Council—a distant, expensive, tedious, and difficult redress. Already, in 1764, Rhode Island was in conflict with Lord Colville, and one of his officers on detail, interfering with the landing of some sugars, was arrested, compelled to find bail, and his vessel only saved from the guns of a shore-battery by the interposition of the schooner man-of-war. This was notable among many similar incidents; but they lost their interest, absorbed in the whirlwind of excitement which crept over the colonies in June, when the news of the passage of the Stamp Act was received, and the text by Parliament hawked about the streets as the "Folly of England" and the "Ruin of America."

The story of the Stamp Act Congress; of the non-importation agreements of 1765; of the forcible resistance to the measure and its repeal; of the renewed offensive legislation by Parliament, and the second peaceable resistance by the second non-importation agreements, and their effects upon the trade of New-York; and, finally, the disagreements which led to the first Continental Congress, with the intervening episode of the destruction of the tea, and the return of the tea-ships, has been told at length in a special chapter on the Stamp Act period in a previous volume. It may be observed here that while the merchants of Boston were daily exasperated by the malevolent interference with their trade by their stiff-necked governor, Francis Bernard, there was from the peace of 1763 to the passage of the Stamp Act no direct interference with those of New-York by the representatives of the British crown. Sir Henry Moore was a personal favorite, and the diplomatic while pertinacious Colden, whose family ties kept him on good relations with the chief people of the province, confined his efforts in behalf of the royal prerogative to the imposition of a

judiciary, dependent on the king's pleasure. Hence the New-York merchants took hope after the peace, and were already extending their internal and external commercial relations when the Stamp Act troubles again disturbed their progress. Their spirits revived on the repeal of this obnoxious measure, which was to a large degree their own triumph: a triumph shared by their numerous English friends in and out of Parliament, and especially the traders of Bristol, who were represented in the House of Commons by Henry Cruger, the brother of the mayor of New-York, who was the colleague for that old Whig constituency of the illustrious friend of liberty, Edmund Burke.

The success of the Non-Importation Association taught the merchants the advantages of union, one of the results of which was the institution in 1768 of the New-York Chamber of Commerce, which still exists, the oldest mercantile organization in America. Their minutes, still preserved unbroken, open with a quaint declaration of their purposes: "Whereas mercantile societies have been found very useful in tradeing cities for promoting and encouraging commerce, supporting industry, adjusting disputes relative to trade and navigation, and procuring such laws and regulations as may be found necessary for the benefit of trade in general; for which purpose, and to establish such a society in the City of New-York, the following persons convened on the first Tuesday in, and being the 5th day of, April, 1768:

JOHN CRUGER,	WILLIAM WALTON,	ACHISON THOMPSON,
ELIAS DESBROSSES,	SAMUEL VERPLANCK,	LAWRENCE KORTRIGHT,
JAMES TAUNAY,	THEOPHYLACT BACHE,	THOMAS RANDAL,
JACOB WALTON,	THOMAS WHITE,	WILLIAM MCADAM,
ROBERT MURRAY,	MILES SHERBROOKE,	ISAAC LOW,
HUGH WALLACE,	WALTER FRANKLIN,	ANTHONY VAN DAM;
GEORGE FOLLIOST,	ROBERT ROSS WADDLE,	

who agreed that the said society of merchants should consist of a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary, and such a number of merchants as already or hereafter may become members, to be called and known by the name of 'The New-York Chamber of Commerce.'"[1]

[1] Later appears this record: "The following gentlemen who are of the society not being present assented to the same:

JOHN ALSOP,	PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
HENRY WHITE,	JAMES MCEVERS."

They chose as officers for the first year: John Cruger, president; Hugh Wallace, vice-president; Elias Desbrosses, treasurer; Anthony Van Dam, secretary. Without any definite regulation thereto it seems to have been from the beginning understood that there should be also a yearly advancement of the officers the president going out, and those below him successively taking the places of those above them. The secretary alone remained in permanence

	President.	*Vice-President.*
1768	JOHN CRUGER,	HUGH WALLACE.
1770	HUGH WALLACE,	HENRY WHITE
1771	ELIAS DESBROSSES,	THEOPHYLACT BACHE
1772	HENRY WHITE,	WILLIAM WALTON.
1773	THEOPHYLACT BACHE,	ISAAC LOW.
1774	WILLIAM WALTON,	JOHN ALSOP.
1775	ISAAC LOW,	WILLIAM MCADAM.
	Interregnum.	
1779	ISAAC LOW,	HUGH WALLACE.
	"	THOMAS BUCHANAN.
	"	JACOB WALTON.
	"	GERALD WALTON.
	"	WILLIAM WALTON.

Thomas Buchanan elected, but refused to serve.

They organized at Bolton & Sigell's tavern (Fraunces' Queen's Head), but removed to the Long Room over the Royal Exchange in 1770, which they hired and occupied till 1775. From 1779 to 1783 and later they met in the upper Long Room of the Merchants' Coffee-House.

The best idea of the nature and movement of the commerce of New-York at this interesting period is to be had from following the record of the proceedings of this representative body — representative of the social as well as of the commercial character of the population. Their names show the cosmopolitan nature of the inhabitants of New-York — a distinctive characteristic trait of the city from its early beginnings, and one in which no American city has ever resembled it until San Francisco sprang into life on the Pacific, in 1849, like Minerva from the head of Jove, mature at birth. Verplanck and Van Dam were New-York born, but of Dutch origin; Desbrosses represented the French Huguenot element; Cruger, Walton, Alsop, and Low were of English descent; Bache was English, born in Yorkshire; Livingston was of Scotch lineage; the Wallaces and Sherbrooks were of Irish stock, probably Irish born. They were a comely company, as their portraits show, richly dressed, without undue extravagance; and, while cheerful or jovial over their ale, or punch, and their pipes, which were the customary accompaniment of their sage meditations at their evening sessions over the needs of trade, they were dignified and sedate. The delicate refinement in the features of Cruger, and the warm rubicund tints which Copley has painted on the cheeks of White, who was noted for the excellence of his cellars, show that good breeding and good living were alike cultivated in the fine arts of social life by our worthy forefathers of the New-York province.

The very first business which engaged the attention of the chamber was the condition of the currency: whether they should discourage the paper currency of Pennsylvania from passing in the New-York province; and especially the rates at which the New Jersey currency

[1] John Moore was deputy collector and receiver general of his majesty's customs in New York while occupied by the British forces during the Revolution, and for ten years previous. He was a favorite in society, a writer of pleasant satires on the men and women of the city, gay and convivial. Some of his writings yet survive in manuscript and throw light on the manners of the time. His son Thomas W. C. Moore shared his father's love for literature, wrote society verses, and was an intimate friend of Fitz-Greene Halleck, as their fathers had been before them. His counterpart appears in the picture of the interior of the Park Theater in Volume III. EDITOR.

should pass among themselves in their own transactions; from which it would seem that their practice among themselves was the custom of the port.

The condition of the currency of the middle provinces is worthy of consideration. Governor Moore, in a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated at Fort George, May 14, 1768, writes: "After the first day of November next there will be none of the Bills formerly issued current; the Lyon Dollars (a species of money brought here by the first Dutch settlers) are rarely now seen. These and Bills of credit issued before the Statute (passed December 16, 1737), are the only two kinds of money that ever were made a tender in this colony. After the first day of November therefore we shall have nothing to make a tender with." In the same letter he says: "The Colony had always kept up the Credit of their paper Currency and taken particular care it should not be depreciated." In this condition of affairs some agreement was absolutely necessary among the merchants both as to the rates of paper and the respective value of the motley coinage of the day. The old legal-tender notes had been gradually absorbed by the sinking fund obtained from the excise on strong liquors, and in their place a large amount of paper currency had been issued to meet the exigencies of the French war. In 1767 the rates for sterling exchange, the only basis for comparison, had risen in New-York to 175, in Pennsylvania to 165.

The Assembly in 1764 had petitioned the House of Commons against the passage of a pending bill prohibiting the declaration of any future bills of credit in the colonies to be a legal burden, and forbidding the continuance of those existing beyond their prescribed period. Parliament disregarded this petition, and as a consequence the New-York province was overrun with the paper currency of the neighboring colonies. The question in July, 1768, was whether the society would receive New Jersey money at the advance over its face rate which it commanded in the open market. There was the same trouble about the Pennsylvania currency. The next year, 1769, it was determined to take the Pennsylvania bills at six, two, and three per cent. advance, that being the difference in the values of the legal-tender money of that province and the non-legal tender of New-York. The question of the New Jersey currency was a difficult question to manage. Postponed from year to year, it came to an issue in 1771, when it was resolved that it should not be received for more than it passed for at the New Jersey treasury. This occasioned so much inconvenience that a number of members gave in their resignations rather than comply. A proposal was at this time made to establish "a paper currency in the city," but it was never seriously considered. The necessities became so urgent, however, that in January, 1771, Lieutenant-

Governor Colden assented to a bill for emitting one hundred and twenty thousand pounds in bills of credit, but he informed Secretary Hillsborough that "the making of them a tender is carefully avoided except at the Loan Offices and Treasury"; and the bill was sanctioned by Parliament the same year. In 1774 the assigned members were notified that the chamber was "at Liberty to receive and pay Jersey money as formerly, notwithstanding they conceive the evil tendency of receiving it for more than its real value in their Treasury, which does in the event depreciate our own Currency." As late, however, as 1780 the almanacs continued to give tables of rates of Pennsylvania and New Jersey money reduced to New-York currency.

The condition of the coinage current in the colonies demanded equal consideration, and an elaborate report was made by a committee composed of the most intelligent merchants of the city—Messrs. William Walton, Samuel Verplanck, Hamilton Young, Robert Murray, and John H. Cruger.[1]

The rates of the report were on the paper currency as it stood, and on the basis of the English guinea, weighing five pennyweights four grains, and valued at one pound seventeen shillings. For every grain less than the weights of the report it was recommended that four pence be deducted. Still another and more serious annoyance came from the clipping and washing of coins. As the lion dollar brought in by the Dutch was the only legal tender of coin in the province, the Assembly was powerless. Hence the rate established by the chamber soon became the custom in trade. It may be here added that the value of the lion dollar was fixed in 1720 at "seventeen pennyweights for fifteen pennyweights of Sevil pillar in Mexican plate." Soon after it was a scarce coin.

The lumber of the province having fallen into disrepute in foreign markets and below that exported from Philadelphia, from want of care in dressing and regularity in dimension, the corporation, at the instance of the chamber, amended its legislation to conform to their report, and inspectors were named to enforce it. The mayor, on receiving the petition, asked the opinions of the chamber upon one presented by the public packers of beef and pork with regard to the

[1] The coins named in the report are the johannes a Portuguese gold coin of the value of eight dollars, contracted often into "joe" and "half-joe." It bore the figure of King John, and is the coin Defoe in his Robinson Crusoe usually alludes to as "piece of eight." Moidore, a Portuguese gold coin also in value 27s.; Carolines, a German coin often called "German Carolins," valued at £1 18s.; doubloon, a Spanish and Portuguese gold coin the value of two pistoles; guinea, an English gold coin, current at £1 1s. There were also a French guinea, probably a French coinage of African gold, but this is uncertain; ducqueen or sequin, an Italian gold coin worth about 7s. 6d.; crown, silver, English, of 5s. value; a French crown, valued at 4s. 6d.; shilling, English silver coin, worth 12d., of which twenty to the pound sterling; pistareen, a silver coin value of 9d. sterling, or 17 to 1s. sterling. These are all values on a specie basis. Pistole, a Spanish gold piece, worth 17s. sterling. The French pistole or louis d'or, was set at the same value.

sale and preparation of this produce. Among the names of these petitioners are those of Richard Kip, Peter Stoutenberg, Daniel and James Dunscombe, and John Post, all well known in our day.[1]

The whale-fishing provided for by an act of the Assembly, 1708, which it seems was a profession of the Manhattan Indians, had been long neglected. In 1768 Robert Murray and the brothers Franklin fitted out a sloop which put to sea in April of that year. The Assembly released all vessels engaged in whaling from tonnage dues in 1772. In 1774, on motion of Henry Remsen, the chamber took up the subject, and subscriptions were opened for the United Whaling Company in June. The stock was quickly subscribed, and the company organized in May, and the first vessel sailed the next week.[2]

In July, 1776, the company advertised that all accounts be sent in, and no doubt closed up their business. They will appear again in the sequel. A plan of fire-insurance was suggested by John Thurman in 1770, and repeatedly brought up before and during the Revolution, but without result. Lieutenant-Governor Colden granted the chamber a charter in 1770, and a seal was ordered. Made of silver, it bore a suggestive coat of arms and a legend, the Latin device "*Non Nobis Nati Solum.*" Carried abroad by the secretary, Van Dam, it was recovered from its ignominious position in a print-shop in London, brought home by an American gentleman, and restored to the chamber, where it is now in daily use. The lawyers endeavored to get a footing in the institution, but, on the motion of Mr. Verplanck, the members ruled them out by resolution, which has been constantly adhered to, fortunately for the chamber.

Flour continued to be the main article of export, and every means was taken to improve its manufacture. French burstones were brought into use for grinding, and German screens for cleaning the wheat, and the merchants took pains that the inspectors should keep them informed as to the quality of the various brands; and, at the request of the chamber, the Assembly, in 1771, ordered the branding of the manufacturer's name on the cask. The tonnage, weight, and measurement were also matters of study and recommendation to parties interested by newspaper publication. In 1774 the chamber subscribed for twelve sets of Barnard Roman's maps of East and West Florida.[3] Mr. Roman received one hundred and eight dollars for the

[1] In 1771 the population of New-York was estimated at 21,863. Governor William Tryon, in 1772, reported to the Board of Trade a comparison of the shipping of that year with that of 1762, as follows: 1762, there were 477 vessels, of 17,514 tons, with 3552 men; 1772, there were 709 vessels of 29,182 tons, with 3574 men

[2] The next year the following officers were chosen: Philip Livingston, as president; Charles McEvers, treasurer; Captains William Hayes, Patrick Dennison, John Barton; and Messrs. Stoutenberg, Anthony Van Dam, and Joseph Allicocke (secretary) were a committee for "purchase of vessels and sale of oils."

[3] A work which is something more than a topographical survey, and gives an account of the southern parts of the English dominions in America. Its title was "A Concise History of East and West Florida," etc. New-York, 2 vols., 12mo, 1775.

twelve sets, whence it is probable that they were detached from his printed account and intended for the use of navigation. In the year 1773 the Assembly of New-York granted the sum of two hundred pounds per annum for five years, to be paid to the treasurer of the Chamber of Commerce, "for the encouragement of Fishery on this coast for the better supplying the Markets of this City with Fish." The chamber accepted the trust and advertised the premiums.[1]

It has elsewhere been stated that a chief business of the good citizens of New-York was eating and drinking. This and their hospitality they derived, the one from their English, and the other from their Dutch, progenitors and predecessors. The newspapers are full of accounts of such entertainments. The chamber had its anniversary banquet every May, and all the dignitaries of the royal government and the Assembly of the province, the city government and the distinguished officers of the army and navy, were present at the festive board. And when the eastern delegates to the first Continental Congress passed through the city in the summer of 1774, they were entertained in high festivity in the room of the chamber. Of this dinner John Adams says in his diary: "We dined in the Exchange Chambers with more than fifty gentlemen, at the most splendid dinner I ever saw: a profusion of fine dishes." Adams probably knew very little about good dinners, which, on account of the meager supply of the Boston market until quite recently, could with difficulty be served at any cost; but then a word of praise from him was quite as rare as a good New England dinner. In the absence of letters of the period, or at least in the rarity of printed correspondence of a personal or private nature (though no doubt much of such matter exists which will yet see the light), we are left for details to the study of the files of newspapers of this period, fortunately quite full, preserved in the valuable collection of the New-York Historical Society. The "Roll of Freemen," from 1760 to 1775, supplies but few names of merchants in addition to those on the roll of members of the Chamber of Commerce. Of those familiar at the present day are James Abeel, Gerard Nicholles, William de Peyster, Jr., Nicholas Cruger (the friend of Washington), James Sackett, Moses Judah, Richard Ray, Adolph Philipse, Samuel T. Judah, James Stoward, and Barent Cuyler.

In this "trading city," where, as in Venice in the middle ages, the

[1] The premium "of Forty pounds to the owners and Crew of any one boat or vessel who shall supply this market with the greatest quantity of Fish, Skate and Ray excepted, taken with a Trent net from the first of May next to this May, 1774" — of thirty pounds for the takers of the next greatest quantity. Of thirty pounds for the greatest supply of live codfish from first day of November following the first day of May, 1774; of twenty pounds for the next greatest. Of twenty pounds for five sheepshead from May 1 to May, and of fifteen pounds for the next greatest; of ten pounds for the greatest supply of fresh mackerel from May to May; and of two pounds for next greatest supply. The committee appointed to award the premiums for the year ending May, 1774, met at the house of Thomas Deane on the New Dock, and that for the next year at Mrs. Brooks's storehouse opposite the Battery in June, 1775.

great merchants were held in highest honor, where every considerable fortune and every considerable family with hardly an exception had its origin in the walks of trade, John Cruger was without contest the central figure. From the beginning to the close of the eighteenth century, in an unbroken line, some of this patronymic held high office in the State as well as the first rank among their fellow-merchants. John Cruger, the father of the first president of the Chamber of Commerce, was alderman of the Dock Ward (now the First Ward) for twenty-two years (1712–1733). Appointed mayor in 1739, he remained in office till his death in 1744. By his wife, Maria Cnyler, he had two sons, of whom the second was John Cruger. He in turn was alderman of the Dock Ward in 1754 and 1755, and was raised to the dignity of mayor in 1756. In his first term of office we have seen him protesting against Lord Loudoun's quartering of troops in the city. In 1759 he was elected to the General Assembly, and reëlected in February, 1761. He was member of the Long Assembly, as it was called, which, from 1761 to 1768, led the province in its opposition to British oppression and marshaled the colonies in their successful resistance to the Stamp Act. Cruger was a member of that earliest of Committees of Correspondence which were the forerunners of American union. It was he who, as mayor of the city, received the stamps at the gate of Fort George. Reëlected to the Assembly in 1769, he was the Speaker of the body till 1775; thus representing the city in the Assembly for sixteen years. He withdrew from the city to Kinderhook in 1776, and remained there till the close of the war. He died at the house of his nephew, Nicholas Crnger, in 1791, at the ripe old age of eighty-two, universally respected and beloved. He never married. The Crugers were large ship-owners, and owned an extensive dock which, known by their name, appears in all the histories of the time. Cruger's wharf was on the east side of Whitehall Slip. Here they had their place of business. The fire broke out here in 1776, and destroyed six of their warehouses. The chief trade of the house was with Bristol, to which they ran several vessels, where John's brother Henry resided, a member of Parliament and later mayor of that city. They were also heavily engaged in the West India trade, where a second brother, Harris, was established. John Harris Cruger (son of Harris), the distinguished loyalist officer and gallant defender of Post Ninety-six, was born at Jamaica. He married Anne De Lancey, daughter of Oliver, and was engaged in trade with Bristol under his own name, his office being near the Exchange. Nicholas Cruger was established at St. Eustatins, one of the West India Islands. It was under his patronage that the illustrious Hamilton came to New-York for his education.

The family of Livingston was as distingnished in commerce as in public life. Philip Livingston was the son of Philip, second lord of

the manor of Livingston, and Catharine Van Brugh. In the French war he was extensively engaged in privateering. He made a large fortune in the general importing business, having his store in the new dock, Burnet's quay, as it was called, near the ferry stairs at the foot of Wall street. He and his nephew, Robert Cambridge, had fine mansions on the heights of Brooklyn, or Brookland, as it was then styled. The site was on the bluffs opposite the New-York Battery. Near by were their distilleries. Philip was alderman of the East Ward of New-York from 1754 to 1762, and member of the Assembly from 1759 to 1769. During his last term he was Speaker of the House. He was a member of the first and of the second Continental Congress in 1774 and 1775, and signed the Declaration of Independence. He died in Yorktown, Pennsylvania, in 1778, while still a representative. Robert Cambridge Livingston, who took his middle name as a distinctive title from his having been graduated from the University of Cambridge, England, was son of Robert, the third lord, and Gertrude Schuyler. His only connection with trade was his interest in the distillery. Robert Gilbert Livingston, Jr., was in the dry-goods trade in Dock (Pearl) street, near the Coffee-House. The triangle of buildings from the Wall-street angle of Pearl and Water streets westward was then open ground and called Hanover Square. There was nothing between Livingston's store and the Merchants' Coffee-House (the site of the "Journal of Commerce" building), as his advertisement shows.

But the most historic family of merchants was that of Walton, whose wealth was cited in Parliament to show the prosperity of the province. The founder of the family was William Walton, a patronymic which was also carried through the full century. Early in the eighteenth century he purchased ground on the East River water-front, and there established extensive shipyards, the constructions at which, both for England and the province, were numerous as well as famous for design and speed. He sailed his own vessels to the West Indies and the Spanish main. The origin of the great fortune of this enterprising family was an extensive preference granted to Captain Walton (or Boss Walton, as he was familiarly called, because of his superintendence of the shipyards) by the Spaniards of St. Augustine, Fla., and the West India Islands. He had the contract to supply the garrison, and had a permanent factor at the Florida post. The William Walton of the period under review was his son, and enjoyed the same preferences. He sailed his father's ships as captain to Curaçoa and the neighboring ports. Later, with his older brother, Jacob, under the firm name of Jacob and William Walton, he continued his father's business, and on the death of Jacob associated with himself his brother's children, under the firm name of William Walton & Co. In the French war he ran his vessels as privateers. He was elected

member of the Assembly in 1751, and again in 1752, serving till 1759. Here he attached himself to the party of James De Lancey, whose daughter his nephew and namesake, William Walton, Jr., married in 1757. In 1758 he was appointed one of his majesty's council, a position which he held until his death in 1768. His wife was Cornelia, daughter of Dr. William Beekman, who survived him, having borne him no children. His nephew William occupied with him his celebrated residence, the fine building (already described in a previous chapter) on St. George's Square, later called Franklin Sqnare. Jacob, the younger William's brother (they were sons of Jacob Walton and Maria Beekman), who was interested in his business affairs, married Polly, daughter of Henry Cruger. In 1769 he was elected to the General Assembly. Another hrother, Abraham, married the widow of Henry Rutgers. Another, Gerard, was also interested in the family business; still a third, Thomas, was a leading member of the Non-Importation Association. The Waltons were the heaviest underwriters of the day. William Walton's "Book of Insurance" is still in existence. It shows the magnitude and variety of their risks. An accomplished sister, Mary, was married to Colonel Lewis Morris; another, Magdaleue, to David Johnston.

The Ludlows were also a great merchant family. Daniel Ludlow was the son of Gabriel Ludlow and Elizabeth Crommelin. Like his father and grandfather, he devoted himself to trade. His early mercantile training was had at Amsterdam, in the counting-house of his kinsmen, the great bankers, Daniel Crommelin & Son. He was in partnership with Edward Goold in the general importing business. Their store was in Wall street. His country-seat was at Baretto's Point, on the East River, from which, probably because of the badness of the roads, it was his habit to drive to the city four-in-hand during the summer season. He married Arabella, daughter of Thomas Duncan. Gabriel H. Ludlow was engaged with Nicholas Hoffman in the auctioneering business, the firm name being Ludlow & Hoffman; and later with a Mr. Shaw in the importation of wines (the house being Ludlow & Shaw). He married Ann Williams, and resided in Wall street. His place of business was in Smith (now William) street. George W. Ludlow was oue of the earliest members of the Chamber of Commerce. The brothers Alsop were among the wealthiest merchants of the day. John was delegate to the first and the second Continental Congress. Richard was brought up in the counting-house of Philip Livingston, the signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Of the mass of information collected coucerning the trade of New-York at this interesting period, these extracts suffice. They show the relatious the great families of the city occupied toward it. With the exception of that of Morris, of Morrisania, every family in New-York

was engaged in commerce or industry of some kind. The Bayards were sugar-refiners, the "mystery" of which they introduced into New-York. So were the Van Cortlandts, the Roosevelts, the Livingstons, and the Cuylers. The sugar-house of the last named was purchased under forfeiture by the Rhinelanders, who had before been importers of crockery at Burling Slip. The Schuylers were engaged in the importation of European and India goods. The Barclays, Rutgers, and Lispenards were brewers, all connected with the great London brewing-house of Barclay. Sugar-refining and brewing were the foundation of many a New-York fortune. So was distilling. The Verplancks, Whites, Baches, Murrays, and Franklins were shipping merchants and general traders, importing from every port permitted by the navigation laws, and some that were not. The Buchanans, Clarksons, Beekmans, Setons, and Van Zandts were importers or dealers in dry goods; the Brevoorts, Goelets, and Laights were ironmongers, as dealers in hardware and cutlery were termed. The Gouverneurs traded with the West Indies and the Spanish main, and had large stores on Hunter's Quay, near the Coffee-House, and later owned Gouverneur's wharf on the East River. The Kembles were auctioneers. The Keteltas family had warehouses, and Peter was engaged in the old insurance office with Richard Sharpe. The Schermerhorns were in the coasting-trade, and were ship-chandlers besides; the De Peysters (Gerard and Nicholas) appear as merchants in the Freemen's List of 1765; and between 1760 and 1776 here are found also the well-known names of Abeel, Bancker, Sachet, Tudat, Nichol, Ray, Watts, and Van Wyck. Even Mary, the wife of the great lawyer James Alexander, kinsman of the Earl of Stirling, eked out the support of her family by keeping a petty store. There was good stock in this commercial gentry, honorable blood of England and Scotland, of Ireland and Wales, of France and Holland, and the well-bred Jewish sons of Portugal. Since the days of the Venetian republic trade was never held in higher honor than in the cosmopolitan "trading city" of New-York.[1]

[1] IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES FROM AND TO GREAT BRITAIN, 1700-1780. (FROM LORD SHEFFIELD'S OBSERVATION.)

Average	*Imports*	*Exports*	*Average*
1700-1710	£267,207 3s. 4d.	£265,000 0s. 10d.	1700-1710
1710-1720	365,645 7 11¼	[illegible] 1 1½	1710-1720
1720-1730	471,342 12 10½	578,830 16 0	1720-1730
1730-1740	609,136 11 1½	679,128 16 0½	1730-1740
1740-1750	812,647 13 0¼	708,943 9 6½	1740-1750
1750-1760	1,577,419 18 2⅛	802,891 6 10	1750-1760
1760-1770	1,763,409 16 3	1,044,890 17 0	1760-1770
1770-1780	1,351,206 1 5	747,560 10 9	1770-1780

Note—the falling off caused by the Non-Importation Agreement.

Immediately upon the news of the affray at Lexington, the citizens of New-York rose *en masse*, and on May 5, 1775, appointed a committee of safety to take charge of the government, and business was at once suspended. In June, at the request of the provincial congress, General Wooster, who was encamped at Harlem, took command of the city. After the battle of Long Island, in September, the British leader, Lord Howe, resumed authority, which was maintained without interruption till the close of the war. Many of the citizens left New-York with the American troops, and in their turn numbers of refugees from Boston and other places within the American lines came into New-York for protection, and established themselves here. The fatal fire of 1776, which consumed a large part of the city, caused also a derangement of trade from which it did not recover for many years. A second calamity of the same nature visited the city in 1778.

As in Boston, in Philadelphia, and in Charleston, there was division in every class of society, and in every rank and profession of life. The mercantile community was no exception. Among the merchants belonging to representative families who left the city at the outset or immediately after the beginning of hostilities, were John Alsop, Gerard Walton, James Beekman, Levinus Clarkson, John Cruger, Gerardus Duyckinck, Herman and Nicholas Gouverneur, Nicholas Hoffman, Peter Keteltas, Francis Lewis, Philip, Robert Cambridge, and Robert Gilbert Livingston, Jr., Daniel Phœnix, Thomas Randall, Henry Remsen, Jr., Isaac Roosevelt, John Schuyler, Isaac Sears, Augustus Van Zandt. Among those who were neutral in their conduct, if not in their opinions, remaining in the city during the occupation, and being distinguished for their kindness and hospitality to such of the patriots as became prisoners of war, were Thomas and William Buchanan, Walter Franklin, Edward and William Laight, Leonard Lispenard, John and Robert Murray, William Watson, Theophylact Bache, Elias Desbrosses, and Augustus Van Horne. Many of these were British born, and it could not have been expected of them that they should take up arms against their own countrymeu; many of them were well advanced in years: sufficient answer to the worn-out charge against New-York of the want of patriotism duriug the period of the Revolution.

The records of the Chamber of Commerce show how trade had declined since the disturbances of 1770. In the four years from May, 1771, to May, 1775, there were but nine admissions to that body. The war brought in a new order of things. After the arrival of Lord Howe and the transfer of the general headquarters of the British army, which had been at Boston, New-York became the great depot of supplies. Governor Tryon, in his proclamation of March 8, 1779, said: "The city of New-York is become an immense magazine of all kinds

of supplies for a very extensive commerce." On September 26, 1778, preceding, the king's commissioners to treat with America (the Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden) issued a proclamation in which they announced their desire "to give immediate relief and security to the trade carried on by his Majesty's loyal subjects to the port of New-York. They therefore suspend so much of the Acts of Parliament of 1776 as prevents the exportation of goods formerly allowed to be shipped from this port to Great Britain, Ireland, New Foundland, Halifax, Rhode Island, East and West Indies, the articles of stores and provisions, naval and military stores excepted." They also gave license and warrants to the captains of vessels making prizes to "send all such captures to the ports of New-York, and Newport in Rhode Island," and authorized that the captures "may be exported into and landed at Great Britain or any other part of his Majesty's Dominions," upon payment of the usual duties.

Prompted by this proclamation, it appears twenty-three of the members of the chamber, Isaac Low in the chair (elected president at the May meeting, 1775, since which there had been no sessions), came together in special meeting on June 21, 1779.[1] The record begins with the declaration: "The state of public affairs having been such as not to require a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce at an earlier period, no measures were taken for that purpose until it was conceived that the increase of commerce, in consequence of the latitude it derived from the commissioners' benevolent proclamation, rendered a revival of so useful an institution absolutely necessary. At the request, therefore, of a number of members the President issued notices for convening as many of them as are now in New-York and its vicinity, and the following members appeared in the upper long room at the Coffy House."[2]

Their first business was to draft and sign a letter to Daniel Jones, the British commandant of New-York, advising him of their purpose, and declaring their encouragement as well from the commissioners' proclamation as from "the Success of Private Ships of War." This deserves notice. Governor Tryon, in a proclamation dated March 6, 1779, says: "I have already issued one hundred and twenty-one commissions to as many private vessels of war; that in the short space of time elapsed since the 18th of September last the prize vessels arrived here amount to above Six hundred Thousand pounds lawful money of

[1] Members present: Isaac Low, president; William McAdam, vice-president; Anthony Van Dam, secretary; William Walton, Isaac Cuesa, Robert Murray, John Moore, William Seton, Thomas Miller, Edward Laight, Hugh Wallace, Henry White, Benjamin Booth, Alexander Wallace, Robert R. Waddell, William Laight, Thomas Buchanan, Gabriel H. Ludlow, William Stipple, Richard Yates, Gerard Walton, Augustus Van Horne, Lawrence Kortright.

[2] Mrs. Smith had charge of the Long Room of the Merchants Coffee House, which was hired by the chamber from her at the rate of fifty pounds per annum, from 1770 to 1781, when she was succeeded by John Strahan from the Queen's Head Tavern. This was Sam Fraunces' old sign.

New-York at the ancient currency of eight shillings a milled dollar." This statement was confirmed by the publication a few days later, in Gaine's "New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury" (March 22, 1779), of "a list of vessels commissioned as Letter of Marque from the Port of New-York since the 8th September, 1778 (121 in number), and of their prizes (165 in number)." The lieutenant-general commanding, Daniel Jones, expressed his satisfaction at the revival of the chamber, and his regret that he had not sooner had their advice in the government of the city. In the next month (July 12), Andrew Elliott, the superintendent-general, asked their opinion on various questions of public interest: the cleansing of the streets, the regulation of hospitals and barracks, the prevention of fires, the prices of butcher's meat. He desired them also to propose a plan "that might combine the safety of the Public together with the conveniencys of Trade"; to all which they returned an elaborate reply. Thereafter they appear to have essentially directed all city matters, the commandant issuing his proclamations at their instance.

In April, 1780, General James Robertson, who had been commissioned governor of New-York in May, 1779, and was recently sworn into office, addressed a letter to the chamber relative to the encouragement thought necessary to be given to privateers and other mercantile concerns. In the early days of the war the British government had shown great unwillingness to encourage private ships of war. Lord Howe had set his face against them, and was severely attacked by the London press for exerting his influence to prevent the issuing of commissions. The audacity of the patriot privateers finally induced the Admiralty to send out, in April, 1777, authority for such issue; but Lord Howe still intervened. It was charged against him that he was afraid of losing the seamen of his fleet by desertion to the more attractive service. A letter printed in 1779 says that since his resignation the rebel navy had been in great measure destroyed by the small British fleet remaining in America, and the privateers sent out from New-York; that it was reduced from thirty vessels to eight; and the number of privateers fitted out in New England, from upward of one hundred to less than forty. "The prices of all foreign necessaries and articles of Commerce are raised more than 200 per cent. exclusive of the depreciations of their money; and so great is the risk of their trade that no insurance can be procured in America." These representations had their effect in England. To the letter of General Robertson, the chamber replied by the usual letter of congratulation on his taking possession of his government, to which he graciously responded that "respect for the body of Merchants will not only make me attentive to their advice but receive it with gratitude, as their lights will prevent me from mistakeing the true interests of trade."

The privateering tide did not always set in the same direction, but had its ebbs and flows, and soon turned in favor of the Americans.

The Chamber of Commerce was no longer the same in composition as before the war. Twenty-seven new members had been taken in on the revival of 1779, all of whom were active loyalists; and to these seventeen were added before the close of the war, making the total number forty-four, exclusive of the old members (those that remained in the city); their attendance was regular for the three years 1779–81. The president, Isaac Low, was now as active in the support of the crown as he had been zealous for the non-importation agreements and the first Continental Congress, and there is no doubt he rendered effective service. In March, 1781, a conflict of opinion arose between the importers of a cargo of wine from Madeira, and Andrew Elliott, now collector of customs at the port, in reference to the duties which that officer demanded. The chamber addressed a memorial to the commander-in-chief. This document is interesting for its recital of the condition of the trade of the port and the difficulties under which it was carried on. It protested against the laying of duties on wines: exportation to England being prohibited, the only demand was for the use of the garrison. The same difficulty was experienced in the trade with the West Indies. The importation of sugar, molasses, and coffee greatly increased because of the necessities of the garrison, which at this time amounted to about fifteen thousand men, greatly outnumbering the rest of the population of the city, of which there is no definite record, but which could not have exceeded ten thousand souls. This difficulty arose from what the memorial terms the "Circumscribed Situation of New-York," which cut the merchants off from the supplies of country produce, forming the staple of export to the West Indies. Washington had his headquarters at this time at New Windsor, the Pennsylvania line was at Morristown, the New Jersey regiments at Pompton, and the New England troops in the Highlands. General Heath commanded at West Point, and the militia of Ulster, Orange, and Duchess counties were on the alert to cut off all communications or trade with the city. The merchants of New-York felt that they had cause of complaint of unfair discrimination. Georgia, after the fall of Charleston, had been restored to trade. The civil government had been there established, but so also Robertson had been duly installed governor of New-York. The Chamber of Commerce proposed a new charter for the city, Robertson having expressed his willingness to confirm it. But events were soon to take an unexpected turn, and no more was heard of this proposition.

It has been shown that the export supplies from the interior were wholly cut off; and now, early in the spring of 1781, the city was dependent for its import supplies of sugar and coffee upon captures:

while for their food, except that which they received from Long Island, their sole dependence was on the great fleets which, under convoy of British frigates, arrived with such regularity as the New England privateers permitted. As spring opened, the American privateers, which had lain quiet during the winter, renewed their cruises, and with little interference, as, in the presence of the French fleet at Newport, Arbuthnot did not dare to separate his fleet. This, though but little noticed, was one of the inestimable services rendered by the French allies in the decisive year 1781. Already, in April, news was brought into New-York that the schooner Eagle, a South Carolina privateer, was hanging off the coast; and that several stout privateers were fitting out in the eastern ports, intended to intercept the fleet from England bound to Quebec, as they had done before.

The inconvenience to the city became so serious that the Chamber of Commerce addressed a representation to Admiral Arbuthnot upon the trade and commerce of the city. They state that "the best cruising ground for the enemy perhaps in the world is within a small distance from Sandy Hook"; that "more property has constantly been captured by their privateers within fifty leagues of that place than perhaps upon all the rest of the Atlantic Ocean"; that so "many stout Privateers are fitting out in the different rebel ports to infest our coast, that unless effectual measures be taken to defeat and blast their designs, very few, except vessels of great force, will either get safe in or out of this port."

The state of affairs at the beginning of October, 1781, was by no means encouraging to the British cause. The shadows of defeat were falling thick and fast. Lord Cornwallis was beleaguered on the Yorktown peninsula by Generals Washington and Rochambeau. He sent repeated messages to Sir Henry Clinton. One chief difficulty in the way of relief lay in the troubles under which the British labored from the cruel treatment of men on board their vessels. Thus, while there were always privateersmen enough in New-York to man the vessels commanded by their own townsmen, they could not be brought to enlist in the king's service. When Arbuthnot lay at Governor's Island in the spring, watching the French fleet, which was in readiness to sail, he was unable to get to sea for want of hands to relieve the fourteen hundred sick and scorbutic seamen he had landed. Other measures failing, what was called a "hot press" was ordered. On the admiral's requisition, by the consent of the commander-in-chief, all sailors in New-York were pressed for the fleet. This had checked privateering at New-York, and at the same time had driven many sailors to the rebel ships of war. Arbuthnot had promised to discharge all the men impressed, and not to renew the measure, as soon as an important blow was struck, but it is doubtful whether he ful-

filled his promise in the extraordinary emergencies of that decisive campaign. In these straits on October 4 Governor Robertson appealed to the Chamber of Commerce to come to the aid of the admiral in "this particular season of events," and they the same day unanimously agreed to raise among themselves the sum of four hundred guineas, to be paid in bounty to the seamen that should enter as volunteers. Civil authority was also now revived and interference in mercantile differences abandoned by the superintendent. Military rule had few advocates even in Great Britain, and was extremely distasteful to the loyal citizens in America.

In accordance with the resolve of the chamber, Isaac Low, the president, issued a proclamation announcing that in common with other loyal inhabitants they would add a bounty of three guineas to each volunteer for the naval service, "with plenty of honest grog to cheer their hearts and drink the king's health and success to his arms.

> "Hearts of oak are our ships,
> Hearts of oak are our men.
> We always are ready, steady, boys, steady,
> We 'll fight and we 'll conquer again and again.

This noble chorus again echoed with propriety will make the heart of the young prince leap for joy and glory in the profession of a sailor." Prince William Henry, afterward William the Fourth, third son of George the Third, had arrived at Sandy Hook on the ship Prince George, commanded by Admiral Digby, on September 25, 1781. All haste was made. Seven thousand of the best troops were put on board transports, and Clinton, taking the command in person of the armament, which was convoyed by twenty-five sail of the line under the command of Admiral Graves, sailed from Sandy Hook on October 19, and arrived off Cape Charles on the 24th. Clinton had the mortification to learn that Lord Cornwallis had capitulated on the very day of his sailing.

The dependence of the city for food upon supplies from England, and the irregular prices consequent, appear from the request of the military authorities, on the arrival of the provision fleet in January, 1782, to the chamber, to fix a price for flour, formerly the chief staple of export to the city. The price of the loaf was now reduced from sixteen to fourteen coppers, and the weight increased from two pounds to two pounds and one quarter. The first price was based on the price of seventy shillings per hundredweight.

Admiral Digby left England with the appointment to take chief command on the American station, but finding on his arrival Admiral Graves engaged in the effort to relieve Cornwallis, generously waived his rank. On the return of Graves's squadron to New-York, Digby

hoisted his pennant as admiral in command. Alarmed at the scarcity of seamen, he addressed a letter of remonstrance to Governor Robertson, who in turn submitted it to the Chamber of Commerce. This body, through their president, made a reply in which they express regret that the admiral "intimates that encouraging privateers is incompatible with and prejudicial to the King's service," that "to take out a great part of the best men and put them on board of men-of-war, and thereby in a measure breaking up the cruise without regularly trying the offenders, are terms too hard for any owners however opulent to attempt to combat." They close their lengthy memorial expressing their surprise that not more but so many seamen had been enlisted here, and state their confident opinion that "this Port can be exceeded by none upon this continent, and perhaps it is not far below the second in Great Britain." In June they again requested "that some means may be produced so as to encourage the Fishermen to take Fish for the supply of the garrison, and that its commerce may not be annoyed by the Privateers and Whaleboats that infest even the Narrows." On the very day of the Chamber of Commerce complaint, Captains Hyler and Story with two whaleboats entered New-York Bay, and taking the schooner Jack, with six carriage-guns besides swivels, burned her at noon-day in sight of the guard-ship. The schooner was tender to the admiral's flag-ship. Three other vessels loaded with live-stock for the New-York markets were cut out and carried off on the same expedition.[1]

This appeal for protection was the last public act of the chamber. It is melancholy to reflect that merchants whose interest and support were derived from the safe goings and comings of ships and their cargoes, should be driven to the encouragement of their worst enemy, the privateer. As the war lingered languishing to its close, so the life of the chamber was henceforth almost perfunctory; their last action being at their meeting in 1783, when they chose officers who were never to serve. Thomas Buchanan, who was elected president, declined to qualify; and no further sessions were held during the year. Twenty-three of the members gathered January 20, 1784, and Messrs. Gerard and William Walton occupied their seats as vice-presidents. Some resolutions were agreed to as to the readmission of old members who had resigned on account of the restrictions imposed by the chamber as to the rates at which Jersey money should be accepted; and a number of new members who had returned from exile were proposed. But it was soon found that the chamber could not hold the confidence of the regenerated city until purged of its adherence to the enemies of the country during the period of British occupation.

[1] Captain Adam Hyler, the hero of these exploits, was of New Brunswick, New Jersey. He died in September of this year (1782).

Peace with Great Britain was proclaimed by Congress in April, 1783, and the city of New-York was formally evacuated by the hostile forces on November 25 following. A few transports lingered for a while in the harbor, but by the 5th or 6th of December the British flag had disappeared from New-York waters. In the interim numbers of exiled citizens returned to the city and looked to restore their dilapidated or ruined homes, and to resume their peaceful vocations. Their patience and forbearance surprised both friends and foes. The New-York "News-letter" of January 4, 1784, gives interesting testimony of this praiseworthy attitude. An extract from a long anecdote of a British officer sent on shore to remove some effects some days after the evacuation, runs as follows: "Well," said he to a gentleman in the company, "this is a strange scene indeed! Here in this city we have had an army for more than seven years, and yet could not keep the peace of it. Scarcely a day or night without tumults. Now we are gone, everything is in quietness and safety." "These Americans," continued he, "are a curious original people; they know how to govern themselves, but nobody else can govern them." The extract continues: "The British appear to have been exceedingly disappointed and mortified at the order and regularity which immediately took place upon the evacuation. They had predicted nothing but riots, revenge, and tumults, and under this expectation the last scene they were to witness confounded them like a conquest. It is melancholy to reflect (for reflection will find its way even to the severest hearts) how many thousands their assuming arrogance and delusive proclamations have ruined, and how many more their false alarms have unnecessarily frightened away. Hundreds might have staid in safety, and many no doubt remained who can have no good pretensions to be here. It was impossible to view this city at the time of the evacuation, and the immediate repossession of it by its exiled inhabitants, without experiencing a conflict of affecting passions. To see many hundreds made immediately happy by a safe return to their long forsaken homes, and others made wretched by having new habitations to seek in a comfortless region at a gloomy season, were circumstances that by contrasting each other produced in the mind a disquieting compound of joy and pity."[1] The journals of the time bear no record of any public quarrels.

It was not until the spring of 1784 that the merchants found reason or leisure for any concerted action to revive the trade of the port. The first step was the establishment of a bank. During the colonial period there was no such institution as an incorporated bank. The first of this nature was the Bank of North America, originated by Robert Morris, "Financier of the Revolution," in Philadelphia in

[1] The winter of 1783 to 1784 was bitterly cold, and the suffering of the people great.

1780, and incorporated in 1781.[1] The second was the Bank of New-York, which was originated at a meeting held February 26, 1784, at the Merchants' Coffee-House, and was there formally organized March 15 following, with Alexander McDougall[2] as president, and William Seton as cashier. The subscriptions were promptly paid up, and it opened business in the following June at the Walton House, on Franklin Square.

The Merchants' Coffee-House, called the Old Coffee-House after 1772, when another was opened near it, had passed in 1776 into the keeping of Cornelius Bradford, whose services to commerce deserve a record. The Coffee-House had always been the rendezvous of the merchants, the shipmasters, and the captains of vessels, but Bradford was the first to properly arrange and give out the information required by this class of people. In his opening announcement, April, 1776, he says: "The greatest attention will be given to the arrival of vessels, when trade and navigation shall resume their former channels." Trade unfortunately did not resume its former channels, and after the disaster of Long Island, in September, 1776, the patriotic host went out with the American army and resided at Rhinebeck, near the Hudson, until the autumn of 1783. He issued his opening advertisement in October of this year, and in the next month announced that "he had prepared a book in which he will insert the names of such as may please to call upon him, the names of their vessels, the ports from whence they came, and any other particular occurrences of their voyages, in order that the Gentlemen of this City, or travellers, may obtain the earliest intelligence thereof; particular care will be taken in the delivery of all such letters as may be intrusted to his care." The letter delivery was an old custom, but the plan of a marine list or gazette was novel. Henceforth the arrivals of vessels, "from Bradford's Marine List," regularly appear in Loudon's "New-York Packet." The next month he made another new departure: "For the accommodation of the Public, to prevent the many disappointments that daily happen to returned citizens or others inquiring for their friends, connections or those they may have business with, the subscriber has opened a book, 'The City Register,' alphabetically arranged, at the bar of the Coffee House, where any gentlemen now resident in the City, either as a housekeeper or lodger, or those who may hereafter arrive, may insert their names and places of residence. The said register will always be open at the

[1] Robert Morris was not of the New-York Morrisania family. Born in Liverpool, he came to America at an early age, and was brought up in the great house of Thomas Willing, of Philadelphia, of which he was later a partner. He was one of the Pennsylvania delegates to the Continental Congress, and as such signed the Declaration of Independence.

[2] General McDougall was of Scotch origin, the leader of the Sons of Liberty with John Lamb; he commanded the first of the four regiments raised by New-York on the continental establishment. He was commissioned brigadier-general in 1776, major-general in 1777, and was chosen State senator after the peace.

bar of the Coffee House by which means the disappointments so frequently happening to those who enquire or are enquired after will be prevented. *N. B.* The constant opportunity the subscriber has of knowing how numerous these disappointments are, has, for the convenience of the public, suggested to him the above mentioned plan." This was the first attempt at a city register or a city directory. The first printed directory was that of David Franks, 1786.

In March also the United Whaling Company was summoned to meet at the Long Room of the Coffee-House. This company was organized, on the motion of Mr. Henry Remsen, by the Chamber of Commerce in 1774. No less a person than Philip Livingston was its president; Charles McEvers, the treasurer of the chamber, was its treasurer; Joseph Allicocke[1] was its secretary. This company closed its affairs in August, 1776. Its operations were no doubt in near waters, as the New-York laws of 1772 exempted from tonnage dues "all vessels engaged in whaling." The noted Thomas Hyler was the first named of its captains. Anthony Van Dam was of the committee for "the purchase of vessels and the sale of oils."

The Chamber of Commerce, which for half a century had been the authorized representative of commercial New-York, was held in the opinions of counsel to have forfeited its charter by "misuse and nonuse" during the British occupation. The legislature of the State, then sitting in New-York, was accordingly petitioned to grant a new charter, which was done on April 13, 1784. Forty names were appended to the petition.[2] The signers met at the Merchants' Coffee-House, April 20, and reorganized under the name of Chamber of Commerce of the State of New-York. They elected John Alsop president, Isaac Sears vice-president, John Broome treasurer, John Blagge secretary. Nine of these petitioners were old members, and seven more of these[3] were proposed at this meeting, and readmitted within this and the following year. Seventeen others still, of the old or colonial men-

[1] This old Son of Liberty seems to have deserted his colors. Appointed secretary of the Committee of Correspondence in 1774, he resigned that post. He was then inspector of pot and pearl ashes. He was a wine merchant and remained in the city during the war. Captain Montresor, the British engineer, speaks of him in his journal in a manner too uncomplimentary to repeat.

[2] Petitioners: Samuel Broome, Jeremiah Platt, John Broome, Benjamin Leland, Thomas Randall, Robert Bowne, Daniel Phœnix, Jacob Morris, Ephahet Brush, James Jarvis, John Blagge, Vincent Van Zandt, Stephen Sayre, Jacobus Van Zandt, Nathaniel Hazard, Thomas Hazard, Abraham P. Lott, Abraham Duryee, William Malcolm, John Alsop, Isaac Sears, James Beekman, Abraham Lott, Comfort Sands, Joseph Blackwell, Joshua Sands, Lawrence Embury, George Embury, Gerardus Duyckinck, Cornelius Ray, Anthony Griffiths, Thomas Tucker, John Berrian, Isaac Roosevelt, John Franklin, John B. Kip, Henry B. Kipp, Archibald Currie, David Currie, and Jonathan Lawrence, "all of the said city merchants." Names of the old members who were petitioners: John Alsop, Daniel Phœnix, Isaac Roosevelt, James Beekman, Jeremiah Platt, Isaac Sears, Gerardus Duyckinck, Thomas Randall, Jacobus Van Zandt.

[3] Henry Remsen, Richard Glover, Peter Keteltas, William Neilson, John Ramsay, and Walter Bicker. Mr. Neilson, the last survivor of the original members of 1768, died in New-York, November 3, 1849, at the advanced age of eighty-three years.

bers, were readmitted by resolution, on the motion of General William Malcolm, February 13, 1787, conditioned on their appearance at a stated meeting. Nothing could have been more considerate and generous, or more characteristic of this large-hearted man.[1] All of these gentlemen had remained in the city during the war, but in a neutral attitude. At least they were not obnoxious to their Whig associates. The president, John Alsop,[2] was one of the founders of the chamber, and had served as vice-president in 1774. He was one of the richest, most influential, and most respected of the commercial magnates of the colonial period.

The New-York insurance office, of which Anthony Van Dam[3] was the old secretary, and the patrons of which were the Waltons, Crugers, Jaunceys, and other city capitalists, was now apparently closed. Underwriting was done in a different style in those days. Each gentleman had his own book, and the business of the clerk was simply to make the entries, keep a record, and adjust the settlements among the interested parties. Cunningham and Wardrop opened a public insurance office in 1777, which was a new departure and a step toward our present system. Here policies were received and offered to the merchants and underwriters generally. In 1784 the New-York Insurance Company, which had its office in the brick building next to the Coffee-House, seems to have opened under a different management. The new managers had taken the front room of the Auction House, which Daniel Phœnix had just opened at the lower end of Coffee-House Bridge, in the store lately occupied by Cunningham and Wardrop, who apparently had taken wing. The buildings "vis-à-vis the Coffee-House" (at present Water street) were at this time called the "Merchant's Promenade or Auctioneer's Row."

A fresh attempt was made this year toward a fire-insurance company. A notice appeared in the "New-York Packet" on February 6, 1784: "Some gentlemen have now in contemplation to form a company for insuring houses in this city against fire. Such houses as are insured will be of course received as security at the bank"; and a

[1] William Backhouse (after whom William B Astor was named), Patrick McDavitt, Oliver Templeton, Edward Goold, William Laight, Daniel Ludlow, George W. Lndlow, Robert R. Waddell, Theophylact Bache, John Thurman, Daniel McCormick, William Lowther, John Murray, and William Walton.

[2] John Alsop was an active patriot in the Stamp Act period, member of the Committee of Inspectors in 1770, deputy chairman of the Committee of Correspondence of Fifty-one in 1774, one of the New-York delegates to the first Continental Congress, of the Committee of One Hundred in 1775. Elected to the second Continental Congress, he declined to sign the Declaration of Independence because of insufficient instruction. He withdrew to Middletown, Conn., where his brother resided, and remained there in quiet till the close of the war. His only child, Mary, was married in 1786 to Rufus King, delegate from Massachusetts to the National Congress, and later minister to England. The name was continued in the issue of this marriage, John Alsop King, Governor of New-York, and later in the son of the governor, John Alsop King, member of the New-York State legislature, and for several years past president of the New-York Historical Society.

[3] Anthony Van Dam had gone out with the troops to London, where he died. There is a very interesting tablet to the memory of this last of the Dutchmen in St Paul's Church, New-York, set up by his unmarried sister, Catharine Van Dam, in the year 1824.

further attempt was made by John Delafield,[1] in April, 1785, to establish a fire-insurance office, but it failed.

In 1785 the Marine Society, in order to connect their members together, and to promote the original object of the institution, determined to have a social dinner at the Coffee-House on January 19. The newspapers say they had an elegant dinner provided, and were honored with the company of his Excellency the President "of Congress and the Honorable the Members of the same, it being then in session at New-York; his Honor the Mayor James Duane, Major-General McDougall, and a number of other gentlemen." The Chamber of Commerce would not be outdone in the matter of hospitable entertainment, and in their turn dined the President and the Congress on the first Monday in 1785. A notable toast in the regulation number (thirteen) was "a free trade with all the world." The stewards on this occasion were Messrs. George Embree, Henry Remsen, and James Buchanan, and their proportion of the expenses of the entertainment (presumably for invited guests) was £6 6s.

The history of the collection of customs at the port of New-York, in the disturbed period of the United States government under the weak confederation proposed in 1777 and established in 1781, is interesting as showing the incoherent commercial relations of the several States to each other. The unsatisfactory condition of these relations was the impelling cause that brought the people to demand "a more perfect union," and resulted in the Constitution of 1787. Willing as were all the colonies to unite for common defense, they were alike tenacious of their commercial autonomy. Each one of the thirteen original colonies had its own seaport, and each was quite willing to take its chance in the struggle for trade, perhaps the smaller more so than their larger neighbors. Under the severe restrictions of Great Britain upon the trade of her American colonies, smuggling had been from the beginning of the English rule the habit rather than the exception; and the coast traders thought it no crime to run goods in to the detriment of the legitimate

Robt R Livingston

[1] John Delafield an English gentleman came out in the Mercury packet in 1781 when she brought over the definitive treaty of peace. He was the founder of the well-known New York family of this name distinguished in the military service of the United States, in the professions of law and medicine, and in commerce. He was admitted to the Chamber of Commerce in 1784.

commerce of the chief seaports. It will now be shown that State legislation stimulated rather than checked this underhand traffic — criminal as well as underhand, because if the State governments were to be maintained by customs, any infringement was a damage to the people themselves, the governments being now representatives of the people and no longer royal establishments.

In February, 1781, the Continental Congress, preparing for the supreme struggle which ended at Yorktown, summoned the States to vest power in Congress to levy for general purposes a duty of five per cent. *ad valorem* on the foreign goods at the place of importation, the money to be applied to the funding of the debt of the United States, in the hope of reëstablishing the sinking credit. The legislature of New-York passed the act in March, conditional on similar action by the other States. Rhode Island positively refused, and Virginia, which at first approved, withdrew her consent. New Jersey, in an able memorial to Congress in July, pointed out the inefficient nature of the power vested in Congress over the foreign trade of the country, and urged that all duties and customs imposed thereon ought to be appropriated to the building of a navy. But the country was not prepared for this, and the States, regardless of the recommendation of Congress, established rates at their pleasure. Thus Connecticut, with the view of attracting the trade of her neighbors, established a rate five per cent. below that of New-York. On March 15, 1783, on the ground that other States had passed acts not consonant to the act of Congress of 1781, New-York repealed this act, and passed a new act granting a similar duty, but ordering its collection by officers under authority of the State. New-York was still in British occupation.

In November, 1784, on the petition of the Chamber of Commerce, recently reorganized under the laws of the State, the legislature, then sitting at the City Hall in New-York, ordered that the duties be levied under a specific in lieu of an *ad valorem* tariff, as recommended by Congress. The merchants of New-York had always favored a specific duty. To the objection that by the specific duty the rich and poor consumers are taxed alike, they made the conclusive answer that under a specific duty the superior article, the best goods, will always seek the market. This petition of the Chamber of Commerce was worded in that way by Isaac Moses, one of the most intelligent and respected of the Jewish merchants of the city and a member of that institution. The legislature listened to this prayer, and on November 18, 1784, passed an act levying specific duties, and establishing a custom-house the same day. Colonel John Lamb, the veteran Son of Liberty, the companion of the gallant Richard Montgomery at Quebec, the trusted commander of the Second Continental Artillery, to whom General Washington intrusted the important com-

mand of West Point after Arnold's treason, was appointed collector, becoming thus the first collector of the port. He established the custom-house in the lower floor of his dwelling-house, which was on the north side of Wall street, about midway between Pearl and William streets.

In 1786 Congress made another effort to obtain the requisite control over the customs. Nine States had assented, but four—New-York, Rhode Island, Maryland, and Georgia—refused. A special appeal was adopted by Congress and addressed to the States. Three passed the New-York Act, but New-York, now under Clinton's control, still refused. Still there was a large party in New-York, led by Alexander Hamilton (who was at the head of all the movements of economic organization both of the Nation and the State), which saw the imperative need of the proposed legislation. In the spring a meeting was held which unanimously agreed to the necessity of granting the impost to Congress, as a system alone sufficiently efficacious to give energy to the Union: "That the trade and commerce of the United States cannot flourish without this plan, and that a notice be given to the public that a petition to the legislature was prepared and would be left for signature at Bradford's Coffee-House, at Van de Water's, in the Fields, and at Abraham Martine's, the Bear Market, North River, and a meeting was called at Van de Water's for four o'clock." All in vain, for when the New-York legislature met and the subject came up for discussion the following year, February 8, 1787, the grant of power was rejected by a large majority. The only hope for the future seemed now to rest on the national convention, recommended at the Annapolis conference, to be held for the reconstruction of the constitution. Virginia, at the express wish of Washington and with his name at the head of her roll of delegates, took the lead in that action, and New-York fell into line. Hamilton and Governeur Morris, a son of New-York, although just then a citizen of Philadelphia and one of Pennsylvania's delegates, were among the master spirits of that remarkable body which met at Philadelphia and, settling the principles of our government, cemented the feeble fabric of the Confederation into the solid structure of perpetual union.

The wonderful advantage the great waterway of the Hudson and the system of interior streams gave to New-York was early seen. Already, in 1784, Christopher Colles, an ingenious mathematician, had addressed a memorial to the two houses of the New-York legislature proposing a plan for navigation on the Mohawk River, and in 1786 he received some aid for his plans, being supported by the indorsement of the Chamber of Commerce. The project had been then extended to reach not only to Oswego on Lake Ontario, but the Great Lakes at Lake Erie. The population of the city in 1786 was computed by

Noah Webster[1] at 23,614 souls. It was then the second city in importance of the western continent. Philadelphia, the first in numbers, had at this period 40,000; Boston, 15,000; Baltimore, 14,000; and Charleston, whose ambition had once run high, 10,000. The enterprise of New-York was already measuring the distance from the sea to the interior lakes, and with prophetic vision forecasting the general system of canal communications which should connect them all and open a great avenue for the commerce of the continent. The road to the Canadian provinces was up the broad valley of the Hudson, at whose mouth lay the matchless landlocked harbor, safe anchorage for the fleets of all nations. The mission of New-York was commerce, and she early understood it and entered upon it with a zeal and energy which have never flagged.

The forward spring of New-York after the freedom of trade from British restrictions was marvelous. It can only he explained hy a reflection on the education of war. The long struggle of the Revolution had familiarized the enterprising spirits of the marching force with the great natural advantages of New-York as an outlet for the products of the soil of the continent, and as a harbor for the fleets which would gather to carry that harvest across the sea or distribute it at home. Immediately on the peace some of these persons came in as escort of Washington; numbers of this class, especially of New England origin, flocked to the city. To use a familiar expression: "They came in with the conquest"—a conquest of the city from the enfeebled arms of a decaying civilization by the aspiring spirit of a new.

Jonathan Thompson[2]

Before the Revolution the only mail communication with Europe was by way of Great Britain. Five packet-boats attached to this

[1] He was engaged for many years in commercial pursuits in New-York. His name appears on the Chamber of Commerce roll of 1791.

[2] Jonathan Thompson was born December 7, 1773, at Satıkos Manor, a country-seat on Long Island, where his ancestors had lived since 1656. He married Miss Elizabeth Havens, and became one of the firm of Gardiner & Thompson in the West India importing business in New-York city. He was appointed collector of taxes under Madison, in 1813, and in 1819 collector of the port under Monroe, holding the position for ten years. In 1840 he was made president of the bank of the Manhattan Company, remaining there until his death in 1846. Mr Thompson was unostentatious in manner, a prudent and able financier, and stood high in the financial and social world. His son David, a well-known man in Wall street, was born in 1798, and died in 1872, his wife being Miss Sarah Diodati Gardiner, daughter of John Lyon Gardiner, of Gardiner's Island, N. Y. EDITOR.

service carried the mails between the stations of Falmouth and New-York. They were the Earl of Halifax, the Harriott, the Duke of Cumberland, the Lord Hyde, and the Mercury. The Mercury was a historic vessel, having brought over from England, on July 21, 1783, the definitive treaty of peace. This was the opening of the new era. No sooner was it signed than the great continental powers hastened to welcome the advent of the young republic. France, the Netherlands, and Spain were all represented by first-class ministers as early as 1785. Only England, in lamentation for the loss of her colonies, like "Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted." France, which, under the instigation of Lafayette, had entered into a commercial treaty with America in 1778, was the first to take advantage of the opening of the port of New-York to European trade. On November 19, 1783, before the evacuation of the city, the Courier de l'Europe, Captain Corme de Moulin, arrived from the port of L'Orient, and notice was at once given of the establishment of a line of five first-class packet-ships. These were le Courier de l'Europe, le Courier de l'Amérique, le Courier de New-York, le Courier de l'Orient, and L'Alligator, to make monthly trips. The line in New-York was under the general management of Hector St. John de Crèvecœur, the consul-general of France for Connecticut, New-York, and New Jersey, a gentleman of birth and education, and well known for his public papers on the agricultural features of America. The immediate supervision of the line was by the deputy agent, William Seton. On December 10 he advertised his appointment in the "Royal Gazette," his office being at 215 Water street. A better choice could not have been made. Mr. Seton was of a well-known Scotch family highly connected at home. Three of his sisters are familiar to lovers of literature—Lady Shott, Lady Cayley, and Mrs. Berry, mother of the faithful and cultivated young ladies whose graces Horace Walpole has charmingly recorded. He had remained in New-York during the war, and was even notary public under the royal commission; but his appointment to this new service shows the moderation of his character and the esteem of his fellow-citizens.

The "noble cabin" of L'Orient was advertised as capable of accommodating forty persons at table. The price of passage was fixed at five hundred livres (one hundred dollars) at the captain's tables; and two hundred livres (forty dollars) for those who chose to take ship's rations; and one hundred and twenty livres (twenty-four dollars) the ton of four thousand pounds weight or forty-two cubical feet. This vessel sailed on her return December 19, 1783, having among her outward passengers a number of officers of the British army. She was followed by the Courier de New-York, which left L'Orient December 15, 1783, and arrived in New-York February 2, 1784, a passage of

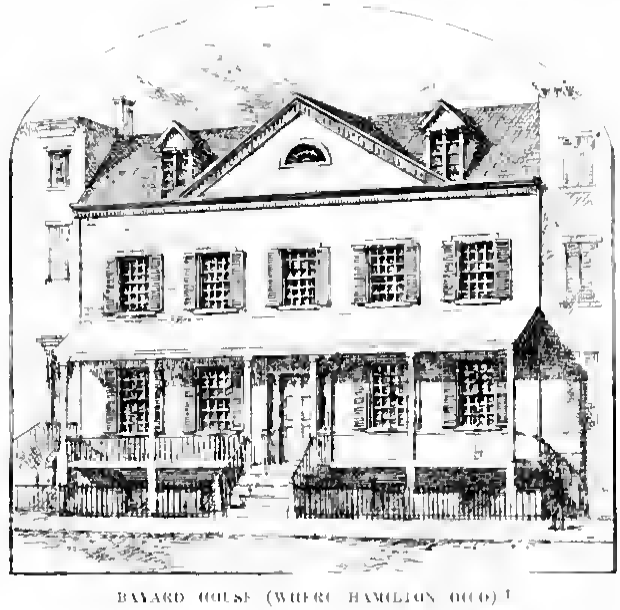
forty-nine days. She anchored off Sandy Hook and rode out a tremendous gale. The Courier de l'Amérique was commanded by le Chevalier d'Aboville. One of this family was the colonel commandant of Rochambeau's artillery. This vessel sailed from New-York at the close of February, having on board Colonel Harman with the ratification by Congress of the definitive articles of peace.

In the commencement of this enterprise the public were informed that the French packet was an immediate channel of conveyance for letters from and to all parts of the continent of Europe, the general post-office at Paris having a daily intercourse with all the capitals. Lafayette came out in the Courier de New-York on his first visit after the war. He sailed July 1, 1784, and arrived August 4, after a passage of thirty-four days. The vessel brought out a choice collection of books, sent by the King of France to the consul-general, to be presented to the universities of Philadelphia and Williamsburg. They were given at the request of the Count de Vergennes and the Marquis de Chastellux. On the arrival of the ship, the French consul-general communicated to the merchants of New-York an invitation of the king "to avail themselves of the French ports of the Isles of France and Bourbon on their voyages to and from the East Indies," where they were promised every protection and every liberty they might wish for or stand in need of: a port of refuge and protection probably against the pirates whose junk-boats swarmed in the eastern ocean. Jointly with the United States, France hoped to seize upon the trade of the British and destroy their prestige in those distant seas. But England was not willing to be utterly isolated from the prosperous trade with her old colonies, and quickly reëstablished the Falmouth line of packets, with five vessels also. Their passages had been intermittent during the war, and at great peril from the venturesome whaleboatmen of New-York.

The enterprising merchants did not depend on foreign aid, nor were they content with a narrow trade; from the beginning they took in a broad horizon. In the autumn of 1783, some of the bolder ones, in association with Robert Morris and others of Philadelphia, purchased a ship and despatched her to China. This ship, the Empress of China, Captain John Green, sailed February 22, 1784, Washington's birthday. She carried the original flag of the United States adopted in 1777. This flag, first shown on the Pacific in 1784, was taken round the world by the Columbia in 1789–90, and by the Franklin, of Salem, Mass., to Japan in 1799. Though peace brought prosperity, all was not plain sailing. Pirates were reported in the West India waters, and there was consternation in February, 1785, caused by the report of the capture of an American vessel by the Barbary pirates, who not only infested the Mediterranean seas, but passing the Straits of Hercules,

ventured far into the open ocean. Great Britain not only connived at, but was party to the nefarious practice of taking papers of safe conduct, "Mediterranean passes," from the Algerine powers. As yet the States of the young republic were too weak and too discordant to avenge these outrages.

The States were at the outset extremely averse to levying the five per cent. duty recommended by Congress. At first many of the legislatures refused point-blank, but in March, 1784, of the thirteen States only Rhode Island stayed out, the other twelve having consented—New-York, however, under a specific rate. But the Constitution of 1789 brought the customs system under federal authority, put an end to the specific duties, and changed the New-York custom-house from a



BAYARD HOUSE (WHERE HAMILTON DIED).[1]

State to a federal bureau. Though the change was not palatable, it was fortunate. The equalization of tariff rates in all the States brought back to New-York the trade which had been diverted from her by the lower rates of her neighbors.[2] It is hardly worth while to

[1] The beautiful country-seat where Hamilton died belonged to his friend William Bayard, the wealthy merchant. At that time it faced the Hudson River, but in later years became No. 82 Jane street. The house was taken down during the summer of 1890. EDITOR.

[2] We adduce one instance in proof. John V. Glover, who, before the Revolution, had managed in New York the large woolen trade of the great house of Elams of Leeds, Yorkshire, England, at the close of the war closed his agency in the city, and entering into partnership with Thomas Pearsall, removed to New Haven. The adoption of the constitution was the signal for the breaking up of the New Haven house and the return of Mr. Glover to New York. On his return he continued his business in New-York at 222 Pearl street. Besides taking shares in commercial ventures and trading voyages after the good old fashion with Peter Schermerhorn, John Titus, and Thomas C. Pearsall, he engaged in the Calcutta trade on his own account.

dwell upon the operation of the New-York custom-house during the five years of its existence. The period was at best an interim between the old supreme authority of the crown and the new method of the young republic.

To establish the condition of commerce at the beginning of the new order, and to fix a basis for comparisons of its later growth, we must turn to the somewhat incomplete figures which Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, submitted to Congress in February, 1791. In this general statement New-York appears with a tonnage of 92,737 entered, of which 48,922 were United States vessels, 14,654 being engaged in the coasting-trade. Massachusetts led in tonnage with 195,401 tons, Pennsylvania followed with 105,633, Virginia came third with 104,000, New-York came fourth as above stated, and Maryland fifth with 90,639 tons. From this it appears that of the grand total, 761,710 tons, Massachusetts had twenty-five and three quarters per cent., Pennsylvania fourteen per cent., Virginia thirteen per cent., and New-York twelve and one quarter per cent. The relative importance of the ports of importation can only be measured by the duties collected at each. The result is curious. The total customs collected is stated at $2,130,224: Pennsylvania leading with $518,795, New-York following with $494,296, Massachusetts third with $378,860, Maryland fourth with $230,890. The value of imports into New-York was $3,231,712 (of which two and one half millions from the British dominions); into Massachusetts, $1,776,438; into Pennsylvania, $4,062,541; into Virginia, $2,487,405.

On December 31, 1799, the Secretary of the Treasury reported the tonnage of the United States shipping at 939,408; of which 662,197 tons were engaged in the foreign trade, the remainder coastwise and in the fisheries. Of this foreign trade New-York had 106,537 tons; Pennsylvania, 84,486; Baltimore, 73,046; and Boston, 67,664; while the Southern ports had dropped far behind. At the close of the century New-York had already reached the first place in the shipping trade, a preëminence she has never since relinquished. The summary of the value of the exports for the year ending September 30, 1800, states the sum at seventy-one millions of dollars. New-York leads with fourteen millions, Maryland follows with twelve millions, Massachusetts is third with eleven millions, and South Carolina fourth with ten millions. Virginia had already dropped to less than five millions. By a process of discriminating duties in favor of American bottoms, the carrying-trade remained in American hands; and by their operation during the war incident to the French Revolution, American tonnage had increased to an amount exceeding that of any nation in Europe except Great Britain. Before long, however, Great Britain grew jealous of this prosperity, and put in force in 1797 the right of

"countervailing" duties, reserved in the Jay treaty of 1794. France, discontented with the refusal of the United States to aid her in her struggle, levied duties in reply to the discriminating duties levied in America. This almost at once checked the growth of the American marine, and New-York quickly felt the change.

With the close of the continental wars both the carrying-trade and the "accidental trade," as Albert Gallatin termed the great entrepôt business of import and export under debenture, rapidly declined. Great Britain, whose jealousy was thoroughly aroused, began what has been aptly termed "a war in disguise." In 1807 Great Britain issued the famous "Orders in Council," with the declared purpose of compelling all nations to give up their maritime trade or accept it through British ports. This was in answer to Napoleon's "Berlin decree" of 1806, which declared the British islands in a state of blockade, and all articles of British product or manufacture contraband of war. The British orders were a step in advance of this measure, and not only disregarded the interests of the United States, but included her in the exclusion. The United States replied with the Embargo Act, December 22, 1807. Mr. Gallatin advised Jefferson at this crisis that "war was preferable to a permanent embargo."

NEW-YORK CUSTOM HOUSE

At this period (the close of 1807), the exports of domestic products and manufactures were $48,689,542; imports of foreign produce and manufactures, $59,643,558; total, $108,333,100. The tonnage was 1,268,548, of which 848,306 was in the foreign trade. New-York again led in the exports.

The instant effect of the embargo is sufficiently shown by the statement of the exports for the year 1808. From one hundred and eight million dollars in value in 1807, they fell in one year to twenty-two millions. The suffering from such a shrinkage was intense. Politics ran high and opposition grew strong as the stringent measures to enforce the Act of Embargo were applied. New England, which always in her history chafed at restraint, and which had no French sympathy,

was restive, even dangerously restive. Massachusetts in February, 1809, addressed a remonstrance to Congress which, while censuring the belligerent powers of Europe as a whole, leaned strongly toward reconciliation with Great Britain. The tension could not be sustained, and on June 18, 1812, war was declared against Great Britain. Duties were doubled on all importations. Here closes the first or experimental era of United States commerce.

MERCHANTS ON THE ROLL OF FREEMEN

The mayor and city officials took the oath of allegiance to the Duke of York on November 2, 1675, and at their meeting, January 20, 1675–6, ordered that "noe person or Merchant whatsoever sell, or cause to bee sold, or put to sale any Goods, wares, or Merchandizes by retale, upon paine to forfeit all such goods, wares, and merchandises, unless such person or persons are Freemen or made Free or Burgers of this Citty and settled housekeepers for the space of one yeare or given security for the same, unless by special license" (the intention being to exclude the itinerant peddler from the neighborhood), and "all and every Merchant hereafter to bee made free shall pay for the same Six Bevers" (the beaver-skin being the currency of the province). The following names appear:

1678–9 Arnolt Legrange, merchant, six beavers paid to Mr. Mayor.
1680 William Pinhorne.

In March, 1683–4, the common council ordained that thereafter every merchant, trader, or shopkeeper to be made free pay the sum of three pounds twelve shillings. On November 9, 1683, the mayor and common council petitioned Governor Dongan for a new charter to confirm to them their ancient charters granted by Governor Nicolls in 1665; among these was the admission and regulation of the freemen of the city. The Dongan Charter was granted April 20, 1686, and on the 24th the common council ordered that the fee for freedoms be five pounds.

1686 Stephen De Lancey, merchant,
1692 Robert Downs, "
1694–95 Ouzeel Van Swieten, "
Stephen Jamain, "
1695 Nicholas Jamain, "
Matthew Ling,
Richard Willett, "
Benjamin Aske, "
Aaron Schuyler, "
James Mills, "
Adrian Hoghlandt, "
1696 Jacob De Porto,
Johannes Cuyler, "
1696–97 Evert Banker, "
1697–98 William Morehead,
Thomas Palmer, "
Philip French, "
Thomas Noel,
John Coesart, "
Isaac Fernandas Diaz, "
1698 Daniel Crommelin, "
Charles Crommelin, "
William Morris, "
Thomas Clarke, "
Arthur Bunyan,
1698 Johannes Hoghlandt, merchant,
Isaac Depeyster, "
John Beeckman, "
Henry Van Bael, "
1698 Cornelius Lodge, "
Isaac Gouverneur, "
1689–99 Joseph Billopp,
Barent Saunders, "
1699 Benjamin Faneuil, "
1700 Thomas Turnhull,
1700–1 Augustus Jay, Caleb Cooper,
Benjamin D'harriette, Peter Thauvelt,
1701–2 Walter Thong, John Chollwell,
William Smith, Oloffe Van Cortlandt,
Thomas Montagne, Jacobus Bayard,
Johannes Outman, Thomas Davenport.
1702 Gerret Schuyler,
1702–3 James Davy, Charles Wolley,
John Barrow, John Davis,
John Scott, John Cruger.
Patrick Crawford, Andrew Stuckey,
1705 John Auhoyneau, Thomas Bayeux,
John Sloss, Roger Brett,
Isaac Thibou, Isaac Napthaly,
1705–6 Lewis Gomez,

1708	Abraham De Lucena,	Anthony Lynch.
	Elias Nezereau,	
1708–9	Joseph Robinson,	Rickard Burk.
	William Glencross,	Rene Hett.
	Robert Livingston,	John Roy.
1710	James Martindale,	Thomas Kearney,
	Andrew Fresneau,	Noah Cazahett.
	Rene Tongrelou,	
1710–11	Charles Teller.	Jacob Franks.
1711–12	William Eyre,	Rodrigo Pacheco.
	James Maxwell.	William Dugdale,
1712–13	Humphrey Salisbury.	
1713	Abraham Brock.	
1713–14	Moses Hart.	
1714–15	David Minvielle,	Adrian Abramson.
	Mordechai Gomez.	
1715	Octavo Cuenrut.	
1715–16	Henry Bricard,	Baruch Judah.
	Judah Morris,	John Wyatt.
1716	Gilbert Livingston.	
1716–17	Anthony Duane,	John Kelly.
	Benjamin Foster,	Richard Ashfield,
	William Cheshire,	
1719	Thomas Hopkins,	
1720	Lewis Allaire,	
1720–21	Joseph Haines,	Abraham Jouneau.
1721	John Abramson.	
1722	John Ellison,	
1722–23	Abraham Isaacks.	
1723	Gulian Verplank	Peter Minvielle.
1724	Joseph Pennyman.	
1724–25	Henry Cuyler,	John Walter.
	Abraham Boelen,	Henry Vanderspiegel,
	Cornelius Santford,	
	Richard Van Dam,	John Lewis Pintard.
	Andrew Teller,	Gerrardus Beekman,
1725	Direk Schuyler,	James Searle.
1725–26	Jacob Huys,	
1726	Abraham Rodrigos Rivera,	Thomas Dart,
1726–27	John Sent,	John Garrett,
	John Noble.	
1727	Daniel Gomez	James Fanders.
1727–28	David Clarkson.	Matthew Clarkson.
1728	Thomas Gilbert,	John Seymour,
	John Groesbeck,	Nicholas Gouverneur.
	Charles Robinson,	
	Enoch Stevenson,	Jan De Wit,
	Ezekiel Barbauld,	Samuel Shurmur,
	Obadiah Hunt, Jr.,	
1729	John Browne.	William Channing.
1730	Friend Lucas,	John Lindesay.
	James Wallace.	
1730–31	Abraham Van Wyck.	
1731	David Alricl	Joris Brinckerhoff.
	John Le Montes,	Matthias Borrell,
	Peter De Lage.	
1732	Peter Jay.	Anthony Horn.
1732–33	Joseph Sent.	
1734	Barent Rynders,	Stephen Bayard,
	Nicholas Bayard	Abraham Lvansen,
	Wessell Wessells,	Peter Lynch,
	Nathaniel Marston, Jr.,	John Marshall.
		Abrahum Van Horne
1734–35	John Stoutenburgh.	
1735	Robert Bowne,	Thomas Willet.
	David Hays,	Judah Hays.
1735–36	Joseph Cowley,	Edward Tittle.
	John Richard,	Thomas Noble.
	Joseph Sacket, Jr.,	

1736	Samuel Bayard, Jr.,	John Schurmur.
	John Vanderspiegel,	Stephen DeLancey, Jr.,
1737	John De Lancey.	John Watts.
	Lawrence Le Tellier	Andrew Clapper.
	David Provoost, Jr.,	John Provoost.
	Thomas Duncan,	Robert Benson.
1737–38	Andrew Fresneau,	
1738	Stephen Lawrence,	Judah Mears,
	Henry Lane, Jr.,	Anthony Rutgers, Jr.,
1739	Isaac Van Dam,	William Walton, Jr.,
	James Thorne,	Nicholas Roosevelt.
1740–41	John Merrett.	
1741	Peter Vanbrugh Livingston,	Thomas Alsop.
		Thomas Alsop, Jr.
	Benjamin Blagge,	Moses Lopez.
1742	Edward Graham,	Cornelius Clipper, Jr.,
	Solomon Hayes.	
1742–43	Gerrardus Beekman.	
1743	Levy Samuel,	Thomas Moore.
	Hugh Wentworth,	Tobias Ten Eyck,
	Asher Mott.	
1743–44	Daniel Bloom.	John Dies.
1744–47	John Beekman.	Henry Turck.
1746	Henry Ludlow,	Thomas Ludlow.
	Mathew Van Alstyne	
1747	Philip Philipse.	Peter Ketellas.
1747–48	John Tudor.	
1748	Hendrick Remsen,	Robert (James) Livingston,
	Nicholas Stuyvesant,	
	Lawrence Lawrence,	Isaac Roosevelt,
	Jacobus Roosevelt,	Abraham Van Wyck, Jr.,
1749	Poulus Stell	Richard Thorne.
	Garrett Van Horne.	
1749–50	Thomas Braine.	William Proctor.
1750	Jeremiah Brewer.	John Sackett.
	Leonard Lispenard.	Hannah Levy.
1750–51	Richard Sharpe.	James Rochell.
	Adrian Houswaet,	Joseph Yeomans.
	William Flamingan.	John Long.
1751	Thomas Franklin.	Gerrardus William Beekman,
	Sukey Hunsworth.	
	Daniel Stiles.	Andrew Burnes.
1752	William Donaldson,	John Hutcherson,
	Samuel Coon.	Roger Dawson.
1753	John Wilson,	Abraham Suzadus.
	Garret Rapalje.	John Dunlap.
	Alexander Colden.	Reuben Warren Thompson.
1754	John Amory.	Henry Dorham.
	John Pierson.	
1755	Roland De Palm.	Jacob LeRoy.
	David Beekman.	Andrew Cannon.
	Petrus Byvanck,	Cornelius Kortright,
	John Byvanck.	Adolph Bruss, Jr.,
1756	Thomas Huys.	Samuel Rogers.
1758	Robert Alexander.	John Dolghsh.
	John Keating.	Isaac Adolphus.
1759	Thomas Wright.	William Alger.
1760	Richard Lewis.	Stephen Richards.
1761	Francis Thodey.	John Ireby.
1762	Thomas Marston.	Stephen Gilliam.
1765	James Abeel	Gerrard DePeyster.
	William Depeyster Jr.	Evert Byvanck, 4d
		Jacobus Van Sise.
	Michael Thodey.	Abraham Lyvsen.
	Nicholas Depeyster.	John Harris Cruger.
	Nicholas Cruger.	Anthony Rogers, Jr.

1765	Peter Low,	Abraham Van Ranst,	1769	Adolph Philipse,	William Imlay,
	Garrit Aheel,	John Carnes,		Thomas Ludlow, Jr.,	Levinus Clarkson,
1766	William Bancker,			Gerrard G. Beekman, Jr.,	John Van Dam,
1767	Richard Bancker,				Henry Holland, Jr.,
1768	James Sacket,	Moses Judah,		Robert C. Livingston,	Robert Watts,
	William W. Lndlow,	John Marston,			Samuel Judah,
1769	John Moore,	Cook Mulligan,		Philip Brasher,	Ehakim Raymond, Jr.,
	John Taylor,	Gabriel W. Ludlow,			
	George Ludlow,	John Lamb,	1770	Abraham Van Wyck,	Matthew Earnest,
	Thomas Duncan,	George Ball,		James Steward,	Jr.,
	William Waddle,	Thomas Barclay,		John Schuyler, Jr.,	Barent Cuyler,
	Thomas Tucker,	Richard Ray,		Aaron Van Hook,	William Laight,
	Edward Nicoll, Jr.,	Gabriel H Ludlow,		Jr	

No further entries in the colonial period; no entries during the Revolution. The Montgomerie Charter of 1730 was suspended in 1776, and the city ruled by the military courts of justice established by the British commanders-in-chief. It was revived in 1784. On March 9, 1784, a law relative to the admission of freemen was passed by the common council, by which it was ordained that every merchant, trader, or shopkeeper pay the sum of two pounds of lawful money of the State of New-York, including the several fees. While the roll contains the names of numerous cartmen, laborers, and petty tradesmen admitted to the privilege, but few of merchants appear from 1784 to 1785, after which date only public characters received this honor. The names of merchants appearing are as follows:

1788	James Watson,		1808	John Bingham (Alderman),	James Drake (Alderman),
1791	John Pintard,			William L. Mott,	Isaac S. Douglass,
1796	John P. Pearss,		1809	Roswell Graves.	
1797	Nicholas G. Carmer,	Jasper Ward,			
1799	John Bogert,	Nicholas Carmer,			

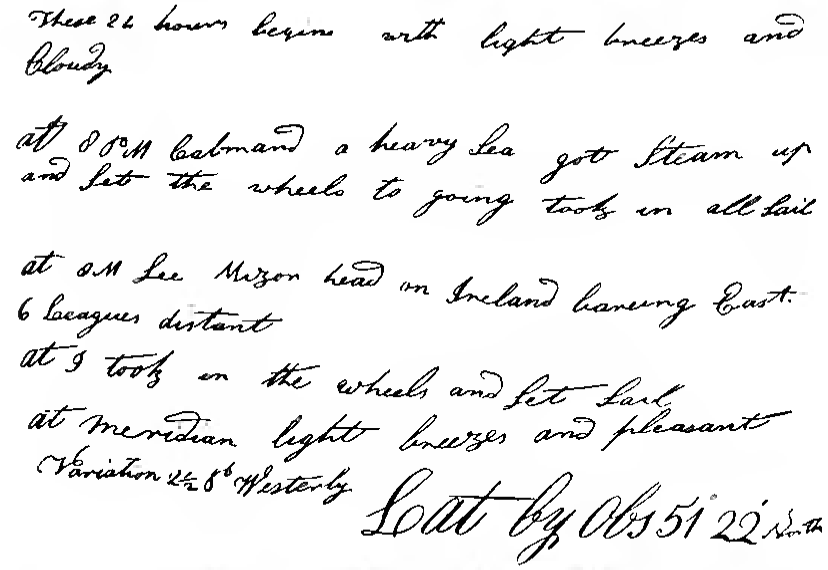
The law of 1801 was renewed for the last time in 1815, with the same charge. The laws and ordinances of 1816 contain no articles relating to freemen. EDITOR.

THE AMERICAN LINE OF ATLANTIC STEAMERS

The first steamship to cross the Atlantic was the Savannah, three hundred tons, commanded by Captain Moses Rogers. In June, 1819, she left New-York, where the vessel was built, and, sailing southwesterly, touched at Savannah, Georgia, in nine days; thence to Liverpool, arriving in sight of the coast of Ireland in twenty-five days. In stormy weather, and when under sail, the wheels were unshipped and stowed away on deck. They were used only eight days. Between the Savannah and the steamer New-York, on board of which the American flag was unfurled on Washington's birthday, in 1893, by the President of the United States, what a contrast! Following the Savannah came the Royal William, which steamed all the way in 1831, as did an English vessel of the same name, on a voyage from Liverpool to New-York two years later. The former was designed by a native of Quebec, and constructed in a shipyard under the shadow of the citadel of the ancient capital of Canada. The second Royal William was followed by the Liverpool, which crossed the Atlantic in seventeen days, returning to England in fifteen. The Sirius and Great Western came a few years later, and were really the pioneers of the Atlantic liners, making the business for the first time profitable by their famous race in 1838. The latter vessel was well known, among other things, as being the steamer Dr. Dionysius Lardner, the learned scientist, proved could not cross the Atlantic, and then took advantage of to elope in with another person's wife. A decade later, the New-York Collins steamers appeared, and for nearly a score of years shared with the Cunard and other foreign lines the pa-

tronage of the American public. Then our flag almost disappeared from the merchant marine engaged in carrying the mails and passengers across the Atlantic, until it was revived by the organization, in 1892, of an American line sailing between New York and Southampton. On the next page may be seen a representation of the New-York, one of the finest steamers afloat, and with, as yet, an unsurpassed record for speed, unless that distinction is admitted for her sister ship Paris; while the United States armored cruiser New-York (see Vol. III, p. 603) developed in her preliminary trials in March, 1893, a rate of speed never before equaled by an armored ship of war. Of this signal for a new policy in the matter of the American merchant marine, the New-York "Tribune" remarks:

"President Harrison celebrated a patriotic holiday by raising the American flag over the New-York. While the ceremonies were delayed by an unfortunate railway accident, the change of colors was witnessed by a brilliant assemblage and was honored by a naval salute from the Chicago. The occasion marked, as all Americans who


These 24 hours begin with light breezes and Cloudy
at 8 PM Calm and a heavy Sea got Steam up and Set the wheels to going took in all Sail
at 9 PM Lee Mizon head on Ireland bearing East 6 Leagues distant
at 9 took in the wheels and Set Sail
at Meridian light breezes and pleasant Variation 24° 8' Westerly Lat by Obs 51° 22' North

EXTRACT FROM LOG-BOOK OF THE SAVANNAH[1]

love their flag will hope, the turning-point of the fortunes of the merchant marine. During recent years the United States has been saving its pennies in ocean mail contracts, and flinging away its millions in freightage to foreign ship-owners. The raising of the flag over the New-York is the signal for a wiser and more patriotic policy. It is now commonly admitted that the conditions are favorable for a general revival of the nation's shipping interests. The development of iron and steel manufactures has been one of the chief marvels of the recent industrial progress of the United States. It has deprived English ship-builders of that marked superiority in the construction of iron ships which they acquired when the tonnage of the seas ceased to be largely constructed of timber. The building of the new navy has involved an enlargement of the plant and an improvement of the mechanical processes in shipyards. It has also reduced, as Chairman Herbert (Mr. Cleveland's present Secretary of the Navy) has admitted in his last naval report, at least 33 per cent. the cost of a ship of

[1] The original log-book is in the United States National Museum

war. With this Democratic expert testimony on record, what enemy of American shipping will now venture to assert that the difference in first cost between a home-built and a foreign-built ship is so great that competition is impracticable? The building of the navy has cheapened the tonnage cost of ship-building, and supplied the plant and equipment requisite for the economical construction of a new merchant fleet

"Moreover, the marvelous expansion of the nation's foreign commerce has supplied a volume of freighting and passenger business which encourages vigorous competition. During the last fiscal year that commerce amounted to $1,857,679,603, with freighting charges largely exceeding $200,000,000. That is a business of enormous proportions, of which American ship-owners now have a beggarly share. It is not from lack of business that the United States pays this tribute to foreign ship-owners. It is from lack of enterprise and ships, and from an unintelligible neglect of shipping interests. There is a freighting business of extraordinary magnitude awaiting a commercial marine under the American flag. The great markets opened abroad for farm products and manufactures, the remarkable increase of the import trade by the enlargement of the free schedules and the favorable effects of the negotiation of reciprocity treaties, offer a most favorable opportunity for the restoration of the merchant fleet.

STEAMER NEW-YORK.

"But it must not be forgotten that while the first cost of an iron ship has been greatly reduced, and while there is an immense freighting business inviting American competition, the high seas swarm with foreign ships manned by cheap labor, and to a large degree protected by subsidies and bounties, and by insurance discriminations and Lloyd's ratings. It is this difference in the operating expenses and insurance of an American in comparison with an English ship that has told more heavily against our marine than the difference in the first cost of tonnage. In order to overcome this disadvantage and to offset the bounties and subsidies of maritime Europe, the American government must adopt the English policy of liberal compensation for mail service. The conversion of the Inman into the American Line is the direct result of the passage of the Ocean Mail Subsidy Act, and of subsequent legislation authorizing the registry of two foreign-built ships. It denotes a reversion to that system of enlightened self-interest by which England, when free trade in freighting was proclaimed on the high seas, expended $250,000,000 in mail subventions during a single generation, and created a merchant marine, an auxiliary navy, and a commercial empire."

EDITOR.

CHAPTER XIX

TOPOGRAPHY OF NEW-YORK AND ITS PARK SYSTEM

THE city of New-York lies on the upturned edge of the vast primitive formation that extends from near the Gulf of Mexico to Canada, the basic rock being a spur of the Appalachian chain, a metamorphic rock that has been upheaved by convulsive action until its planes of stratification occupy a nearly vertical position. The original surface was very diversified in character, including level meadows, deep valleys, sharply projecting hills, and precipitous rocky cliffs, varying in height from tide-level to two hundred and fifty feet. In carrying out the plan of improvements, the greater portion of this immense surface is made to approximate to a general level, in order to give a low gradient to the streets and avenues. This process, however, has resulted in the stoppage of the old watercourses, by filling in the deep valleys of drainage to bring the surface to a level. Just how extensive were these old watercourses is shown by the following description: Commencing at the Battery and following the original topography, we find that, previous to the year 1695, an inlet, and subsequently a canal, ran through what is now Broad street as far as Exchange Place, with a branch running toward the west through Beaver street, afterward known as the Old Ditch. The main canal was crossed by two principal bridges, one at where is now Bridge street, and the other at Stone street, while at Beaver street there were two smaller bridges for foot-passengers. The Long Island ferry-house stood at the corner of New street and Exchange Place, the ferry-boat passing through the canal.

A little further north a stream ran through what is now Maiden Lane. Next above, where is now Ferry street, was Beekman's Park, a large tract of wet land, from which a stream ran into the East River. Next was the Collect Pond, a large body of fresh water said to have been seventy feet in depth, situated in the basin, the site of which is now occupied by the Tombs. On this small lake Fitch launched his first steamboat. A stream called the Wreck Brook ran from the Collect to the East River, through a low meadow; it emptied into the

river at the foot of what is now Roosevelt street. There was formerly a bridge across this on the old road, which is now Park Row. The main outlet of the Collect was by a stream running to the North River, through the Lispenard swamp, which covered a very large surface, extending from Duane street on the south to Spring street. A large stone bridge crossed this stream at Canal street. In the year 1796 a project was submitted by two engineers to the city authorities for making a dock or basin of the Collect, as a safe harbor for shipping, and to carry off the water from that quarter by means of a ship-canal. This shows what an extensive affair this body of water was. So far back as 1805 a committee appointed to examine into the condition of the Collect Pond reported that it was filled with the bodies of dead animals, and was dangerous to the public health. It has now disappeared from view, but is more or less present in the soil—as is evidenced by the miasma which has proved so fatal to many poor wretches who have been arrested in a night's debauch, and thrown into the stone cells of the Tombs, never to awake from their drunken sleep.

LAKE IN THE CENTRAL PARK.

The next stream above the Collect, on the North River side, was called the Minetta water, originating in the neighborhood of University Place and Sixteenth street. It emptied into the Hudson near the foot of Hamersley street, passing through what is now Washington Square, and creating a great deal of swampy soil in its course. Where it crossed the old road near Eighth street, there was a bridge, and the stream was twelve feet wide at this point. It is now lost to sight, but very dear to the memory of some people, for it has caused a great many doctors' bills;—the physicians can trace the course of this stream by their practice in intermittent fevers. On the opposite side of the city were the Stuyvesant swamps, a very extensive area of low alluvial land, receiving the waters of numerous small streams. Tompkins Square lies in this region. The easterly side of the city is swampy all the way up from this locality to Kip's Bay. A considerable stream, creating a great deal of swampy land, received the drainage of Murray Hill and vicinity, passing through what is now Madison Square and Gramercy Park; so we see that there are five public squares

situated, entirely or in part, in swamps, viz., St. John's, Washington, Tompkins, Madison, and Gramercy. On the westerly side again we find a stream emptying into the Hudson at Thirty-second street and Eleventh Avenue, coming all the way from the Sixth Avenue, and pursuing a very tortuous course, and creating an abundance of swampy soil. Another at Forty-second street was of nearly the same character and extent.

In the more elevated portions of the island, as the topography becomes more intricate with higher hills and more extensive valleys, the watercourses increase in magnitude. The progress of street grading obstructed these streams, forming in all directions large deposits of stagnant water, engendering a corresponding amount of fever and ague, from which a large portion of the population of that section of the city suffered severely. A stream originating in a pond formerly in the neighborhood of Broadway, Eighth Avenue, and Sixty-second street, ran in a northwesterly direction, then turning, crossed the Central Park diagonally to the corner of Fifty-ninth street and Fifth Avenue; here a miserably constructed culvert partly obstructed and dammed back the water; crossing Fifty-ninth street, it passed under Fifth Avenue near Fifty-eighth street; then again crossing Fifty-ninth street, between Fourth and Fifth avenues, it passed under Fourth Avenue, between Fifty-eighth and Fifty-ninth streets; then crossing Fifty-eighth, Fifty-seventh, Fifty-sixth, and Fifty-fifth streets, between Third and Fourth avenues, it ran into a sewer at the junction of Third Avenue and Fifty-fourth street. A branch of this stream passed under the Arsenal, through a well-constructed conduit, and under Fifth Avenue and Sixty-fourth street, where it debouched to the surface, and crossed Sixty-third, Sixty-second, Sixty-first, and Sixtieth streets, joining the main stream at the junction of Fourth Avenue and Fifty-ninth street. Another large stream rose between Eighth and Ninth avenues, and ran easterly across the Central Park at Seventy-fourth street; passed under Fifth Avenue at Seventy-fourth street; then crossed Fourth Avenue and Third Avenue, between Seventy-fourth and Seventy-third streets; crossed and recrossed Seventy-fifth street, between Second and Third avenues; crossed Second Avenue, and then Seventy-fourth street, near First Avenue; crossed and recrossed Seventy-fourth street, between Avenue A and First Avenue; crossed Avenue A between Seventy-fourth and Seventy-fifth streets, and Avenue B between the same streets, and emptied itself into the East River. This stream was more than three miles long. The various turnings were caused by ledges of rocks. A large body of water passed through it, which at one time turned a mill, and the ground throughout its whole course was generally swampy.

It is scarcely necessary to go on describing the courses of all the original streams. All these are fully shown on the topographical map of New-York which appears in this volume. These watercourses, which in their aggregate amounted to a very large volume of fresh water, were the sole supply for centuries to the aborigines, and also for the colonists, and in fact for the city until the construction of the water-works and the introduction of water from the Croton River. As the city increased in population, these streams were ruthlessly filled in, sometimes with the worst of refuse, under the false impression that they would thus disappear forever. Unfortunately for this theory, ignorantly believed in by otherwise intelligent engineers, these streams were supplied by perennial springs issuing from the primitive rock, and, in accordance with well-known laws, will continue to flow for an indefinite period. The earth thrown into the bed of these streams to raise their valleys to the common level of the streets must eventually become permanently saturated, rendering all dwellings built upon them damp, unwholesome, and unfit for occupation. Some of these streams probably have their rise at a long distance from the city, and find their way along the planes of stratification of the underlying rock, coming to the surface where a lateral fault crosses the strata. These lateral faults are generally the courses of the streams. In the description of the original topography of the Central Park, which follows, this matter is more fully explained.

THE public parks and pleasure-grounds of the city of New-York, dedicated for all time to the free use of the public, form not the least interesting feature of its topography, while their acquisition and construction are a no less prominent feature in its history. The park area already acquired and set apart for public use amounts in the aggregate to 5167.36 acres. Previous to the year 1853, the open-air spaces belonging to the city were of the most limited extent, consisting of a few vacant spaces in the general plan of the city, reserved here and there from the continuous series of rectilineal areas devoted to building purposes. These were of little use for breathing-places, since on all sides they would in time be surrounded by lofty structures, excluding the air, and in a large measure the sunlight; in fact, most of the ground so reserved was on the line of old watercourses, and therefore damp and unwholesome, and in the case of Washington Square, it had, in addition to this, been the Potter's Field, or pauper burying-ground, a ghastly resort for health and pleasure. Such was the condition of affairs when, on the 5th day of April, 1851, Ambrose

C. Kingsland, mayor of the city, transmitted to the Board of Aldermen the following brief, pertinent, and business-like message, which, although written nearly half a century ago, exhibits such a comprehensive view of the future of the metropolis, and such a clear conception of the entire subject, that it is given in full as a just tribute to this far-seeing man:

TO THE HONORABLE THE COMMON COUNCIL.

Gentlemen: The rapid augmentation of our population, and the great increase in the value of property in the lower part of the city, justify me in calling the attention of your Honorable Body to the necessity of making some suitable provision for the wants of our citizens, who are thronging into the upper wards, which but a few years since were considered as entirely out of the city. It seems obvious to me that the entire tongue of land south of the line drawn across the Park is destined to be devoted, entirely and solely, to commercial purposes; and the Park and Battery, which were formerly favorite places of resort for pleasure and recreation for citizens whose residences were below that line, are now deserted. The tide of population is rapidly flowing to the northern section of the island, and it is here that provision should be made for the thousands whose dwellings will, ere long, fill up the vacant streets and avenues north of Union Park. The public places of New-York are not in keeping with the character of our city; nor do they in any wise subserve the purpose for which such places should be set apart. Each year will witness a certain increase in the value of real estate out of the city proper, and I do not know that any period will be more suitable than the present one for the purchase and laying out of a park on a scale which will be worthy of the city. There are places on the island easily accessible, and possessing all the advantages of wood, lawn, and water, which might, at a comparatively small expense, be converted into a park which would be at once the pride and ornament of the city. Such a park, well laid out, would become the favorite resort of all classes. There are thousands who pass the day of rest among the idle and dissolute, in porter-houses, or in places more objectionable, who would rejoice in being enabled to breathe the pure air in such a place, while the ride and drive through its avenues, free from the noise, dust, and confusion inseparable from all thoroughfares, would hold out strong inducements for the affluent to make it a place of resort. There is no park on the island deserving the name, and while I cannot believe that any one can be found to advance an objection against the expediency of having such a one in our midst, I think that the expenditure of a sum necessary to procure and lay out a park of sufficient magnitude to answer the purposes above noted, would be well and wisely appropriated, and would be returned to us fourfold, in the health, happiness, and comfort of those whose interests are specially intrusted to our keeping—the poorer classes. The establishment of such a park would prove a lasting monument to the wisdom, sagacity, and forethought of its founders, and would secure the gratitude of thousands yet unborn, for the blessings of pure air, and the opportunity for innocent, healthful enjoyment. I commend this subject to your consideration, in the conviction that its importance will insure your careful attention and prompt action.

A. C. KINGSLAND, Mayor.

Public opinion was at once aroused to the great importance of this subject. Andrew J. Downing, a prominent landscape-gardener and the editor of a horticultural journal, increased the interest in the subject by the publication of a well-timed article showing the great ad-

vantage in this respect possessed by the different capitals of Europe. The matter having been thus opened for discussion, it was not suffered to rest. Of course, rival interests began to develop, as is usual under such circumstances, legislative committees were appointed, and majority and minority reports followed, as might have been expected. Laws were passed involving the acquisition of the land for two large parks, one in the center and one on the east side of the city—one called the Central Park, and the other the Jones' Woods Park. One was almost barren, the other heavily wooded. Finally the Jones' Woods Park Bill was repealed, and commissioners appointed to acquire the land for a central park, bounded east and west by Fifth and Eighth avenues, and south and north by Fifty-ninth and One Hundred and Sixth streets. In due time the land was acquired, and in 1856, five years after the first suggestion of Mayor Kingsland, the city authorities took possession of the land for improvement. When the magnitude and novelty of this great public enterprise are considered, together with the want of that general knowledge and appreciation of the subject which is now so happily overcome by experience and education, it is a marvel that it was accomplished so soon.

WINTER SCENE IN CENTRAL PARK.

The area thus designated for a park was apparently perhaps the most unpropitious that could have been selected for such a purpose on the whole continent. It was for the most part a succession of stone-quarries interspersed with pestiferous swamps. The entire ground was the refuge of about five thousand squatters, dwelling in rude huts of their own construction, and living off the refuse of the city, which they daily conveyed in small carts, chiefly drawn by dogs, from the lower part of the city through Fifth Avenue (then a dirt road running over hills and hollows). This refuse they divided among themselves and a hundred thousand domestic animals and fowls, reserving the bones for the bone-boiling establishments situated within the area. Horses, cows, swine, goats, dogs, cats, geese, and chickens swarmed everywhere, destroying what little verdure they found. Even the roots in the ground were exterminated until the rocks were laid bare, giving an air of utter desolation to the scene, made more repulsive from the odors of the decaying organic matter which accumulated in

the beds of the old watercourses that ramified the surface in all directions, broadening out into reeking swamps wherever their channels were intercepted. These people who had thus overrun and occupied the territory were principally of foreign birth, with but very little knowledge of the English language, and with very little respect for the law. Like the ancient Gauls, they wanted land to live on, and they took it; and, like the Gauls, they prepared to defend their occupancy at the very suggestion of its invasion, no matter by whom. Such was the danger of the situation, that the designer of the park was compelled to go armed while making his studies, and, in addition to this, to carry an ample supply of deodorizers.

The general principles of the design or plan of improvement were based upon the original topography of the surface, for the double reason that such is the true basis of landscape art, and also the most economical method. To ascertain the original topography was, under the circumstances, a matter of no little difficulty, requiring both courage and skill, as well as a hardy constitution. Weeks and months were consumed in this task, requiring always the keeping in mind of what might possibly be created with the aid of ever-responsive nature out of such unsightly and discouraging surroundings. In the mean while the necessary legal action was being perfected to secure the improvement of the ground. An ordinance was passed designating the mayor of the city and the commissioner of streets as the authorized agents for this purpose. With a wisdom and unselfishness not always manifested, these officials decided to call to their aid the three most prominent citizens of New-York, eminent not only in their unsullied reputation for probity and honor, but distinguished in the highest degree for literary culture and refined taste. These men were Washington Irving, George Bancroft, and William Cullen Bryant; several others were invited who were unable to attend. With zeal and diligence these gentlemen entered upon the discharge of the duties they were asked to perform, and after careful and earnest deliberation in the examination and study of numerous designs laid before them, and after listening with patience to the views of the several designers, and to all others who offered their advice or opinions, the board gave their unanimous approval of the design of Egbert L. Viele. It was therefore adopted, and to Mr. (afterward General) Viele was assigned the duty of converting this cheerless waste into a scene of rural beauty in accordance with his design.

It was evident from the peculiar character and condition of the ground that the very first step necessary to be taken was that which would secure its salubrity, the most essential element of a public park. The problems that presented themselves in the investigation of this important question were serious and complicated, involving an exam-

ination of the topography and geology of the greater portion of Manhattan Island. The results of this examination as connected with the question of drainage were so startling in their character as to lead to a large public meeting of citizens irrespective of party. So utterly had this matter been ignored in the past in its relation to public improvements, that the city was threatened with evils of a permanent nature that would not only increase with time, but would become sooner or later irremediable. It was found that a number of the old watercourses crossed the park area in all directions. Many of them were fed by springs within the limits; one stream half a mile long was fed by twenty living springs in the park itself. To control the inflow and secure the outflow of this water was an important problem to be solved by the designer of the park. The alarm created by the facts involved in the preliminary examination produced, however, far-reaching and beneficial results, even national in their character; for they have extended over the entire country, materially affecting the health and happiness of all the people. The danger to the public health arising from past neglect, and the action of the meeting of the citizens, led to the forming of a public health association, followed by similar action in other cities, and then to the establishment, through legal enactment, of boards of health in the cities, the States, and finally a national board of health at the seat of government. Until that time a board of health was unknown and unthought of, but the unquestioned connection between nearly all the zymotic diseases and soil made unwholesome from excess of moisture, united with the wide-spread ignorance or indifference of municipal officers on this subject, made prompt action imperative in the interest of humanity. Thus the promoters of the Central Park builded better than they knew.

LAKE AND BOW BRIDGE, CENTRAL PARK.

So attractive, so beneficial, and so popular has the Central Park become, and so thoroughly educated are the people as to its orderly use, in spite of all predictions to the contrary, that the action of the city of New-York in this wise provision for the public has been imitated by nearly every city in the United States. Not only this, but New-

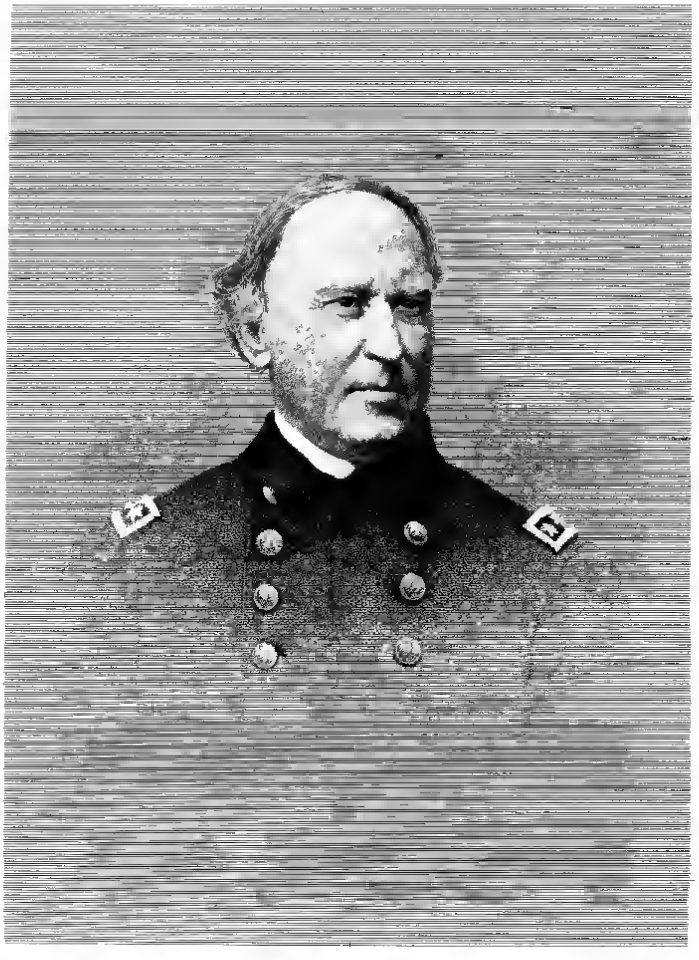
York itself, under the guidance of experience, has added very largely to its park area, and to-day it is the rival in this respect of all other large cities. The salubrity of the ground being secured, the next question that presented itself was such a judicious arrangement of the plan as to provide for the ample enjoyment of its benefits by all classes and conditions of society, and such rural embellishments as would afford the most striking contrasts to its artificial surroundings. All this was done, and as an evidence that it was well done is the fact that when, several years after its adoption by its distinguished sponsors, liberal premiums were offered for improvements on the plan, the conditions were absolute that the general features of the plan should not be changed. Twenty-five out of the thirty-three plans submitted under this liberal offer were close copies of the original, with chiefly unimportant modifications.

These general features were as follows: *First.* A principal road or drive, which shall in its entire extent embrace every feature of importance within the limits, and every prominent view without. This drive to be wide enough to admit of its being used by a large number and variety of vehicles at the same time, and not so long as to necessitate the passing over the same ground twice. *Second.* Another drive, secluded in its character, to be used by such persons as desire to be more retired. *Third.* Certain roads devoted to equestrians to the exclusion of vehicles. *Fourth.* Certain walks devoted exclusively to pedestrians. *Fifth.* Certain transverse roads at convenient distances, to allow of an easy transit across the park for business and other purposes. *Sixth.* A cricket-ground for the encouragement of and an indulgence in athletic and manly sports. *Seventh.* Spaces devoted to botanical and horticultural purposes.

It is to be regretted, however, that during the years that have elapsed since the park was begun, so many features of a strictly architectural character have been allowed to encroach upon its natural beauties. Some of those designed by Mr. Wrey Mould are pleasing adjuncts to the general effect, but there is much that is the reverse. The landscape-gardeners Pilat and Fischer exercised great skill and taste in the original planting, but nature requires an equal amount of skill and taste in judicious pruning. This is a point that must always be kept in view; the most beautiful work of nature or of art is destroyed by neglect. The park system consists of a series of large parks devoted to the use of all classes, riding, driving, or walking, and a series of smaller parks for the use of pedestrians only. They are as follows: Pelham Bay Park, 1756 acres; Van Cortlandt Park, 1132.35 acres; Central Park, 839.94 acres; Bronx Park, 661 acres; Riverside Park, 177 acres; Crotona Park, 141 acres; Bronx and Pelham Parkway, 95 acres; Mosholu Park, 80 acres; Claremont Park, 38.05 acres;

Morningside Park, 31.23 acres; St. Mary's Park, 28.70 acres; High Bridge, 23.38 acres; Mount Morris Park, 20.17 acres; Cedar Park, 17.47 acres; East River Park, 12.54 acres; Crotona Parkway, 12 acres; Tompkins Square, 10.50 acres; City Hall Park, 8.23 acres; Madison Square, 6.84 acres; Reservoir Park, 4.77 acres; Stuyvesant Square, 4.22 acres; Union Square, 3.48 acres; Bowling Green, .51 acre; Battery, .27 acre; Abingdon Square, .20 acre; Manhattan Square included in Central Park. The total area of New-York parks (25), 5167 acres; while that of Paris, including Bois de Boulogne and Bois de Vincennes, 4565 acres; and the total of London parks, 1442 acres.

A great desideratum in connection with the park development of New-York is about to be accomplished, and that is the establishment of a botanical garden on a scale so broad and so ample that it must prove not only a valuable addition to the park system as a place of recreation and pleasure, but also an addendum to the free educational system of the city. An association of well-known and public-spirited citizens was organized under legislative enactment to carry the plans to completion. After the association shall have acquired the sum of $250,000 to be applied to this purpose, the city authorities are directed to set aside 250 acres of land in Bronx Park for the use of the association, and an appropriation of $500,000 is authorized for the erection of suitable buildings that shall embrace all the necessary appliances, including a hall for lectures. When these plans shall be completed, New-York will possess the finest botanical garden in the world.



D. E. Farragut

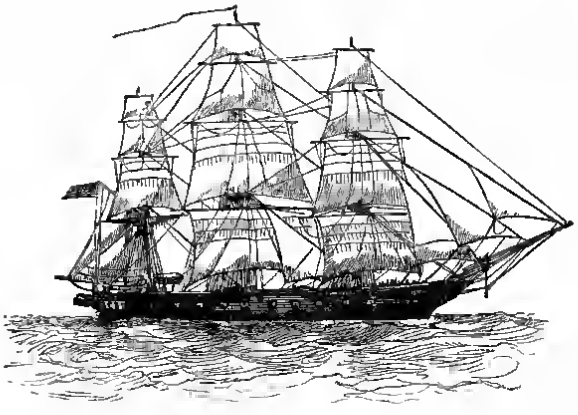
CHAPTER XX

THE UNITED STATES NAVY-YARD AT NEW-YORK

THE Navy-Yard of the United States in the port and harbor of New-York is situated upon Wallabout Bay, an indentation in the coast of Long Island, and now lying well within the city limits of Brooklyn. It is opposite to the foot of Grand street, in New-York city, and consequently also to Corlear's Hook—or, as it is familiarly known to older New-Yorkers, The Hook—the angle of Manhattan Island outlined by the course of the East River, which here changes direction abruptly from east a little northerly to due north. To the projection, or salient angle, thus formed on Manhattan Island, corresponds, on Long Island, a recession or recentrant angle; and at the head of the latter, encroaching with wide crescent sweep upon the land, is found the deep bend to which, for near two hundred and fifty years, has been applied the name Wallabout, or Waal-bogt, the Dutch original whence the modern word has been corrupted. At the time of the first settlement by the Dutch, and for some years afterward, the newcomers were content to call their bay by the name given to the surrounding country by its original owners. It was then known as the "boght" of Mareckawick, the latter word signifying in the Indian tongue "the sandy place," and being applied generally to the ground on which Brooklyn now stands. The name Waal-bogt, or Wahle-boght, first appears upon the colonial records in the year 1656, although it had doubtless been in colloquial use for some time before. It has commonly been ascribed to the Waals, or Walloons, numbers of whom from the Low Countries are said to have settled here subsequently to the year 1637. According to this derivation, the word would signify the bay of the Walloons. This rendering, dependent mainly upon tradition, has been disputed: a modern scholar preferring to attribute the compound name to the two Dutch words "waal" and "boght," together meaning the bend of the inner harbor. Whichever be correct, English-speaking seamen will remark with interest the identity of the term "boght" with the familiar "bight," applied by them indifferently to any

loop or reëntrant curve, whether it be the bight of a rope or a bight in a shore-line. Never has the word been more aptly bestowed than upon the Wallabout, which in its natural condition was simply a deep bight in the coast of Long Island.

In its primitive state, the Waal-bogt, when the first Dutch colonists settled upon its borders, seems to have presented the same general features that are yet to be observed along the shores of Staten Island and New Jersey, about Bergen Point and Newark Bay: features which may likewise be noted in old maps of Manhattan Island made before the extension of the city had covered the soil above Wall street. The high ground which to the southward and westward of the navy-yard is still to be recognized in the sharp decline of the Brooklyn streets toward the East River, fell away with more or less rapidity, and with irregular contour, to the level of the Wallabout Bay, terminating then in salt-marshes intersected by tidal creeks. Most of the latter were too short to be important; but one, known as the Wallabout Creek, emptying into the northeastern part of the bay, was of considerable length, admitting small vessels for quite a distance. Its use was therefore carefully reserved, as a right of way, in the various cessions to the United States, whether made by grant or by sale. Between this creek and the line of the bay, which made with it an acute angle, was a long point of moderately high land, bordered by marshes. This was not included in the original purchase of the navy-yard, but was subsequently acquired by the government as a site for the Naval Hospital.

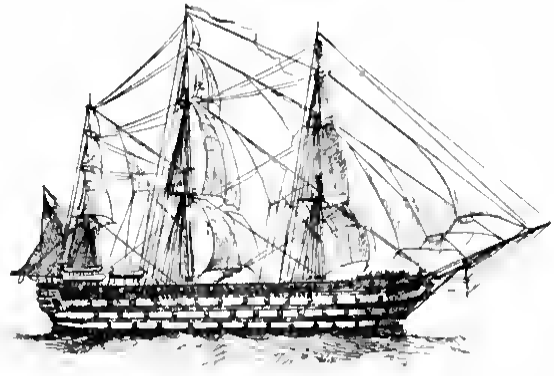


FRIGATE CONSTELLATION.[1]

The ebbing and flowing of the tide in the North and East rivers, that on either side bound Manhattan Island, depend upon the common estuary, New-York Bay, by which they communicate with the sea. The tidal current, therefore, though alike in general direction for both, becomes greatly accelerated when, in moving to and from

[1] The oldest vessel in the American navy, and the last of the six frigates built near the close of the past century. In her Commodore Truxton won his famous victory in 1799, and another in the year following. "Old Ironsides" still exists, but in an unseaworthy condition. EDITOR.

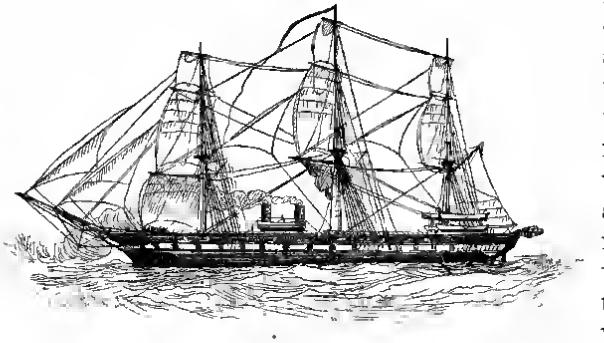
the bay, it passes through the narrow and restricted channel of the East River. The speed of the stream, as it rushes along, following the trend of the river-banks, hurries it by the Wallabout, which, while sharing the rise and fall of the water, is withdrawn by its configuration from the impetuous velocity of the main current. In the first careful official survey, made in 1808, this plot is marked "Bare at low water." Upon it, after 1843, was gradually developed, by crib-work and filling in, what is now known as the Cob Dock, which, little by little, has covered the entire area. On the land side, the Wallabout Channel was for the most part bordered by broad flats, so that, although the rise and fall of the tide is but five or six feet, a width of over three hundred yards intervened between the lines of high and low water. Until redeemed, as it since has been, such a waste space between firm land and deep water would be a fatal objection to the site as one for building and repairing ships, although the slackness of the current presented advantages for a ship-yard, and especially for launching. Fortunately, however, on the west, or lower, side of the bay, the solid ground for a short distance skirted the channel, and at low tide a depth of three fathoms was found near to the shore. At this point, therefore, ships could be constructed close to the water's edge, and but little difficulty or expense would be found in extending the ways, upon which they rested while building, as far as was necessary for their safety in launching. Accordingly, here a modest ship-yard had been established, and ships built and launched, prior to the time when the United States agents, toward the close of the year 1800, cast their eyes upon the property as suitable for a navy-yard.



LINE-OF-BATTLE SHIP PENNSYLVANIA.

It was the shelter afforded from the strength of the tide, and especially during the winter season, when the bay and rivers of New-York are filled with floating ice, that first brought the Wallabout prominently forward in connection with the history of our country. Even now, it is a curious and impressive sight, often witnessed from the sea-wall of the navy-yard, to watch the packs of broken ice, ground from the frozen fields formed far away up the Hudson, as they

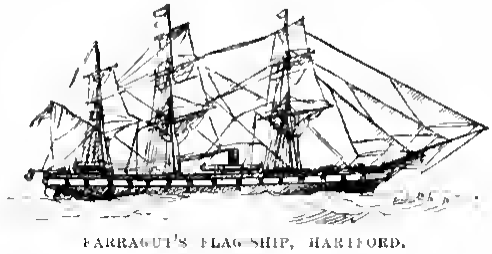
sweep headlong in dense masses past the front of the Wallabout. They enter the latter also to some extent, it is true, causing thereby much inconvenience; but they do so with a motion so slow, compared to the outside rush, that the contrast is like that between drifting in a calm and the impetuous movement of a mill-race. This condition led to Wallabout Bay being chosen by the British as the winter anchorage for their vessels, and especially for those laid up in ordinary. There is no crushing force in the East River ice; but both there and in the lower bay the sharp edges of the cakes, as they scrape by with the current, will tear off copper, rip oakum from the exposed seams, and must in former days have worn hardly upon the hemp cables which alone were then used, the iron chains that have supplanted them being of a much later date. Few ships, also, were then coppered, so that even this slight protection was not afforded against the constant grinding and scratching of the packs. For these reasons vessels whose services were not in immediate demand were moored in the Wallabout, which thus became the abode of the hospital-ships and of those monsters of evil report, the horrible and dreaded British prison-ships of the American Revolution. More than one of those unclean birds probably still lie buried under the mud of the bight; and on the first survey of the yard, made by officers of the United States navy in 1808, there appears in dotted outline the "Jersey Prison-ship," whose foul name has come down to us as the exponent of her kind, one among several whose names, though not wholly forgotten, have missed her hideous immortality. Worn out by decay and neglect, the old ship of the line, that had once carried her colors nobly into battle, here sunk at her anchors, covered with execration. The spot where she is shown in the plan mentioned had at that time thirteen feet of water. It has long since been buried under the made land by which the sea-wall of the navy-yard has been advanced to the channel of the Wallabout.



STEAM FRIGATE FRANKLIN.

Little change took place between the departure of the British and the acquisition of the yard site by the United States in 1801. The general character and contour of the spot have already been described. There remains to mention a particular detail, which at that time con-

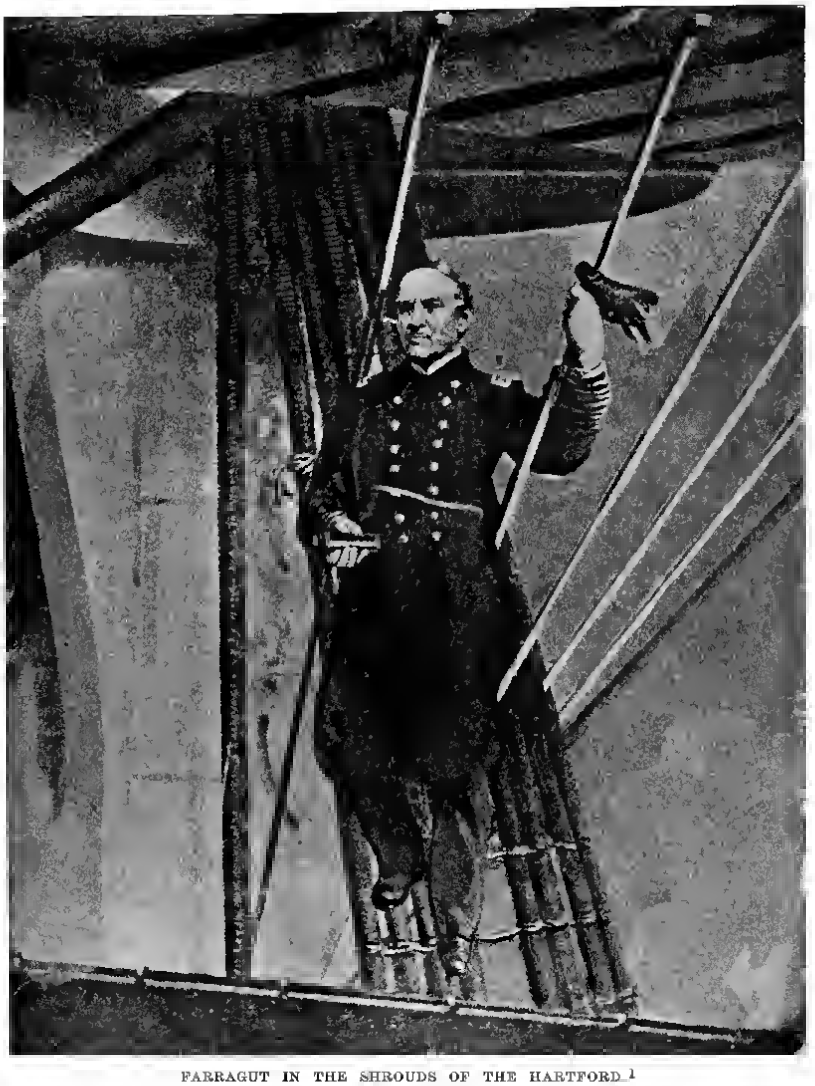
tributed much to the local coloring and bore its share in the current incidents of those days of trial, while later it had an effect upon the course of the yard's development in the hands of the government. It has already been said that toward the western end of the Wallabout Channel, solid ground extended to navigable water. From near the point where this ground began to recede to the southward, leaving thenceforth the flats to border the channel, a long, narrow island stretched in a southeasterly direction, rising not only above the flats, but also somewhat above the level of high tide. Being over fifteen hundred feet long, it reached almost to the high-water line on the south side of the bay. Thus this natural embankment nearly inclosed the waters that at flood-tide rose between it and the land. With a little labor the inclosure had been completed, forming a pond, and supplying the motive power to run one of the tide-mills which in the last century were so frequently found in the neighborhood of Brooklyn. The water, having been freely admitted during the period of rise, was shut in until the falling tide had caused a sufficient difference of level to insure a rapid current through the flume. Then, permitted to escape, the rush of the stream turned the mill-wheel and ground the corn.



FARRAGUT'S FLAG-SHIP, HARTFORD.

On December 19, 1800, the Secretary of the Navy authorized an agent to purchase a piece of land on the Wallabout owned by John Jackson, and upon which he had established a ship-yard, "if title is perfectly clear and if it will answer to build and launch ships of the largest size, . provided you do not give more than $20,000." On January 13 next, he writes to "let the business be closed at once, lest a report I am making to Congress operate to enhance the price." The bargain was closed February 7, 1801, forty thousand dollars being the consideration. In 1804 the government purchased thirty-five acres more, upon which was subsequently erected a hospital; the price paid was seven thousand six hundred and fifty dollars. Twenty years elapsed before these early purchases were joined together by the acquisition for federal purposes of an intervening strip of land between Flushing Avenue and the water-front. In March, 1807, the final piece of land near Little street was purchased for ninety thousand dollars, completing the present site of the navy-yard at a total expenditure of $426,707.50. It is only practicable here to give a résumé of the development of this important naval station. Its first commandant was Lieutenant Jonathan Thorne, who was detailed in 1801, and

remained in charge until 1806. He was succeeded by Captain Isaac Chauncey, who assumed command August 1, 1807. During his administration certain permanent improvements were commenced—notably



FARRAGUT IN THE SHROUDS OF THE HARTFORD.[1]

a house for the commandant, and six brick buildings for officers and the storage of supplies. The complement of the yard, September 15,

[1] The original of this picture of Farragut in the famous Mobile Bay fight was painted by William Page, and presented by patriotic American citizens, chiefly of New York, to the Emperor of Russia, in recognition of his aid and sympathy during the war of the Rebellion. EDITOR.

1807, consisted of "1 captain, 1 clerk of the yard, 1 boatswain, 1 gunner, 1 armorer and 2 ordinary seamen."

The distance from the seat of government in those days devolved great responsibility upon the senior American naval officer in the port of New-York. This was well illustrated when, in December, 1807, Captain Chauncey received a copy of the act of Congress laying a general embargo.[1] Without specific instructions from the Navy Department, he consulted with the collector of the port, Mr. Gelston, and proceeded to enforce the law by sending four gunboats to the Narrows to stop vessels wishing to put to sea, at the same time advising the department of his action, expressing the fear that he had been too zealous in view of threatened complications—"gunboats have stopped some vessels determined to proceed at all hazards." His action was, however, approved by the authorities. It is evident also from the records of the yard at this time that the official relations between the marine officers and those of the navy were not well defined, the case of Lieutenant (long after Colonel Commandant) Henderson, of the marine corps then stationed at the yard, who refused to obey the orders of Captain Chauncey, being a case in point. The enterprise and sharp eye for the interests of the government possessed by this sterling sailor led him to urge the department to authorize the construction at the navy-yard of part of the twenty-three gunboats to be built at New-York, believing that he could "build them as well and somewhat cheaper." A shrewd suggestion appears in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy stating that the corporation of New-York having inquired if he would employ seamen who might apply to the city for support, he had agreed "to take 300, provided the men will sign articles subjecting themselves to navy discipline, the corporation holding themselves responsible for their subsistence, at 20 cents *per diem*. Hope for your approbation, for we shall then have the services of these people without any expense, not even victuals."[2] Chauncey's recommendation that most of the gunboats ordered should be built at the yard was approved, and upon their completion they were added to the "Home Squadron" under the famous Captain John Rodgers, who in 1805 dealt the slave-trade a severe blow, and in the second war with Great Britain was foremost in upholding the honor of his flag.

In 1812 Chauncey was relieved by Captain Samuel W. Evans, who continued in command of the yard until his death, June 2, 1824. During the early part of his administration, great activity prevailed in fitting out vessels for war service — more than one hundred report-

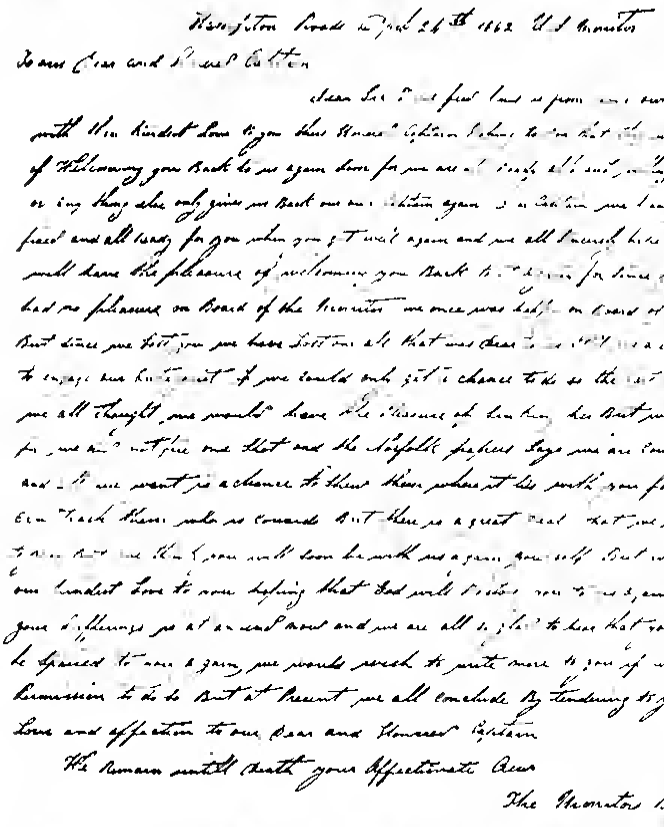
[1] On the receipt of dispatches from Minister Armstrong at Paris, containing information about the new interpretation of the Berlin decree and also of the British orders in council, President Jefferson (October 25, 1807) sent a message to Congress recommending the passage of an embargo act — an inhibition of the departure of our vessels from the United States. The act was passed December 22, 1807; it was repealed in 1809. ("Harper's Cyclopædia of United States History.")

[2] Letter to Navy Department, January 8, 1808.

ing at this station, 1812–14. Among the ships built there later was (1815) the steam frigate Fulton, 30 guns and 2000 tons; she was built after plans by Robert Fulton, and could scald an enemy with hot water or set fire to him with hot shot at will. Her first commander was Captain David Porter (father of the late admiral). While lying at the navy-yard in 1828, the Fulton's magazine exploded, killing one officer and forty-seven men. In 1820 the Ohio, 74, was built after a model by Henry Eckford. After a long and honorable service on the ocean, this vessel became the receiving-ship at Boston. In 1822 another ship, the Savannah, was begun, but was not completed until 1852. Upon the death of Evans, Captain Isaac Chauncey was again assigned to command the station, remaining until 1833, when he was appointed a member of the Board of Navy Commissioners.

During the year 1827 the peaceful routine of the yard was disturbed by a dispute as to the right of the government to erect a fence near the foot of Sands street, and a riot was only averted by the influence and discretion of the commandant, who induced the hot-headed citizens to await the decision of the proper tribunals, and the claim of the United States was finally admitted. In 1833, under the administration of Captain Charles G. Ridgeley, the Naval Lyceum building was erected; part of this structure has long been appropriated to the purposes of a library, reading-room, and museum, to which from time to time it has been the practice of naval officers returning from long cruises to contribute curios and trophies of war, also books about the navy. During the period from November, 1839, to 1841, Captain James Renshaw commanded the yard. In the year last mentioned the great stone dry dock was begun, its construction being supervised in turn by the able engineers Courtenay, McNeil, Sanger, McAlpine, and Stuart, under whom it was completed in August, 1851. Its dimensions are two hundred and eighty-six feet long by thirty-five feet wide at the bottom; three hundred and seven feet long by ninety-eight feet wide at the top; and depth, thirty-six feet. The material of the walls is fine cut granite. The masonry foundations are four hundred by one hundred and twenty feet, resting upon piles driven forty feet into the earth, the intermediate space being filled to a depth of two feet with a mass of concrete. Timbers one foot square are next doweled to the heads of these piles, between which concrete is again filled in. Upon this is laid a plank floor, four hundred by one hundred feet, on which rests another layer of timbers and concrete, and over this, first, a course of stone

flagging twenty inches thick, and, second, the floor proper of fine cut granite; the whole bed, from the surface of the floor to the head of the piles, being nine feet in thickness. The dock can be emptied by steam-pumps in four and one half hours. The total cost was $2,113,173.[1]



During the administration of Captain Renshaw, four vessels were launched—among them the Somers, famous for the attempt at mutiny, and the hanging at the yard-arm of Midshipman Spencer, the son of the Secretary of War,—forming a historic illustration of the inflexibility of naval discipline and the absolute independence of the "ancient mariner" when afloat and upon his own quarter-deck.

Captain Matthew C. Perry, of Japan expedition celebrity, commanded here from 1841 to 1843, during which period but one ship—the ill-fated Albany—was added to the list. Commander Joshua Sands

[1] "History of Kings County" by Dr. Henry R. Stiles, Brooklyn, 2 vols., 1884.

[2] The struggle with the Monitor was the last exploit of the Merrimac, a ship whose formidable character excited, for the moment, the greatest apprehension at Washington, New-York, and other Northern ports. The colored fac-simile of the letter sent by the crew of the Monitor to her captain after the successful contest with the Merrimac now appears, it is believed, for the first time. Editor.

temporarily succeeded Perry, and was relieved by Captain Silas Stringham, who remained until 1846, when Captain Isaac McKeever took charge, being followed (1849) by Captain William B. Salter, who witnessed the completion of the dry dock and auxiliary structures. In October, 1852, Captain Charles Boorman assumed command. During his tour of duty at the yard, the steam frigate Niagara was built, under the superintendence of the late George Steers. This vessel was employed in laying the first Atlantic cable, and finally was laid up, after an honorable career, at the Boston yard. In 1855 Captain Abraham Bigelow succeeded Boorman, and sixteen months thereafter Captain Lawrence Kearney arrived, remaining until October, 1858.

Captain Samuel L. Breese assumed charge of the yard in October, 1858, and witnessed the opening of the stirring war period. It became his duty to take precautions to defend his post from a threatened attack by Southern sympathizers, and by his wise and vigilant arrangements the enemy was foiled. From November, 1861, to May, 1865, the gallant Rear-Admiral Hiram Paulding commanded the yard and superintended the work of preparation for many of the successful operations on the water. "During a portion of this period the wharves were never left without vessels fitting for sea and preparing for blockade duty, and the sound of hammers was heard by day and night. Four hundred and sixteen vessels were purchased from the commercial marine and fitted out as cruisers. During 1861 there were employed, daily, an average of 1650 men, at an expense for the year, for labor only, of $679,000. In 1862 the average daily employment for labor was 3970 persons, at an expenditure of more than $2,000,000. The average during 1863 was 5135 laborers, at a cost of $2,874,000 for the year. During 1864 the roll had increased until at one time there were over 6000 persons employed; but the average that year was 5390, and the year's wages, $3,735,000. During 1865 no less than 5000 persons were employed daily, at a cost of $3,952,000."[1] During Paulding's term the famous Monitor was fitted out and despatched to the scene of her world-heralded exploit in Hampton Roads. Rear-Admiral Charles A. Bell came to the yard in 1865, and was followed (January 30, 1868) by Rear-Admiral Sylvanus W. Godon. On May 23, 1870, the United States ceded to the city of Brooklyn a strip of land on the northeast side of its property, since forming the street that fronts on Kent Avenue. Rear-Admiral Melancton Smith arrived in October, 1870, and was in turn relieved—June, 1872—by Vice-Admiral Stephen C. Rowan, who remained until September, 1876. Under his supervision the building intended for the use of recruits, and containing modern conveniences for their physical and mental improvement, was erected. Rowan was succeeded (1876) by Commodore James W. G. Nicholson;

[1] From an address before the Long Island Historical Society by Commodore J. W. G. Nicholson.

be (1880) by Rear-Admiral George H. Cooper; and the latter by Commodore John H. Upshur. The term of Commodore Upshur (1882–84), who was in the latter year promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral, was unmarked by any important events. In 1885 Commodore Ralph Chandler was assigned to the command. During his incumbency the work of dredging the Wallabout channel and Cob Dock basin was commenced, and in his annual report the Secretary of the Navy said that "at no place are additional docking facilities more necessary than at this our most important yard." Among other items estimated for was the sum of $700,000 for a new timber dry dock. The expense of maintenance, repairs, and improvements during the year 1886 was $120,810.17. The following year Commodore Bancroft Gherardi —now senior rear-admiral—succeeded to the command. The Secretary of the Navy reported the completion of the dredging operations as far as the appropriation would allow, and, as one of the results, that "a mooring area of five and a half acres had been obtained in Whitney Basin." In 1888 a fire occurred, partially destroying the large building (No. 7) occupied as offices. Appropriations were submitted for repairs to Cob Dock and for the extension of the railroad system for moving heavy guns and other supplies. In 1889 a very important step was taken—the appointment of a board of officers "to report a plan of permanent improvement, so that any money appropriated by Congress may be expended in carrying out a thoroughly well digested project in a continuous and economical manner." The appropriation of $15,000 for railway extension having been exhausted, Congress was asked to set aside a similar sum for its completion; an electric-light plant was also put up, and the completion of the new timber dry dock (commenced in 1886) was announced. Nearly one million dollars was expended for the construction of this work,—described as "in shape like a huge coffin,"—which had required more than 3,500,000 feet of timber and the continuous labor of 400 men daily for three years. An unusual activity prevailed at the yard during the year 1889, in consequence of the naval display feature of the Centennial festivities in the harbor of New-York, and the concentration for that purpose of many war vessels.

Rear-Admiral Daniel L. Braine assumed command in 1890, and signalized his advent by submitting, in his capacity of president of the board of officers already referred to, its recommendations. In substance these were that a sum of nearly $10,000,000 would provide per-

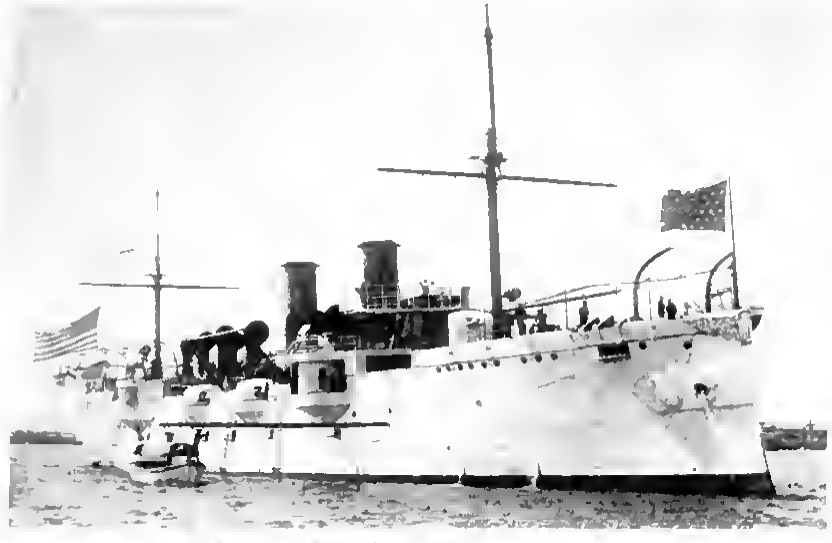
manent and necessary equipment for the New-York yard—comprising a stone wall around Cob Dock, with gates, so that ships may enter and be closed in; electricity to be substituted for all motive power and lighting purposes; five miles of additional railroad track to be built; four or five new dry docks; enormous coal-bins, each of 16,000 tons' capacity; a new marine guard-house; a new central building for offices; and huge basins—to hold five or six ships—for fitting-out purposes. The board proposed to distribute this expenditure over a period of ten years. Among the local events of 1890 may be mentioned the transfer from the yard to the Naval Academy at Annapolis of the collection of rare books, relics, and trophies pertaining to that time-honored institution, the Naval Lyceum; the library contained about 2500 volumes,—some of them extremely scarce,—including a copy of nearly every official publication on arctic exploration. Under Admiral Braine were arranged the details of the ceremony of reverently transferring the remains of Ericsson to the United States steamer Baltimore, to be borne in state to his native land, in tardy recognition of his eminent services to the land of his adoption. The present commandant (1893) is Commodore Henry L. Erben, a gallant and progressive sailor. Under him and his competent successors the navy-yard affairs, it may be confidently predicted, will be administered in the best interests of the public service.

Melancton Smith

The New-York navy-yard was nearing the one-hundredth anniversary of its establishment when it became the base of operations for the most brilliant event in the history of the harbor—the great naval review in honor of the Columbian Quadricentennial. For more than three months preceding the day fixed (April 27, 1893) the plans for the reception of the foreign war-ships selected to participate in the grand function, and for the marshaling of the great international fleet before the President and cabinet, had been carefully considered and decided upon by the Secretary of the Navy and Rear-Admiral Gherardi, U. S. N., to whom had been intrusted the immediate command and direction.[1] Early in the month of April the representative ships of the navies of the world began to assemble in Hampton Roads, as follows: United States Navy—Baltimore, 4600 tons; Chicago, 4500 tons; Philadelphia (Admiral Gherardi's flag-ship), 4324 tons; Newark, 4083 tons; San Francisco, 4083 tons; Charleston, 4080 tons; Miantonomoh

[1] As this chapter is written about a month in advance of the day appointed for the naval display in New York bay, it is possible that some slight changes may be made in the official programme arranged for the occasion by Secretary Herbert and Admiral Gherardi. EDITOR.

(double-turreted monitor), 3990 tons; Atlanta, 3189 tons; Bennington, 1700 tons; Yorktown, 1700 tons; Concord, 1700 tons; Bancroft, 838 tons, and Vesuvius, 930 tons. British navy (Vice-Admiral Sir J. O. Hopkins, K. C. B., commanding)—Blake, 9000 tons; Australia; Magicienne, 2950 tons; and torpedo cruiser Tartar, 1770 tons. Russian navy (Rear-Admiral M. Koznakoff, commanding, and Grand Duke Michaelovitch, second in command)—Armored cruisers Dimitri Donskoi, 5796 tons, and General Admiral, 4663 tons; and corvette Rynda, 2950 tons. Italy (Rear-Admiral D. B. Magnaghi, commanding)—Protected cruiser Etna, 3530 tons, Dogali and Giovanni Bausan, 3068 tons.

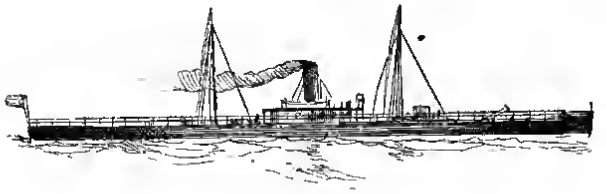


ADMIRAL GHERARDI'S FLAG-SHIP, PHILADELPHIA

Spain (Rear-Admiral Gomez y Loño, commanding)—Cruisers Reina Regente, 4800 tons, and Infanta Isabel, 1130 tons; and gunboat Nueva España. Germany—Armored cruisers Kaiserin Augusta and Seeadler. France (Rear-Admiral A. de Lebran, commanding)—Aréthuse, Hussard, and Jean Bart. Brazil (Rear-Admiral de Noronha, commanding)—Battle-ship Aquidaban, 5500 tons, and cruisers Republica and Tiradentes. Argentine Republic (Rear-Admiral Enrique Howard, commanding)—Nueve de Julio. Netherlands—Van Speijk, 5400 tons. Perhaps no vessel of the combined fleets would have attracted more attention and admiration than the New-York, probably the fastest armored cruiser afloat, which, not being completed and accepted by the government, was not in commission, and could not, as was greatly desired by the citizens of New-York, take part in the naval display. In addition to these formidable vessels of war,

there were reproductions of the three caravels—Santa Maria, Pinta, and Niña—which composed the fleet of Columbus on his voyage of discovery. The Viking ship from Norway unfortunately did not arrive in season to participate in the celebration.

Upon their arrival at the rendezvous, the distinguished visitors received a warm and hospitable reception,—the guns of Fort Monroe vying with those of the "Naval Review Fleet" in deafening and welcoming roar. Their subsequent progress, accompanied by their hosts, led off by Admiral Gherardi in the flag-ship; their arrival in New-York bay and stately passage up the harbor and Hudson River on a bright and sunny morning before a million of spectators, are now matters of history. The day after (April 27), the combined fleets, their flags flying and guns saluting, were reviewed by President Cleveland and his cabinet, who were on board the Dolphin. Later the admirals paid their respects to the President, and were entertained by him on his flag-ship. On Friday, the 28th, another beautiful day, there was a procession in Fifth Avenue and Broadway—many thousand armed marines and sailors, of our own and eight other nations, carrying the flags of France and England, Germany and Italy, Russia and the Netherlands, Brazil, and the Argentine, and all passing in review before the mayor of the city and numerous distinguished personages. Never before, and it is scarcely probable that ever again, will such a unique and interesting sight be seen in the streets of New-York. The events of those three April days must ever remain memorable in the anuals of the American metropolis.



DYNAMITE CRUISER VESUVIUS.

NEW-YORK NAVY-YARD COMMANDANTS.

Lieut. Jonathan Thorne	1801	Captain Samuel L. Breese	1858
Captain Isaac Chauncey	1806	Rear-Admiral Hiram Paulding	1861
" Samuel Evans	1812	" " Charles A. Bell	1865
Isaac Chauncey	1824	Sylvanus W. Godon	1866
Charles G. Ridgeley	1833	Melancton Smith	1870
James Renshaw	1839	Vice-Admiral Stephen C. Rowan	1872
Matthew C. Perry	1841	Commodore James W. G. Nicholson	1876
Silas H. Stringham	1843	Rear-Admiral George H. Cooper	1880
Isaac McKeever	1846	Commodore John H. Upshur	1882
William B. Salter	1849	" Ralph Chandler	1885
Charles Boorman	1852	Bancroft Gherardi	1887
Abram Bigelow	1855	Rear-Admiral Daniel L. Braine	1890
Lawrence Kearney	1857	Commodore Henry L. Erben	1892

CHAPTER XXI

SCHOOLS, COLLEGES, SEMINARIES, ETC.

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

WHEN the directors of the West India Company in 1629 changed their policy from one of trade only to one of trade and colonization, and held out inducements to settlers by promises of extensive land grants, they made it a condition that the grantees of large tracts of land, called patroons, should particularly exert themselves to find speedy means for the maintenance of a clergyman and a schoolmaster on their patents, in order that divine service and zeal for religion might be planted in New Netherland. At first the patroons were to send comforters of the sick. Hence we see that what above has been said about a minister going to the newly settled country on the Hudson River also applies to a schoolmaster, who, however, did not accompany the first settlers, but came as soon as there was any need of his instruction and his switch for pupils. Up to that time, which was almost coeval with the arrival of the first regularly ordained minister, the various duties of minister, comforter of the sick, or lay reader, and schoolmaster had rested on the shoulders of one person, so that, knowing that Sebastian Crol and Jan Huyck served the little village of New Amsterdam, with probably less than one hundred souls, as lay readers up to 1628, we can safely presume that the children who needed instruction found no difficulty in obtaining it. This is proved by a clause in the marriage settlement made between Ariaentje Cuvilly, a widow with children, and Jan Jansen Damen, April 30, 1632, in which the contracting parties bind themselves to the guardians of the children that they will make them go to school, "as good parents are bound to do."[1]

The first schoolmaster at New Amsterdam whose name we know was Adam Roelantsen. He is mentioned as such in a list of the salaried officials of the West India Company in 1633, and taught a school which still flourishes to-day in the city of New-York as the School of the Collegiate Reformed Church in West Seventy-seventh street. But where did Adam, this schoolmaster of 1633, teach the A B C and

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS. I. 6.

swing the rod? The records of that period are defective, and what we have of them is silent on this point; but an utterance of Stuyvesant seems to indicate that there had been erected a huilding for that purpose. He says to the Nine Men, November 14, 1647: "It is very necessary that a *new* schoolhouse and a dwelling house for the schoolmaster should be huilt. We are willing to make a fair contribution personally and on hehalf of the Compauy. In the meantime the school may be kept in the kitchen of the Fiscal, or in such other place as the Church Wardens approve." The history of this school, which some time ago celebrated its two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary, is so well known through Mr. Dunshee's book,[1] that this short reference to its first estahlishment must suffice.

The school of 1633 was soon found to be inadequate for the accommodation of the numher of children swarming in Dutch families. Cornelis van Tienhoven, the secretary of New Netherland, in reply to the remonstrance of the province, said in 1650: "Other teachers keep school in hired houses, so that the youth are provided with the means of education." Still the remonstrance had the effect that the new provisional order of government directed that at least two schoolmasters should be appointed for the population of New Amsterdam, numbering then hetween seven and eight hundred, while the number of children had increased in proportion since 1633. This second public school was held at the City Tavern, later the City Hall, on the corner of Pearl street and Coenties Slip, hut is not mentioned after 1664. The directors of the company write to Stuyvesant, February 16, 1650: "At your request we have engaged a schoolmaster, who will also perform the duties of a comforter of the sick. He is recommended as an honest and pious man, and will follow this letter by the first opportunity."[2] He sailed for his new field of duty, April 15, 1650, but his name is not given. The immediate successor of Adam Roelantsen seems to have heen Jan Steveusen, called hy Domine Backerus a "faithful schoolmaster and reader, who has served the Company here for six or seven years, and is now (September, 1648) going home." His place was temporarily filled by Pieter van der Linde, who was appointed Octoher 26, 1648, at a salary of one hundred and fifty florins (sixty dollars), "until another proper person can be sent from Hollaud." The "proper persou from Holland" was apparently Willem Verstius, who asks, January 26, 1655, for his discharge "as schoolmaster and precentor in this city, as he has done the duty for which he was engaged, and as there are other fit people here who can take his place, he desiring to return to Holland." This desire to return is explained by a passage in Domine Megapolensis's letter of March 18, 1655: "As to Willem Verstius, who has been schoolmaster and sexton here,

[1] "History of the School of the Collegiate Church." [2] N. Y. Col. MSS., XI. 18.

I could neither do much nor say anything to the Council, because for some years past they were not satisfied or pleased with his services, and therefore when he asked for an increase of salary last year, he was told that if the service did not suit him he might ask for his discharge."

During the same period private schools had sprung up, kept in "hired houses," as Van Tienhoven reported. Jan Cornelissen and Arian Jansen are mentioned as teachers of such schools; in September, 1652, Hans Stegn received permission to open one; David Provoost had a school at the house "where the Selectmen usually meet": Andries Hudde asks in December, 1654, for a license to keep a school in the city, but is told that the domine and his consistory have to be consulted about it; Evert Pietersen taught pupils in Brouwer (now Stone) street; and Carel Beauvois, from Leyden, schoolmaster, received the small burgherright June 27, 1659. Adrian Jansen van Ilpendam, a native of Leyden or vicinity,[1] is mentioned as schoolmaster in New Amsterdam in 1649, and was later a notary public at Fort Orange (Albany). Jan Lubberts received a license to keep a school for teaching to read, write, and cipher, August 13, 1658; and a similar license was granted to Jan Juriaensen Becker in 1660, and to Johannes van Gelder in 1662. In December, 1663, the magistrates of Harlem petitioned for the appointment of Jan de la Montagne as schoolmaster in the village, and the request was speedily granted; but woe to the man who did not ask for permission to teach from Stuyvesant! Thus Jacob van Corlaer was ordered, February 19, 1658, to desist from keeping school; and when the burgomasters and schepens interceded for him, they were told that the keeping of schools and the appointment of schoolmasters absolutely depended on the *jus patronatus*, and as Jacob van Corlaer had undertaken to act as teacher without proper license, he was now altogether forbidden to do so. Therefore, when the unfortunate Jacob applied for a license a month later, no action whatever was taken on his petition, or, as the record has it, *nihil actum*.[2]

The request of Verstrus to be discharged from his duties as schoolmaster was granted March 25, 1655, and on the same day Harman van Hoboocken was appointed in his place, with the advice and consent of the consistory, during the first two years of whose membership not only "the number of children in the public school having greatly increased, further accommodation was allowed to the schoolmaster," but also the school-house was partly burned down, so that the teacher applied to the magistrates of the city for the use of the hall and side chamber in the City Hall for the school and as a family residence. As

1 N. Y. Col. MSS., V. 19.
2 Ibid., 468.
3 Ibid., III. 60.
4 Ibid., VIII. 736, 774, 780.
5 Callaghan, "History of New Netherland," II. 340.

the rooms asked for were out of repair and wanted for other uses, the burgomasters could not allow the request, but "the youth of the town doing so uncommonly well, it is thought proper to find a convenient place for their accommodation, and for that purpose the petitioner is granted 100 fl. ($40) yearly."[1]

While Van Hoboocken was master of the "trivial"[2] school, Domine Drisius suggested the establishment of a Latin temple of learning to the directors of the company, who, in May, 1658, consequently wrote to Stuyvesant: "D^{e} Drisius has often expressed to us his opinion about the necessity of establishing a Latin school, and has offered his services for this purpose. We approve of the plan, and if you are of the same opinion you may take the initiatory steps." The result of this reference to Stuyvesant was a consultation with the burgomasters and schepens, and a representation of the latter to the directors in September, 1658, "that the youth of this place and neighbourhood are increasing in number gradually, and that most of them can read and write; but that some of the people would like to send their children to a school where Latin is taught, but are not able to do so without sending them to New England, nor can they afford to hire a Latin schoolmaster from there, therefore they ask the Company to send out a fit person as such master, while we shall endeavour to find a fit place in which he shall keep his school." The answer to this municipal representation came to Stuyvesant in the following spring, the directors writing: "How much trouble we have taken in finding a Latin schoolmaster is shown by Alexander Carolus Curtius, late Professor in Lithuania, now coming over, whom we have engaged at a yearly salary of 500 fl. ($200)." He entered upon his duties July 4, 1659, and being present at a meeting of the magistrates, he was tendered a present of one hundred florins in goods, told that a house and garden would be provided for him, that every pupil would have to pay him per quarter six florins, and that he had permission to practise medicine. A few years were sufficient to prove that he lacked the *sine qua non* of a schoolmaster, and the parents complained of the want of proper discipline among his pupils, "who beat each other and tore the clothes from each other's back." He retorted that "his hands were tied, as some of the parents forbade him punishing their children."[3] The result was that he had to surrender the mastership of the high school to Rev. Ægidius Luyck in 1662. Domine Luyck had apparently not looked after the temporalities of his new charge, for in July, 1663, he says to Stuyvesant and the council, that having at first been specially engaged as teacher of the director-general's children, some inhabitants

[1] James K Paulding, "Affairs and Men of New Amsterdam in the time of Gov. Peter Stuyvesant" (New York, 1843), quoted by Dunshee.

[2] Expression used in N. Y. Col MSS., XI 53, for "primary."

[3] Dunshee, "School of the Collegiate Church."

had seen that he was successful as such, and that the director was satisfied with his good methods of teaching the "foundations of Latin and Greek, with writing, reading, cyphering, catechizing and *bonorum morum praxis*," so that they had asked for his appointment to the rectorate in the city, *vice* Curtius. This was done, and "I have now twenty pupils, among whom two are from Virginia, and two from Fort Orange, and I expect ten to twelve more from these and other places. The question of salary was to be settled by the Directors of the Company, but nothing has as yet been done, and now I need my salary." After voting with the council to refer the matter to the directors, Stuyvesant added: "I have agreed with you of the council to the reference, but believe that the instruction of the young people, the school service, is not less necessary than the church service, and as the master's fitness has been shown by his pupils' learning in five quarters of a year as much as in one year and a half under Curtius, I shall recommend to the Directors to give to Dr Luyck the same salary as his predecessor had." As a reference did not put money in the teacher's pocket nor bread into his mouth, the burgomasters were authorized to settle the question without waiting for an answer from Holland, and on August 16 agreed upon a yearly salary of one thousand florins (four hundred dollars). At the time of the surrender, in 1664, he lived in Winckel street[1] (now closed), and an order of the governor and council of January 26, 1675,[2] directing him to be examined in regard to Governor Lovelace's property, left in his hands, calls him "Myn Heer, Domine, Burghemeester and Captain." Domine Luyck, "S. S. Min. Candidatus," and family left America in the ship Providence (Andrew Bowne, master), for London, May 19, 1676.[3] No mention is found in the records of his Latin school after the return of Dutch government in 1673, unless we assume that the order made by Governor Anthony Colve and council, December 24, 1673, applies to it. The order said: "All persons, no matter what their religious persuasion, are bound to contribute to the support of the precentor and schoolmaster."

When the colony on the South River had been turned over by the West India Company to the city of Amsterdam, Evert Pietersen Ketcltas had been appointed schoolmaster there; but the population decreasing through sickness and emigration, he came to New Amsterdam, where "he was employed by Stuyvesant either as a colleague of Harman van Hoboocken, or as his *locum tenens* when Harman was sick."[4] He returned to Holland in 1660, and applied to the directors for an appointment as master, which was given him, *vice* Van Hoboocken,

[1] N. Y. City Records, IV., April 19, 1663.
[2] N. Y. Col. MSS., Orders and Warrants, 1674-79, p. 47.
[3] Ann. Corr., No. 1694.
[4] N. Y. Col. MSS., Orders and Warrants, 1674-79, p. 107.
[5] N. Y. Col. MSS., XXIII. 184.
[6] Brodhead, p. 27.

in May, 1661. The discharged man was taken care of by Stuyvesant and council, who on October 27 decided: "Whereas, Harman van Hoboocken, lately schoolmaster and precentor, was removed because another man was sent out to replace him, and as he asks to be employed again in some way or the other in the Company's service,—Therefore he is appointed Adelborst (Cadet), and as D° Selyns, arrived about this time, had, as stated above, established church service at Stuyvesant's Bouwery, which always carried school service with it, it was further decreed: Whereas, the aforesaid Harman is a person of irreproachable life and conduct, therefore he shall be employed at the Director-General's Bouwery as schoolmaster and reader, with the condition that whenever his services as Adelborst are required by the Company, the Director shall replace him by another fit person."[1] When the West India Company lost all political interest in the New Netherlands through the English conquest, Evert Pietersen applied to the burgomasters and schepens for a salary, and was told, September 19, 1665, that as they were considering about the salary of the ministers in the city, under which head also his application came, he should await the result of their deliberations. Various indications lead to the belief that this question of salary was not settled then. In February, 166$\frac{8}{9}$, "Evert Pietersen, Schoolmaster and Precentor, requests payment of his salary earned and further allowance for future services,"[2] and a few months later Domine Megapolensis writes to the Classis: "Nothing is done for our salary." Evert, however, does not seem to have been absolutely dependent on the salary, for in 1674 he is reported as owning 2000 florins' worth of real property, probably the house and lot in Brouwer (now Stone) street. After Domine Megapolensis's death, and during Domine Drisius's continued illness, he read in the church every Sunday forenoon and afternoon prayers, being occasionally relieved by Domine Polhemus, of Long Island (then seventy years old), and by Domine Luyck. Schoolmaster Keteltas is mentioned as still in office in 1686, when the Consistory of the Reformed Church, considering his advanced age, appointed Abraham de la Noy to relieve the master of his duties as reader, precentor, and comforter of the sick. But we do not know who his immediate successor was, as the minutes of the deacons from 1687 to 1726 are missing. That the school was not closed during this period is proved by the action of the consistory when a new vacancy in the post of schoolmaster occurred, and the governor claimed the right to make the appointment.

We have the first knowledge of how this school of the Collegiate Church was conducted from the contract made with Barent de Foreest,

[1] N. Y. Col. MSS. IX. 869. Dunshee, "School of the Collegiate Church," p. 29, quotes Governor Hamilton Fish as saying: "I have an impression that Mr Stuyvesant pointed out to me the location of this old school-house as situate on what is now the site of Tompkins Market, about the corner of Sixth street and Hall Place."

[2] N. Y. City Records, VI. 73.

January 5, 1732, to give "instruction not only in the Low Dutch language, but also in the elements of Christian piety." The school hours were to be in the morning from 9 to 11 in summer, and from 9:30 to 12 in winter, the afternoon session from 1 to 5 throughout the year. Prayer and singing were to open every day's school term, and the pupils were to be taught to spell, read, write, cipher, and the usual prayers in the catechism. "If ten of the scholars or less (of seven years of age or upwards) were unable to pay for their instruction, the Consistory guaranteed to pay the schoolmaster annually £9 N. Y. ($22.50), if more in proportion." Either the scanty pay or the improvidence of the man brought De Forest into the debtors' prison in 1732, which seems to have so scandalized the fathers of the church that on March 21, 1733, they invited Gerrit van Wagenen, master of a similar school at Kingston, to become their foresinger, schoolmaster, and visitor of the sick, with the additional duties of keeping the records of the consistory, at a fixed salary of £34 6s. and four cords of wood. Gerrit van Wagenen died in 1743, and was succeeded by his son, Huybert, who resigned in April, 1749.

Soon after Huybert van Wagenen's appointment, the deacons, in consideration of the "up-town" movement of the population, and the consequent long distance from the school,[1] opened a branch school in Cortlandt street,[2] of which Abraham de la Noy was made the master, with the same salary as Van Wagenen: the children of members of the Cedar Street or Middle Church to be instructed at De la Noy's school, while those of the South Church, in Garden street, went to Van Wagenen's, now Nos. 50 and 52 Exchange Place. Abraham de la Noy taught in the school until 1747, and was followed by William van Dalsem, who is recorded as master of this branch school until 1757. Van Wagenen's successor was Daniel Bratt, chorister of the Catskill church, who was engaged by the New-York consistory for five years, from April, 1749, with the same additional duty of acting as clerk to the consistory as his predecessors, but with a change in salary. For his clerical services he was to receive £12 10s.; as schoolmaster, the same amount with a dwelling-house, a school-room in the Old Church, and a load of wood, half oak, half nut, for each scholar, of whom twelve were not to pay any fees. On November 18, 1751, Daniel Bratt handed in a list of free scholars taught by him, which exceeded the stipulated number by three. Requesting additional pay for these, he also asked for permission to take more if they offered themselves. He received both pay and permission, but the number was limited to twenty; and in April, 1753, notice was given him "that his services as schoolmaster would end in May, 1754." Bratt had

[1] The city extended then from the Battery to about City Hall Park.
[2] Watson "Annals," p. 172.

already, in December, 1751, been relieved from the duties of comforter of the sick and catechizer, by the appointment of Adrian van der Sman to this office; but "on finding him a man of very immoral behaviour, having forged the handwriting of the Rev. Johannes Ritzema, he was dismissed" in 1767.

The discharge of Bratt created a vacancy not easily filled, for a man was needed who could teach in Dutch and English, and among the teachers licensed during the preceding twenty years no Dutch name appears. The consistory had therefore to call a chorister, catechist, and schoolmaster from Holland, and made the following proposals: that he should not be under twenty-five nor over thirty-five years of age; that he should have a free dwelling-house with a large school-room, a small chamber, a kitchen and a cellar, a fine kitchen-garden behind the house, and a salary of £80; for which emoluments he was expected to lead the singiug in church, keep the books of the church officers, register baptisms, and teach twenty poor children gratis. He was allowed to take pay scholars, for whose tuition in reading only he could charge five shillings (62½ cents) per quarter; in reading and writing, eight shillings; in ciphering, ten shillings; in singing, six shillings; pen and ink, bought from him, were placed at sixpence,— which the call says may be expected to add £40 to the fixed salary. John Nicholas Welp, of Amsterdam, responded to the call, and arrived at New-York, via New London, in the fall or early winter of 1755. The consistory, writing to the agents who had procured his services, say: "His testimonials are highly laudatory, and the proof of his work hitherto satisfactory to the congregation." During his incumbency the number of free scholars increased to thirty, and after his death, in January, 1773, the consistory showed their appreciation of his faithful and efficient services by burying him at the expense of the church, and allowing to his widow a yearly pension of £20.

The introduction of the English language into the pulpit in 1764 relieved the consistory from the absolute necessity of finding again a Dutch master, although the original language of the school was not to be relinquished. They invited Peter van Steenburgh, schoolmaster at Flatbush, L. I., to take charge of their school, offering a salary of £81, a dwelling-house with garden, and a school-room for his services of teaching thirty poor children in English or Dutch, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, in the Heidelberg Catechism, and as janitor of the consistory room. He was also to be allowed to teach thirty paying pupils, and to keep an evening school. The call was accepted, and on August 6, 1773, Peter van Steenburgh entered upon his duties, which he continued until, upon the arrival of the British army in 1776, the school was closed, to be reopened with the same master, September 7, 1783, while the same army was still occupying the city. But as the

church buildings had suffered through the war, and must now be repaired at great expense, the number of free or "charity" pupils had to be restricted to ten. By collections made in the churches for the purpose, the consistory was enabled to increase this number to thirty in 1788, and to fifty in 1790. As Mr. Van Steenburgh did not act as chorister in the church, Stanton Latham, then clerk in the North Church, was appointed to succeed Van Steenburgh in 1791, thus preserving the inherited custom of having the schoolmaster also serve as foresinger. Latham had offered to teach fifty children at seven shillings per quarter, which offer was accepted, to begin on May 1,—the consistory resolving that they "have a high sense of the abilities, assiduity and faithfulness which Mr. Van Steenburgh has for many years exerted in the school under his care." During the next year, 1792, ten more free scholars were admitted, and "ten girls, at present under the tuition of Mr. Latham, were removed, and put under the care of a female instructor," Miss Elizabeth Ten Eyck, who remained in charge of the girls' department until 1809, and was probably the first female teacher in a public school in the State of New-York.

The system of receiving pay scholars was continued until 1795, when the consistory, after consultation with the head master, Latham, resolved that from the first of February of that year, none but charity scholars should be admitted, whose number was to be unlimited, and that Mr. Latham's salary should be raised to two hundred pounds and a free dwelling-house. Four years later, May 25, 1799, however, the number had to be again restricted to fifty, probably in consequence of the withdrawal of the funds which during the years 1796 and 1797 the school had received from the State.

Coming to the locality of the houses where the before-named masters taught, nothing can be said about it for the first hundred years, unless we believe that school was kept in the house of the teacher. Adam Roelantsen, the first schoolmaster of what must be considered the *oldest school now in existence in America*, had a house near the farm of Jan Damen, the south side of which ran along Wall street. Jan Stevensen's house and lot, granted him by the company in 1643, was on the northwest corner of the "Heere Straat" (now Broadway) and Morris street.[1] Stuyvesant, who took an active interest in the school question, not only as an official, but also as a private citizen, wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam soon after his arrival: "We need a pious and diligent schoolmaster here, 1 year having passed since we were deprived of such help"—Stevensen had left in September, 1648; and soon after a plate was sent round to collect money for a school building: "some few materials for it have been bought, but the first stone is yet to be laid."[2] When the question as to where the

[1] Valentine's Manual, 1857. [2] N. Y. Col. Hist., 2, 20.

children should gather for instruction had been raised during the winter of 1647–8, Stuyvesant had recommended that the cook-house of the Fiscal might be used for the school. Nothing seems to have been done for many years, for according to a petition of the burgomasters to Stuyvesant, February 2, 1662, they intended then "to build a school-house for the benefit of the inhabitants, for which they needed land, and thought the most appropriate lot would be behind the property of Master Jacob Hendricksen Varrevanger,[1] fronting on Brouwer (now Stone) street, opposite to Johannis de Peyster's. The director and council, however, considered the best place to be in a corner of the churchyard, a new burying-place to be laid out outside of the land-gate.[2] Where, however, Willem Verstius kept school during his term from 1650 to 1655 does not appear, while we know that the brauch school under Jean Monier de la Montagne was, by suggestion of the directors of the company, opened in the City Tavern, later the City Hall, on the corner of Pearl street and Coenties alley, now Nos. 71 and 73 Pearl street. Harman van Hoboocken was allowed 100 florins ($40) yearly to rent a house for his dwelling and school, when his house had been injured by fire in 1656. The school building recommended to be placed in a corner of the churchyard in 1662 was apparently not erected, so that, continuing the before-expressed belief, we must locate the school, when taught by Evert Pietersen Keteltas (1661–87), in his dwelling in Stone street, although in 1666 Captain Stymets (Steijnmets) asked from the municipal authorities 260 florins ($104) rent for his house, let to the city as a school.[3] Not knowing the names of Keteltas's successors from 1687 to 1726, and no directory of the city existing for the period from 1726 to 1743, to give the dwelling-houses of the schoolmasters, it is impossible to tell where the school was then located. We have already seen that the branch school established in 1743 under Abraham de la Noy was held in Cortlandt street. Judge Egbert Benson, who graduated from King's (now Columbia) College in 1765, told in an address before the New-York Historical Society, December 31, 1816,[4] that in his early youth he atteuded school at the corner of Marketfield and Broad streets. This gives us the location of the school frequented by children of the Garden Street or South Church. "The committee of Consistory for preparing a plan for the building of a school and dwelling house, exhibited one (August 15, 1749) which was unanimously approved, and it was resolved that the erection of a building, according to such plan, should forthwith proceed."[5] The lot of land on which this edifice was to stand had been bought by the church

1 A surgeon, hence his title of "Master."
2 N. Y. Col. MSS., XI. 39.
3 N. Y. City Records, Burgomasters, VI. 178.
4 Watson, "Annals," p. 191.
5 Minutes of Consistory.

in Garden street for $450, in 1691. In this place, which Marschalck's map of the city, made in 1755, shows to have been on the north side of the present Exchange Place, between Broad and William streets, it remained until 1824, and after many wanderings, always in an up-town direction, it has now found a resting-place in Seventy-seventh street, where twelve teachers instruct 130 scholars, free scholarships being granted by the trustees in limited number and under certain conditions.[1]

The earliest English laws of the colony—the Duke's Laws of 1664, and the Dongan Laws of 1683–4—have nothing in regard to schools or teachers, and "it is said that when the Dutch were obliged to surrender to the English, in 1664, the educational spirit was so common throughout the colony that almost every settlement had a regular school taught by more or less permanent teachers, and that there was a decided set-back given to this movement upon the advent of the English, in consequence of the apprehension, on the part of the authorities, that common schools would nourish and strengthen a spirit of independence, which had, even then, made some considerable headway."[2] If a man wished to teach, either because he thought it good policy to have all children educated, or because he was not fitted for any other business, he petitioned the governor for a teacher's license, and usually received it, or, like Matthew Hiller in 1676, was referred to the municipal officers. A qualifying condition was not imposed on would-be teachers until the accession to the throne of England of James II., when there appears in the instructions sent to Governor Dongan the clause: "And wee doe further direct that noe Schoolmaster bee henceforth permitted to come from England and to keep school within Our Province of New York without the license of the Archbishop of Canterbury; And that noe other person now there, or that shall come from other parts, bee admitted to keep school without your license first had." For fear that Roman Catholic teachers might come "from other parts," the instructions given to the succeeding governors directed them "not to permit any schoolmaster to teach without a certificate of the Bishop of London."[3]

It appears doubtful whether this policy was dictated by the wish to exclude incompetent instructors, or for the purpose of controlling appointments and of determining the course of the schools. The only act in which the ruling powers of the colony showed a disposition to promote popular education was forced upon them by the strongly Dutch element in the General Assembly of 1702. This was the "Act for Encouragement of a Grammar Free School in New York City,"

[1] Letter from the head master to the writer.
[2] Andrew S. Draper, "Origin and Development of the New York Common School System."
[3] N. Y. Col. MSS. LXIV. 6.

which, as passed by the Assembly, the governor and council refused to approve, until after days of controversy in conference committee. An amendment was finally agreed upon by which it was required that the teacher should have a license from the Bishop of London or the governor. The mayor and common council were "to elect, choose, license, authorize and appoint one able, skillful and orthodox person to be schoolmaster for the education of youth and male children of Freuch and Dutch extraction as well as English." This teacher's yearly salary of £50 ($125) was to be raised by a general tax in the city for seven years; but when by its own limitation this measure expired in 1709, nothing was done to renew or continue it.

The next governmental step in the line of public instruction was a law, passed in 1732, providing for the establishment of a public school where Latin, Greek, and mathematics were to be taught. The preamble of this law says: "Whereas the City and Colony of New-York abounds with youth of a Genius not Inferior to other Countries," who ought to receive a classical education; therefore provision is made to open a school with the Rev. Alexander Malcolm as head master, which is to be in existence for five years—that is, from December 1, 1732, to the same date iu 1737. Malcolm had at the time of this appointment a private school, and this fact may have led to his selection, for the law required the master to provide at his own expense the necessary quarters for the school, where he was to teach gratuitously twenty boys, of whom the municipal authorities of New-York were to appoint ten, the same officers of Albany two, and the justices of the peace in the other counties one each. The master's salary of £110 was to come out of the fees collected from hawkers and peddlers.

The legal life of this school had expired on December 1, 1737, before the act for "further encouragement of a public school" was passed on December 10, prolonging the existence of Mr. Malcolm's institution for —one whole year! The legislature thought that "a Liberal Education is not only a very great Accomplishment, but also the Properest means to attain to knowledge, Improve the Miud and good Manners and to make men Better, wiser, and more usefull to their Country," and "Mr. Malcolm having given Satisfactory proof of his abilities to Teach Lattin, Greek, and the Mathematicks," he is continued as master, with an addition to his salary of £40, to be raised by tax in New-York, Richmond, Westchester, and Queen's counties. The other provisions of the law of 1732 remained the same. Modest as the salary was, the public treasury could not raise it, for the fees exacted from hawkers and peddlers did not bring in a sufficient revenue, so that two years after the school had ceased to exist, on December 1, 1738, a special law had to be passed to pay to Mr. Malcolm £111 7*s*. 6*d*., as balance due on the salary earned by him.

Although the provincial government did nothing, or almost nothing, for popular education during the whole time of British sway over the colonies, such education was not wholly neglected, for while the Collegiate Church took care of her children, the Episcopalians also did the same.

Almost coeval to, but of longer life than, the "Grammar Free School" authorized by the law of 1702, was another church school. It had been organized, under the auspices of the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in 1709. The instructions given by this society to the schoolmasters sent by it to foreign parts, directed "to teach the children to read truly and distinctly, to write a plain and legible hand, in order to the fitting them for useful employments, with as much arithmetic as shall be necessary for the same purpose, and to take especial care of their manners, both in school and out of it, moral and religious teachings understood."[1] The law of the society provided that no one should be employed as teacher until he had proved "his affection to the present government and his conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." As the Collegiate School of the Reformed Church made similar confessional conditions, neither of these two schools can be called a "free school," even though no fees were exacted.

The first master of this school was William Huddleston,[2] of Monkforce, Whitebeck parish, England, who was also clerk of Trinity Church, and dying in 1723 was succeeded by his son Thomas, who since 1705 had taught a school at Jamaica, L. I.,[3] and now took Trinity school until 1731. Thomas Noxon was the next master until 1741; he was followed by Thomas Hildreth, to 1777, after whom came Amos Bull, to 1787. The first school-house was built in Rector street in 1748; from here the school moved to land granted by Trinity Church, between Canal and Grand streets, in 1852, and now it is situated at No. 1517 Broadway.

The disruption of the Reformed Church, alluded to above, can only be understood by referring to the position of the general community upon the subject of education. The spasmodic efforts of the governing bodies for nearly half a century had only served to whet the desire of the people for the establishment of a college in New-York, similar to Harvard and Yale in New England, and William and Mary in Virginia. But the different nationalities, denominational distinctions, and principally antagonism to the Episcopal Church, were obstacles difficult to surmount, until the opening of a college in Philadelphia, where similar national and religious differences prevailed, showed the possi-

[1] Anderson, "History of the Colonial Church," III. 149.

[2] He had applied in 1695 for admission to the bar, but was not successful. N. Y. Col. MSS., XXXIX. 194.

[3] Docals, Secretary of State's office, X. 82.

bility, and the New-York Assembly passed in 1746 an act for raising the sum of £2250 by a public lottery for this colony toward the advancement of learning "and Towards the Founding a Colledge within the same." "Inasmuch as it will greatly Tend to the Wellfare and Reputation of the Colony, that a Proper and Ample Foundation be Laid for the Regular Education of Youth," says the preamble to this law, "be it enacted," etc., that Peter Vallette and Peter van Brugh Livingston be managers of the lottery, the details of which do not refer to the proposed institution of learning. The foundation intended to be laid by this to-day legally tabooed scheme was not ample enough, for in April, 1748, a new lottery for £1800 was authorized, and as not sufficient tickets had been taken by the day fixed by law,—that is, the first day of September,—a new enactment, dated October 28, extended the time to November 14. The amount realized from these two lotteries was £3343 18*s.*, as the Act to Continue the Duty of Excise on Strong Liquors and the Currency of Bills of Credit emitted thereon until November 1, 1767, passed July 4, 1753, tells us. The same law says: "It has been the intention of the Legislature for several years past to establish a Seminary for the education of Youth in the Liberal Arts and Sciences, but as at present no other means can be devised than by a continuance of the excise on liquor," it is ordered that the treasurer of the province pay out of these excise funds to the trustees, in whom the above-named sum of £3443 18*s.* had been vested, the annual sum of £500 for seven years. On the same day (July 4, 1753) another lottery for £1125, with Peter van Brugh Livingston and Jacobus Roosevelt as managers, was started by law, to be followed by others for the same amounts in December, 1753; May, 1754; August, 1755; and December, 1756.[1]

The above-mentioned trustees had been so apportioned among the three principal denominations in the province that the measure created distrust in the minds of a number, in fact of the majority, of the inhabitants. Seven of them were Episcopalians, two Dutch Reformed, and one (William Livingston) Presbyterian. This started a later verified rumor that the charter to be asked for the college would require that its president be an Episcopalian, and the Book of Common Prayer, as used in the Church of England, be used in the institution. Livingston had, in November, 1752, started a paper, the "Independent Reflector," in which he discussed the most proper manner of the college establishment. This, he said, should not be by a charter from the governor, belonging to and therefore biased by Church of England sentiments, but by an act of the legislature, composed of men of various denominations, and therefore presumably as a body impartial. In an address to the inhabitants, he asked: "Are we

[1] MS. laws, Secretary of State's office.

not all members of the same community? Have we not an equal right? Are we not all alike to contribute to the support of the college? Whence, then, the pretension of one in preference to the rest? Does not every persuasion produce men of worth? Consider, therefore, the obvious iniquity, the monstrous unreasonableness, of the claim I am opposing." His attacks on the various abuses of the system as proposed were answered in the columns of the "New-York Mercury" by the usual arguments against Independents. But Trinity Church came at this period, as we shall see, to the conditional rescue of the languishing scheme, and their grant of land stimulated the trustees to petition for a charter and to begin college exercises with seven students in the vestry-room of Trinity, in June, 1754.

The trustees appointed, by act of 25 George II, for erecting a college, petitioned Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey and council, May 20, 1754,[1] for a charter of incorporation, stating that because they are enabled to give a salary to the head master only for seven years, "they are under great difficulty to procure a fit and proper person to undertake the office." But the rector and corporation of Trinity Church, "being willing to encourage the good design of establishing a seminary or college, have offered unto your petitioners a very valuable parcel of ground on the west side of Broadway, . for the use of the said intended seminary, on condition that the head master be a member of the Church of England." The committee of council, to whom this petition had been referred, reported on May 30 that they were in favor of granting the request, and the attorney-general was ordered to draft the necessary instruments. But Messrs. James Alexander and William Smith, of the council, dissented, and gave as their reasons that — "(1) it is unjust, by any charter, to exclude any Protestant denomination in the province from any office in our college; (2) it is inconsistent with religious liberty to impose any method of divine service; (3) it tends to monopolize learning to a small party; (4) it is subversive of the generous design of a public college, from which the legislature in their acts did not intend to exclude any denomination of Protestants; (5) it is dangerous to the peace and prosperity of this province, by establishing in a minor party a constitutional right with an exclusive dominion over the far greatest of the inhabitants thereof." The two signers of this protest had declared it "to be their undoubted right and bounden duty, as occasion might require, to publish their protest," but the council advised the lieutenant-governor not to give the necessary imprimatur. The draft of letters patent incorporating certain persons to be named therein by the name and style of the Governors of the College of the Province of New-York in the City of New-York in America," was laid

[1] Council Mss., XXIII., 181. [2] Ibid., 221.

before the council, October 31, 1754, read and approved, and the lieutenant-governor was advised to affix the great seal thereto when engrossed, William Smith again protesting vainly. The charter vested "the sole power of electing Professors for the College in the Governours," who, in May, 1755,[1] told the governor and council that they conceived it would tend to the Prosperity of the College and the Increase of the number of students if provision could be made for the establishment of "a Professorship of Divinity for the Iustruction of Youth," according to the doctrine, discipline, etc., adopted by the Synod of Dort. It was now asked that an amendment to the charter should allow the governors of the college to appoint to such a professorship any one recommended by the ministers and consistory of the Reformed Dutch Church in the city. The request was granted on May 30, and at the next session of council, June 5, it was ordered that this additional charter for the establishing of a Dutch professorship of divinity be printed. Dr. Ritzema, of the New-York City Reformed Church, had secured favor, and his representations in this direction were listened to with so much more good will as, by the movemeut in the Reformed Church spoken of before, the fears had gone abroad that the Dutch would start a college of their own, to the ruin of King's College. The Dutch professorship of divinity was therefore eagerly granted, but the mass of the people were now disgusted and would have nothing more to do with the college, so that no minister of the Reformed Church graduated from King's College until after the Revolution. Livingston went a step farther, and secured the presentation of a bill in the Assembly for a free college, which was ordered printed, but from motives of policy not pressed to a vote. He never qualified as trustee by taking the required oath. Soon after the arrival of Governor Hardy, Livingston told, in the last number of his "Watch Tower" series in the "New-York Mercury" (November 17, 1755), the whole history of the charter, holding up the real objects of the respective parties, and claiming that, notwithstanding the charter, he had gained the people. This fact appeared from the difficulties which now arose about the transfer of the funds from the original temporary trustees to the governors named in the charter. Were they not the people's funds, and not those of a single and small religious body? After a year of debate one half of them was diverted to the corporation of the city, wherewith to build a new jail and pest-house, and the college, founded on a basis contrary to the general wishes of the majority, uever throve until after the Revolution the act to encourage literature by dónations to Columbia College, passed April 11, 1792, gave to the trustees a sum of seven thousand nine hundred pounds for library, laboratory, and building purposes, and allowed a further an-

[1] Council MSS., XXIII 276.

nual sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds for five years, to be applied to the payment of salaries.

The first president of the new college was Dr. Samuel Johnson, who had been one of the professors at Yale until 1720, when Rev. Timothy Cutler, the Congregationalist minister at Stratford, had been called to the rectorship of this institution. Johnson gave up his place for the more congenial work of the ministry, and soon after made the declaration of his belief that the Church of England was a true branch of the church of Christ, and that it had become his duty to enter into communion with her. This, of course, necessitated his resignation as Congregational pastor; he started for England from Boston November 5, 1722, and soon after landing at Ramsgate, December 15, he was ordained and sent back to America as missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at Stratford,

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the neighborhood of his former field of duty. He had been corresponding with Bishop Berkeley about the projected college for several years, and on November 22, 1753, the trustees determined to invite him to the presidency, with a yearly salary of two hundred and fifty pounds, and Chauncey Whittlesey, of New Haven, as his assistant at a salary of two hundred pounds. He expresses his reason for once more leaving the pastoral field as follows, in a letter to Bishop Sherlock: "I was in great doubt whether to accept the Presidency; but as I saw that it would come to nothing if I did not, I at length returned and accepted the charge," the duties of which he discharged until the 1st of March, 1763, when, upon his resignation, his assistant, Rev. Myles Cooper, a Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, was elected as his successor. Mr. Cooper had come to New-York in the

autumn of 1762, having heen selected by Archbishop Secker as Dr. Johnson's assistant. Dr. Johnson left a college with twenty-four students, and went hack to Stratford, where he died January 6, 1772.

Dr. Cooper had not heen long enough in the colonies to have been sufficiently imbued with the patriotism pervading the air during the last decade of British rule. He therefore took the side of the Royalists, and offended the other side so much by his writings and conversations that on the night of May 10, 1775, his lodgings in the college were forcibly entered by a mob, which, if it had found him, would probably have handled him with brutality. He escaped, only half dressed, and found refuge on board the Kingfisher man-of-war, which took him to England. Rev. Benjamin Moore, already spoken of, was elected *praeses pro tempore* on May 16, but in April, 1776, the college building was requisitioned by the committee of safety for the reception of troops. The students were in consequence dispersed, and did not gather again until 1784, but no president was elected because the deranged state of the college finances made it difficult to offer such a salary as would induce a suitable person to accept the office, until on May 21, 1787, the trustees considered themselves justified to ask Dr. William Samuel Johnson, son of the first president, to take the place. He signified his acceptance in November following, and remained president of Columbia College until July, 1800.

At the same meeting in March, 1763, when Dr. Johnson tendered his resignation, a plan was adopted for the establishment of a grammar-school in connection with the college, and this was opened not much later, under the charge of Dr. Matthew Cushing, of Charlestown, Mass.; but it was not a successful undertaking, for in August, 1767, it was found that so far it had cost three hundred and seventy pounds. Some reforms were therefore made, and its expenses were reduced hy dispensing with one of the teachers until then employed, and in May, 1784, the regents of the university, appointed under an act passed a few days hefore, revived the grammar-school of Columbia College, with Mr. William Cochran as its master.

Although, as we have seen, free schools did not flourish under English rule, childreu whose parents could afford to pay for their tuition found sufficient opportunity to learn; for private teachers, who taught all manner of learning, received licenses from the governors, or from the municipal officers, like Matthew Hiller in 1674, Ebenezer Kirtland in 1676, aud David Jamison in 1691. David Vilant kept a school in the City Hall in 1696–7, having been made a freeman of the city in 1695. The license granted by Cornbury to George Muirson, April 25, 1704, does uot specify the kind of instruction to he given; but Elias Neau was licensed, in August following, to catechize children, Indians, negroes, and all other persons in the city; while Andrew Clark was

allowed to keep a school and teach English, Latin, Greek, writing and arithmetic, Prudent de la Fayolle to teach French, and John Wood, during the governor's pleasure, to teach dancing.[2] The petition of none of these teachers, setting forth their qualifications, is on record; but under date of July 15, 1712,[1] when the free grammar-school had ended its life, Allane Jarratt, who was to do duty as a surveyor for the New-York and New Jersey Boundary Commission in 1719, stated "that haveing by an experience and practice of the Art of Navigation and other parts of the mathematicks for the space of fourteen years, after an early education in the most usefullest parts thereof acquired a Competent Knowledge therein, and being Sensible how much the youths brought up in this City are at a loss in goeing to sea without a Sufficient Instruction in Writeing and Arithmeticks and in the Art of Navigations, he therefore begs his Excellency's Lycense to teach Writeing, Arithmeticks, Navigation, and other parts of the Mathematicks." The license was issued the same day, but the incentive given by Jarratt's private enterprise to establish a school of navigation has not been followed by a public establishment of this nature, except the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md.

Joseph Nelson

The Burghers' and Freemen's List[3] mentions for the period from 1695 to 1774 the names of thirty-two schoolmasters as having been admitted as freemen, and there were evidently some teachers who did not aspire to this privilege. Isaac Bobin, the deputy secretary, writes in September, 1728, to his chief, George Clarke: "I have paid Mr. Brownell for Miss Molly's schooling, as likewise for six balls of gold and one of silver thread for Miss Molly. Mr. Cook will send the spinet tuned, when the weather is settled." At the first meeting of the legislature after the adoption of the Constitution of 1787, Governor Clinton called the attention of the lawmakers to education, with the result of an act being passed to incorporate the regents of the university, which placed in the general charge of this newly created body the colleges and academies of the State. Two years later, in 1789, two lots

[1] For a notice of Nelson the blind professo... [3] N. Y. Col. MSS. LVII. 190
rule Vol. III. pp. 704, 706. EDITOR [4] N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col. 1885. N. Y. Col. MSS.
[2] Deeds, Secretary of State's Office, X, etc., 27 LXV. 145

in each township of the public State lands were by law set apart for gospel and school purposes. This is the germ of what is now the "common-school fund," upon which subsequent legislation, recommended by Governor Clinton, grew the common-school system, which has placed the State and city of New-York in the foremost rank in the educational army. So that, scanty as were the chances of children to receive education at the end of the last century, the city alone can now point with pardonable pride to its educational resources, with forty colleges and theological seminaries, eighty-five grammar and forty-seven primary schools, to which must be added an uncounted number of private establishments.

PUBLIC-SCHOOL SCHOLARSHIPS

In the year 1889 Joseph Pulitzer gave twelve scholarships to pupils of the public schools, to enable them to acquire a collegiate education. Each scholarship was to continue for five years, two hundred and fifty dollars being paid to the scholar in each of the five years. The award of these scholarships was determined by the result of the examination for admission to the College of the City of New-York, but the successful competitors were privileged to select a course in Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, or Cornell. Mr. Pulitzer gave more than a year's trial to the first experiment, and he was so well satisfied with the work of the scholars that he renewed his offer of twelve scholarships in 1891, and again in 1892. The conditions of the scholarships are as follows: The Pulitzer Public-school Scholarships shall be open to competition on the part of any boy in good bodily health, who shall have been a pupil of the public schools of the city of New-York for the three years immediately preceding the examination for determining the awards of scholarships, and who shall present to the Committee on Award a certificate from the principal of his school, stating that the applicant has been faithful, studious, and orderly in the performance of his duties, and is, as far as the knowledge and information of the principal extend, in such needy circumstances that he could not enter college without such assistance. As a reward of merited success, and as a reminder of the high responsibility resting upon the holder of a scholarship thus obtained, the name of each successful applicant shall be given in a published report to be made by the Committee on Award, together with the total number of applicants for the scholarships. The scholarships shall be held subject to the supervision of the Committee on Award, and any holder of a scholarship shall forfeit his right to the same if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the committee that he has not been sufficiently orderly in conduct or diligent and successful in his studies. The Committee on Award has held the holders of the scholarships to a strict accountability for the proper performance of their collegiate duties, and some of the Pulitzer scholars are to be found in the front rank of their classes. At the last commencement of the City College two prize medals were awarded to one of these scholars. There were no less than sixty-three competitors for the twelve scholarships of 1892, and many of them passed most creditably at the examination for admission to the City College. The records of the examination showed that the competitors generally were fully qualified to pursue a collegiate course. The Committee on Award, consisting of three competent gentlemen, after a very careful consideration of the merits of the several candidates, awarded the scholarships to twelve

pupils of the public schools. These boys have every reason to feel proud at their success in a contest against so many earnest competitors. The extent of the educational plan formed and already put into partial operation by the donor of the scholarships, will be better comprehended when it is known that nearly eight thousand dollars will be paid to the fifty-one scholars who will pursue a collegiate course during the years 1892–1893.

EDITOR.

THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

As soon as the Protestant Episcopal Church was fairly organized in this country, its attention was directed to making provision for the education of its candidates for holy orders. As early as 1810 the Rev. Richard Channing Moore, D. D., afterward Bishop of Virginia, in a sermon preached in Philadelphia, earnestly presented the benefits which would accrue to the church "from the establishment of some school in which instruction in the Scriptures and theology in general, with suitable preparation for the ministry, might be obtained." At the same date churchmen in South Carolina expressed their desire for the establishment of a theological seminary under the direction of the General Convention.

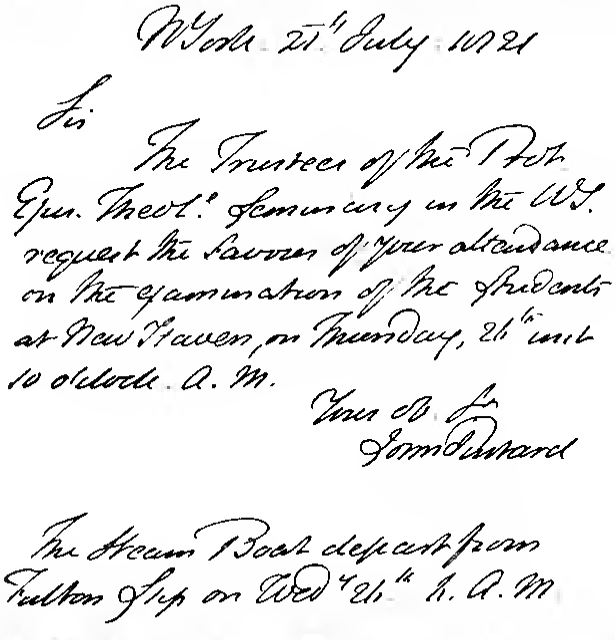
The Rev. John H. Hobart, D. D., before his consecration as bishop, endeavored to provide for the establishment of such a seminary by purchasing a beautiful site in New Jersey, about eighteen miles from New-York, on Short Hills, near what is now called the town of Summit. In 1813 he brought the matter before the convention of his diocese, and in the following spring put forth a scheme for a "Theological Grammar School," to be a stepping-stone to a higher seminary. To this school he pledged his services as a teacher, so far as official duties would permit. Its purpose was, as he stated, to take the candidates early, and train them faithfully "in the spirit of evangelical piety; in habits of close thinking and accurate research; in theological attainments; in the proper mode of celebrating holy offices; in pulpit eloquence; and in the still more important practical qualifications which constitute the faithful, laborious and zealous parish minister." For, as he wisely added, "the spirit of the ministry, such as it was in the primitive times, and such as the church now requires, must be formed in *retirement* by study and meditation and prayer." His prospectus anticipated and mapped out the scheme of a seminary, which in after years received the sanction of the whole church. The course of study was to be that prescribed by the canons, and the instruction to be "under the control of the authorities of the church." The institution was to be "under the patronage of the General Convention," and cared for by a board of trustees (of which the bishops were to be ex-officio members), who

were required to "render an account of the state of the institution to the General Convention at its stated meetings."

The honor of making the first motion in the General Convention, contemplating a general theological seminary for the whole church, belongs, however, to the deputies from the diocese of North Carolina. The Rev. Christopher E. Gadsden offered the following resolution in the General Convention of 1814: "Resolved that, with the consent of the House of Bishops, a joint committee of both houses be appointed, to take into consideration the institution of a theological seminary, and, if they should deem the same expedient, to report a plan for the raising of funds, and generally for the accomplishment of the object." Nothing was done but to refer the whole matter to the bishops to consider and report at the next General Convention. The question was not allowed to drop by its friends, and when the bishops reported in the following General Convention the sense of their respective dioceses on the subject of a theological school, it was determined to establish a general seminary in New-York. As the Rev. Dr. Samuel R. Johnson quaintly records, "It was in the city of New-York, in Trinity Church, on Tuesday, the 27th day of May, 1817, in the morning, that the General Theological Seminary was born." The plan, as originally proposed by the House of Deputies, contemplated that it should be governed by a board of twenty-two trustees, consisting of the senior bishop, the bishop of the diocese in which the seminary was established, and ten clergymen and ten laymen elected by the General Convention. Committees were appointed to secure funds and to carry into operation the plan proposed for the institution. Bishops William White, John H. Hobart, and John Croes united with prominent laymen in furthering the plan. In 1819 Clement C. Moore, of the city of New-York, offered for the purpose, through Bishop Hobart, sixty lots, comprising the block now called Chelsea Square, bounded by Ninth and Tenth avenues and Twentieth and Twenty-first streets, on condition that the buildings of the theological school should be erected thereon. This offer was accepted, and the Rev. Drs. Samuel F. Jarvis and Samuel H. Turner were appointed professors to open the school. The work was actually begun on May 1, 1819; and six students composed its first class, among

Clement C. Moore

whom were George Washington Doane, afterward Bishop of New Jersey; Manton Eastburn, afterward Bishop of Massachusetts; and Benjamin Dorr, the well-known author, and rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia. The professors met the students for a short time in a small apartment over the vestry-room of St. Paul's Chapel, and afterward in the vestry-room of St. John's Chapel, in Varick street. On the approach of cold weather, as the vestry of Trinity Church were not willing to provide the fuel for heating the room in St. John's Chapel (so little was the seminary appreciated), the professors gladly accepted the offer by Lawson Carter of a room in the building occupied by him for a young ladies' school, on the northwest corner of Broadway and Cedar street. Here the seminary remained during



N York 21st July 1821

Sir

The Trustees of the Prot. Epis. Theol.l Seminary in the U.S. request the favour of your attendance on the examination of the students at New Haven, on Thursday, 26th inst. 10 o'clock A. M.

Yours ob. Sr.
Lorin Pintard

The Steam Boat depart from Fulton Slip on Wed.y 26th h. A. M.

the winter of 1819 and 1820, until it was removed to New Haven. The motive for this removal was partly the lack of funds to sustain the institution in "so expensive a city" as New-York, and partly that the "professors and students could have access to public libraries, enjoy the benefits resulting from literary society, and live comfortably at a moderate expense."

The trustees now adopted a fuller plan for its organization, looking to the employment of three professors, and extending the course over a period of three years. Plans were also devised for the endowment of the professorships, for the establishment of scholarships for indigent students, and for fellowships "which might be given to students

who distinguish themselves duriug their seminary course, and who shall remain in the institution, unmarried, for three years more, and apply themselves exclusively to theological studies." The seminary was opened in New Haven, September 13, 1820, with an inaugural discourse delivered in Trinity Church by the Rev. Dr. Turner. Bishop Thomas C. Brownell tendered his services gratuitously, and removed his residence to New Haven, that he might devote to the seminary such portions of his time as were not occupied by his episcopal duties. Twenty-one students entered during the first year.

Bishop Hobart and the diocese of New-York were not, however, satisfied with its removal, and, in connection with "The Protestant Episcopal Education Society of the State of New-York," took measures to establish a theological seminary in the city of New-York, with a branch school at Geneva. The New-York school was opened in 1821, with Bishop Hobart, Clement C. Moore, Gulian C. Verplanck, and the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk as professors. The branch school at Geneva was also opened in the same year, with the Rev. Daniel McDonald and the Rev. Orin Clark as professors.

In the mean time Jacob Sherred, a vestryman of Trinity Church, died, leaving a will which contained a legacy of sixty thousand dollars to a "Seminary to be established in the city of New-York, for the education of young men designed for holy orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." Both the General Theological Seminary at New Haven and the seminary in New-York claimed this legacy. A special meeting of the General Convention was held in Philadelphia to consider this question; and it was finally decided to remove the General Seminary back from New Haven to New-York, and, by uniting it with the Diocesan School there, to form the present General Theological Seminary, and to convey to it Mr. Sherred's legacy. Thus the great question of the establishment of one general seminary, to be permanently established in New-York, was finally settled. It is not too much to say that this decision and settlement were largely owing, under God, to Bishop Hobart's far-seeing wisdom and sagacious judgment. He foresaw from the outset that, if the seminary was to continue the general seminary of the whole church in this country, it must be situated in the city of New-York. In this view, as well as in the development of the plans for its organization, Bishop Hobart was sustained by laymen whose legal ability has rarely been equaled and never surpassed in the history of our country. Among them were such men as Chancellors Kent and Jones, Justices Livingston, Thompson, Van Ness, Irving, and Colden; the Ogdens, Hoffmans, Wells, Emmets, Spencers, Harrisons, Verplanck, Troup, Johnson, Duane, Clarkson, and Rufus King. It is seldom that any bishop could

avail himself of so much legal ability and practical knowledge. An enduring monument remains. The charter, constitution, and statutes show the impress of hands which knew what they were about, providing for contingencies which, however unexpected, did not fail to occur.

The institution was thus fairly established at its inception as the "General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." It was reopened in New-York, February 13, 1822, with twenty-three students. An introductory address was delivered by Bishop Hobart in Trinity Church, and the classes attended the several professors in the rooms of Trinity school, on the northeast corner of Canal and Varick streets—an arrangement which was continued until they removed to what was known as the "East Building," on the present seminary grounds in Chelsea Square. The corner-stone of this building was laid, July 28, 1825, by Bishop White, assisted by Bishops Kemp, Croes, and Brownell. It was built of gray-stone, being 104 feet in length by 52 feet in depth, and contained at each end a house for a professor, while the middle portion was used for the library and for lectures and apartments for the students. Its arrangement was in every respect very inconvenient. Having but little to recommend it but its venerable associations, and having survived its usefulness, it was recently torn down, and replaced by three houses for the use of professors.

Chelsea Square, which is now surrounded by the closely built up city, was then an apple-orchard, with an entrance on what is now Ninth Avenue. The only approach to it was by a narrow road called Love Lane, running westerly from the Bloomingdale road, now Broadway. At that time there was scarcely a good brick house between it and Canal street. The high-water mark of the Hudson River was east of the present Tenth Avenue. It was, in fact, a quiet rural retreat on the banks of the river, far removed from the noise and bustle of the now crowded city, and where the devout student had every appliance to aid him in his work, with nothing to distract his mind, or call him off from his sacred studies. Then, as now, it was noted as being one of the healthiest portions of the island on which the city is built.

The erection of the East Building, at a cost of between thirty and forty thousand dollars, before the funds were secured for its completion, involved the institution in financial difficulty, and embarrassed it for many years. Efforts made for its relief were greatly hampered by the noble legacy of one hundred thousand dollars from Frederick Kohne, of Philadelphia, which was not paid for twenty-four years, and yet led church people to slacken their efforts and withhold contributions, then so urgently required. At the same time the action of the city authorities requiring the seminary to extend its ground

two hundred feet further into the river, and build a bulkhead at its own expense, seriously added to the embarrassments; and, although the number of students had increased to sixty-four, the trustees were put to great straits to meet the professors' salaries and the necessary expenses of the institution. The Kohne legacy, while "promising future wealth, had, in fact, tended to temporary impoverishment," and had not Dr. Moore again come to its aid by building the second bulkhead ordered by the city in 1833, the trustees would probably have been compelled to close the institution; for, notwithstanding the earnest efforts made by its friends, and the self-devotion of its professors, who gave their services almost gratuitously, funds came in very slowly. The only professorship for which a partial endowment was obtained was that of the professorship of Ecclesiastical History, given by Peter G. Stuyvesant. The united efforts of Bishop Doane and the Rev. Drs. John McVickar and Henry Anthon secured but six thousand dollars, to be held in trust for the increase of the library; while the efforts of the alumni to raise twenty-five thousand dollars for the endowment of a professorship of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence, owing to the financial difficulties in which the country became involved in 1837, signally failed.

Apart from its financial difficulties, with which it had to struggle, the seminary during this period enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity. It had, for the first twenty years of its existence, the confidence of the whole church. The ability of its professors and the character of its graduates attracted more students than it could accommodate. The controversy, however, which had begun in England over the Oxford movement gradually found its way to this country, and in 1841 invaded the peaceful precincts of Chelsea Square. It is difficult for us at this date, when party spirit is unknown in the church, to realize the excitement which this created. The ecclesiastical atmosphere was at a fever heat. Bishops and clergy, pastors and people, were marshaled against each other in hostile array. The newspapers were filled with angry controversy, and scarcely a week elapsed without a recriminating pamphlet being issued from the press. Rumors of unsoundness in the teaching of the professors filled the air, and, although a committee of investigation reported to the General Convention of 1844 that the entire course of study pursued in the seminary appeared to be in perfect accordance with the doctrines, discipline, and worship of the church, and such as was calculated to sustain its elevated character, and command the public confidence and respect, some of the trustees were not satisfied, and appeared to have lost all interest in the institution. The care and anxiety which these troubles entailed upon the Rev. Dr. Bird Wilson, who was then acting as dean, seriously undermined his health, and led him to resign the professor-

ship of Systematic Divinity, which he had filled for twenty-seven years with distinguished honor and usefulness to the seminary and the church. Although he was induced by the trustees temporarily to withdraw his resignation, two years later, simultaneously with Professor Moore, he insisted upon its being accepted. Both these professors had served the seminary for twenty-nine years with singular fidelity, both had stood firm at their posts during a period of excitement which tried men's souls, and both left the impress of their saintly lives and characters on a generation of its students.

These difficulties, together with the increasing financial embarrassments, largely added to by the heavy assessments which the growing city laid upon its property, alienated many of its supporters, kept churchmen throughout the land from rallying around it, and absorbed nearly the whole of its small endowment. But for the self-denial of the professors, serving for years without salary, and the generous assistance of "The Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning in the State of New-York," the General Theological Seminary would have been merely a record of past history. The trustees were compelled to dispose of a large portion of the landed estate which had been created from filling in the land on the North River, to meet its debts, and even the question of its removal from the city was favorably entertained by the board. A donation of thirty acres of land at Mamaroneck, from Thomas R. Hawley, was accepted in 1870, with the condition that the trustees should, within five years, erect buildings upon the land for the purpose of a theological seminary. Fortunately this project was abandoned two years later, and the present admirable location on Chelsea Square providentially preserved for the future use of the institution.

During all these years the seminary was left without a permanent head, until the Rev. John M. Forbes, D. D., was elected its dean in October, 1869. Dr. Forbes administered the duties of his office with earnestness, zeal, and fidelity; but difficulties connected with the discipline of the institution impelled him to retire from it in November, 1872. The office was not again filled until June, 1875, when the Rev. Dr. George F. Seymour, now Bishop of Springfield, and then Professor of Ecclesiastical History, was elected dean, to serve as such in connection with his professorship. He continued to discharge the arduous and responsible duties of both positions with his well-known zeal until June, 1879, when he resigned to devote himself exclusively to his diocese. During his connection with the seminary, Dr. Seymour initiated and carried out many important improvements, notwithstanding he had to contend with want of sufficient means to pay the current expenses. He fitted up a new chapel in the East Building; removed the library to the West Building, where it was comparatively

free from danger from fire; made important improvements in the dormitories; reorganized the refectory, which protects the students from the injurious associations of cheap boarding-houses; and was instrumental in effecting the reformation of the calendar of the seminary, by which it was brought into harmony with the ecclesiastical year. He was succeeded in his office as dean by the present incumbent, in 1879.

From this period the seminary may be said to have taken a new lease of life. The spirit which in its early history led such men as Moore, and Sherred, and Lorillard, and Kohne, and Stuyvesant to make it the recipient of their noble gifts, began to revive. The endowment of the professorship of Pastoral Theology by the late Samuel Verplanck Hoffman has been followed by others, enabling the seminary, for the first time in its history, to meet its current expenses, and to pay its professors salaries commensurate with the importance of their labors and the expenses of living in a great city. The noble gift of George A. Jarvis, of Brooklyn, founding the Bishop Paddock lectureship on the plan of the well-known Bampton lectureship in Oxford, has already given to the church ten very able courses of lectures. The endowment of the "John H. Talman Fellowship" by Miss Caroline Talman, of this city, has been followed by the establishment of three fellowships by Miss Emma Carrington Mayo, of Elizabeth, New Jersey; and these will undoubtedly secure other monuments of like character. Besides the ample foundation for the office of dean, five professorships have been more or less adequately endowed, and funds have been left for the employment of instructors in elocution and church music. The personal property of the institution now amounts to about seven hundred thousand dollars, and the library numbers 22,360 volumes. There has been erected by the contribution of individuals during the past ten years a series of new buildings, surrounding one half of Chelsea Square, costing $500,000, and giving the seminary a material equipment for its work unequaled by any other theological institution in this country.

This result is largely due to the fact that, before proceeding to the

erection of any of these buildings, the board of trustees, in 1882, after deciding to keep the seminary on Chelsea Square as its permanent site, wisely instructed its committee to procure a complete plan for a pile of buildings which the future development of the seminary would require, and then to proceed with their erection as means were pro-

HOFFMAN MEMORIAL CHAPEL

vided and the growth of the institution demanded. Employing Charles C. Haight, the son of the late Rev. Dr. Benjamin I. Haight, who filled for many years the chair of Pastoral Theology, a plan was obtained which will, when completed, occupy the whole square, combining in a remarkable degree economy of cost with simplicity of con-

struction and dignity of appearance, and which will provide accommodation for two hundred students and fellows, together with residences for the dean and all the members of the faculty. One half of the plan has already been erected. Beginning with the deanery, which stands on the northwest corner of Twentieth street and Ninth avenue, we come next to Jarvis Hall, erected chiefly by funds provided by Mr. Jarvis, of Brooklyn, which extends along the Ninth Avenue front to the large fire-proof library building on the corner of Twenty-first street and Ninth Avenue. Jarvis Hall, through the center of which is the entrance to the grounds by a large gateway, furnishes on its first floor reception-rooms, a post-office, and the superintendent's offices, while the upper stories are devoted to studeuts' rooms. Adjoining the library, on Twenty-first street, are Pintard and Dehon Halls — dormitories, named from early benefactors of the seminary, and devoted to students' rooms. Next to them stands the noble Sherred Hall, the memorial to Mr. Sherred, which provides large lecture-rooms, with private rooms attached, for each professor in the seminary. Beyond it are Dodge and Kohne Halls — dormitories, also devoted to students' rooms. All the dormitory buildings are completely furnished, and arranged in suites of rooms, each suite having a large, sunny study, with two outside bedrooms attached. Beyond these buildings stands the magnificent "Memorial Chapel of the Good Shepherd," with its richly carved oak furniture, mosaic floor, beautifully stained glass windows, and exquisite alabaster reredos with all the figures in statuary marble, erected by Mrs. Glorvina Rossell Hoffman "to the glory of God, and in loving memory of her husband, Samuel Verplanck Hoffman." This chapel dominates the long series of buildings, and as a college chapel is coufessedly without a peer on this side of the Atlantic. The music of the services, which is conducted entirely by the students, aud in which the Gregorian music is exclusively adopted, attracts daily large numbers of people from various parts of the city. In addition to these buildings, there are now being erected on the Twentieth-street side of the square, near the site of the old East Building, three houses for the use of professors. These houses complete the east quadrangle, which reminds the visitor of one of the old "quads" in Oxford or Cambridge. Simultaneously with these substantial improvements, the faculty has been materially enlarged, the educational standard steadily raised, and the number of students more than doubled.

These, and other tokens which might be mentioned, show that the General Theological Seminary has entered on a new era in its history, and one which insures for all time its future usefulness to the church of the living God. It only remains for those to whom God has given the means to still further add to its noble endowments, and to provide

for the erection of the additional buildings which are already required by the increasing number of its students. Let us remember the good deeds of the faithful friends whom God has raised up for this seat of sacred learning, and render him praise for his unnumbered mercies, in placing it in a condition for enlarged and expanded influence to this generation and to the generations that are yet to come.

UNIVERSITY OF NEW-YORK

THE University of the City of New-York was planned in 1829 and 1830 in several meetings of public-spirited merchants and professional men, and incorporated in 1831. The idea was to offset Episcopalian and conservative Columbia with an undenominational modern university. Until 1883 a part of the council was elected by the city legislature, and it was forbidden that any religious denomination should have a majority in the council. John Taylor Johnston and Charles Butler, recent presidents of the council, have served in it respectively forty-six years and fifty-six years. The property of the university, all of which has come from gifts and bequests, amounts to about two million dollars. The university building, on Washington Square, erected in 1832–35, is a conspicuous structure of light-colored limestone, in Gothic architecture, and contains the council-room, with its many portraits of distinguished members of the council, and the class-rooms and laboratories, museum, and observatory of the Department of Arts and Science. In this noble building Professor Samuel F. B. Morse discovered the recording telegraph, and Dr. John William Draper made the first photographs from the human face. The university has about one hundred professors and instructors and one thousand two hundred students. The chancellors have been Drs. James Matthews, Theodore Frelinghuysen, Isaac Ferris, Howard Crosby, John Hall, and Henry M. MacCracken (the chancellor at the present time).

In 1891–92 the university took an important step in purchasing for three hundred thousand dollars a new site, intended in particular for the College of Arts and Philosophy, the technological schools, and the Graduate Seminary. The School of Law, the School of Pedagogy, and part of the graduate seminary work will remain upon Washington Square, where a new building will be erected, of which probably seven or eight stories will be rented for business purposes, while two or three stories will be reserved for the schools named and for university offices and popular lectures. The medical school will continue as at present. The new site is an elevated plateau of twenty acres, accessible by railway in less than twenty minutes from Forty-second

street. It is to be known as "University Heights," and is admirably adapted to university purposes.

The Department of Arts and Science dates from 1832, and for over half a century consisted of a college on the approved American plan, with from one hundred to one hundred and fifty students. University College now has twenty-six professors and lecturers, and its classical and scientific courses lead respectively to the degrees of bachelor of arts and bachelor of science. Among its professors have been the four Drapers, Vethake, McIlvaine, and Robinson; John Torrey, the botanist; Tayler Lewis, the philologist; George Bush, the commentator; Nordheimer, the Hebraist; Henry P. Tappan, the philosopher; Davies and Loomis, the mathematicians; and S. F. B. Morse, the inventor. The School of Civil Engineering and the School of Chemistry, two well-conducted institutions for technical training, are controlled by the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, which also conducts the School of Pedagogy, founded in 1890 to give higher training to teachers in psychology and ethics, the theory and practice of pedagogy, and the history, classics, and systems of education. There are two hundred and sixty students in the school. The Graduate Seminary, founded in 1886, receives candidates for the degrees of master of arts and science and doctor of philosophy. Over one hundred graduate students are at present (1893) in attendance, and thirty special courses are provided.

The Department of Law, with its undergraduate and graduate schools, has its lecture-room and library in the university building. The foundation of this faculty was carefully planned in the year 1835 by Benjamin F. Butler, then attorney-general of the United States. The council of the university adopted this plan, and Mr. Butler accepted the office of senior professor. The law school was soon suspended, and again opened in 1858; but it is only during the past few years that it has advanced to a prominent rank. In that period "it has changed its character from a school of law forms to a school of jurisprudence," and develops at once the systematic study of statute law and the observation of professional methods of research and practice. The dean and senior professor is Austin Abbott, LL. D., and there are three other professors and six lecturers. The course is of two years, with several advanced courses in the graduate year. There are two hundred and forty students (nearly half of them college graduates), including also ten women. The Graduate Law School was opened in 1891 with forty pupils, and requires the completion of five subjects for the degree of master of laws. The university also gives popular courses of lectures on law, in particular to business women, every winter. This lectureship is endowed by the Women's Legal Education Society. Theology is not taught by the university;

but in 1890 an alliance was formed with the Union Theological Seminary, by which students of either institution are admitted under easy conditions to the libraries and lecture courses of the other. Also the graduates of Union Seminary, it has been decided, may receive the degree of bachelor of divinity.

The Faculty of Medicine (University Medical College), founded in 1841, numbered among its earlier members Drs. Valentine Mott, Bedford, Post, Draper, and Paine. Its buildings are on Twenty-sixth street, near the East River, fronting Bellevue Hospital, and near the ferry entrance to the great city charities. They consist of the central edifice, which includes the office, with the lecture-room and amphitheater, either of which seats five hundred students; the west wing, in which are the dispensary and eight "section rooms"; and the east wing, to which the anonymous giver of one hundred thousand dollars for its erection attached the name of the "Loomis Laboratory," after the senior professor. Its five floors contain the five laboratories of materia medica, physics, chemistry, physiology, biology, and pathology. There are twenty-three professors and thirty-five lecturers. Three winter courses, each comprising eight months' study, are required for the degree of doctor of medicine. The University Medical College has six hundred and forty students, of whom thirty came from Canada, thirty from Russia, and many others from Central and South America, and other countries. Among its six thousand graduates have been many illustrious physicians and scientists.

THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK

In the year 1846 there was great dissatisfaction existing in the city, owing to the fact that so few pupils were receiving education of a higher order than that furnished by the public schools, and a demand was made shortly after that the public funds expended for higher education should be so disposed of as to give "the greatest good to the greatest number."[1] Townsend Harris, then president of the Board of Education, in order to meet this difficulty, proposed to the board that a committee be appointed to inquire as to the expediency of applying to the legislature for a portion of the literature fund, to partially support a free high school, or college, for the benefit of pupils of the public schools of the county of New-York. At that period the total number of students at Columbia College and the University of the City of New-York, the only collegiate institutions then in the city, was but two hundred and forty-five, while the other recipients of the fund,

[1] Report of School Committee, Board of Education, Doc. No. 4, Jan. 20, 1847.

aside from being private corporations, were teaching few of the branches required by a people so eminently commercial. The need of some free institution for the higher departments of learning appeared therefore urgent, and it was also considered that such an institution, by requiring a rigid examination for entrance, would compel the public schools to teach the usual branches more thoroughly, and by furnishing a standard of comparison of the results of the work of the various schools, would increase their efficiency and usefulness. The resolution was adopted July 27, 1846, and Mr. Harris, James G. King, and James S. Bosworth were appointed members of the committee, who having reported favorably on January 20, 1847, a memorial was presented to the legislature, and on May 7 following an act was passed authorizing the establishment of a free academy, or college, provided the approval of the people of the city was obtained. At the election of school officers in the succeeding June the act was ratified by a large majority. The site was purchased and the building erected with moneys from taxes levied by the Board of Supervisors, who also provided an income for its support and maintenance.

The curriculum of the Free Academy was to equal that of the best endowed college in the State, with the addition of some subjects of a polytechnic nature; and the applicant for admission was required to be not less than twelve years of age, to have been instructed one year in a public school, and to have acquired a thorough knowledge of arithmetic, geography, grammar, definitions, spelling, and history of the United States. To enable the boys from the public schools to prepare for the proposed college course, an introductory or preparatory course of one year was established. Two general courses of study were offered, the Board of Education having decided that while the Free Academy could not refuse the offer of a classical course to the student, giving full instruction in the ancient languages, it would have for its general object the establishing of a strong scientific course, following broadly the plan adopted at the West Point Military Academy. At the opening examination, January 15, 1848, the corps of instructors consisted of the principal, nine professors and adjunct professors, and four assistants; the first introductory class numbered one hundred and fifty-three.

The general line of the aim of the college is set forth in the following extract from the address of Robert Kelly at the opening of the college: "The form that the institution must necessarily take in order that it may not be of partial benefit will be intermediate between the college system and that of the polytechnic schools of Europe. It will embrace portions of both those systems, imbuing its course of classical and liberal education with something of a practical spirit, and uniting its course of business, mechanical, and industrial education

with general mental culture, aiming in each case to impart a knowledge of principles, and teaching thoroughly the science as well as its adaptations. It must not take any exclusive direction." The courses of study in the City College have been gradually worked out in conformity to the lines originally laid down in Mr. Kelly's address. Unique at first in some of their features, they have, indeed, become less so, as in the colleges generally an increasing importance has been assigned to modern languages and to scientific studies. But the course still possesses a character of its own which has commended itself to the judgment of multitudes of our citizens wishing for their children a practical as well as liberal culture, and one within their means as regards the time required for the completion of a liberal course of study from "start to finish." The city in maintaining the City College taxes itself only for the support of a course of studies which its own authorities have devised, and which they still, and they only, control. It furnishes a strictly general culture, leaving professional branches to the universities: a training, however, so varied in the three departments of the college — the classical, scientific, and mechanical — as to meet more or less fully the wants of all who in such a community as ours may desire the benefits of higher education.

The first president of the Free Academy was Dr. Horace Webster, a graduate of West Point, who held the office until July 21, 1869, a period of twenty-one years. In 1854 the legislature passed a law endowing the institution with collegiate powers and privileges, so far as pertained to the conferring upon its graduates of the usual collegiate degrees and diplomas in the arts and sciences. In 1866 the legislature changed the name to that of "The College of the City of New-York," and conferred on the institution the powers and privileges of a college, rendering it subject to the provisions of the Revised Statutes of the State relative to colleges, and to the visitation of the regents of the university, in like manner with other colleges of the State. In 1882 an act was passed repealing the provision which had made one year's attendance at the public schools of the city a requisite for admission.

The spacious buildings devoted to the college are situated on the corner of Lexington Avenue and Twenty-third street, immediately contiguous to the quiet neighborhood of Gramercy Park, and their appointments are very complete. A library of 28,000 volumes is at the disposal of the students, and a commodious workshop is provided, together with valuable apparatus and collections. The college requires the services of forty professors and tutors, has an attendance of over twelve hundred students, and costs the city $160,000 a year. General Alexander S. Webb is the president, having succeeded to the office in 1869, upon Dr. Webster's retirement.

THE NORMAL COLLEGE

Up to the close of the Civil War the growth of the normal system of teaching in the United States was slow and uncertain. The first school for the training of teachers was established at Rheims, in France, in 1681, by the Abbé Jean Baptist de la Salle. From thence it spread over France and Germany, and raised teaching from a mere trade to a learned profession. The first attempt to establish a public normal school in the United States was made by James G. Carter, in Lancaster, Massachusetts, in 1827; but although the governor favored the movement, and the committee of the legislature to whom the subject had been referred recommended it, it failed because public opinion was opposed to it. In 1838 the celebrated Horace Mann, secretary of the Board of Education, sent a communication to the legislature in which he stated that private munificence had placed at his disposal ten thousand dollars for the purpose of establishing a school for the education and training of teachers. After mature deliberation three State normal schools were founded, the first at Lexington, the second at Barré, and the third at Bridgewater.

The first to advocate the normal system of teaching in the State of New-York was the distinguished Governor De Witt Clinton, who, in his message of 1825, recommended to the legislature the education of competent teachers. Again, in the following year, he said: "I therefore recommend a seminary for the education of teachers in those useful branches of knowledge which are proper to engraft on elementary attainments." The great governor was ably assisted by the efforts of John C. Spencer and John A. Dix. General Dix, when State Superintendent, recommended the founding of separate schools for the training of teachers, modeled after the plan of the Prussian system, then considered the best in the world. Finally, in 1844, the committee on colleges, academies, and common schools made a report to the legislature recommending the establishment of a normal school in Albany. The public-spirited citizens of the capital offered a suitable building without rent, and the school was organized and set in operation in December, 1844. Normal schools were subsequently established at Oswego, Brockport, Fredonia, Cortland, Potsdam, Geneseo, Buffalo, and New Paltz.

The Public School Society of the City of New-York had at an early day adopted the monitorial system of Bell and Lancaster, by which one master or mistress by means of the older pupils could manage and "teach" a school of five hundred children. Of course, these paid monitors, whose salaries ranged from twenty-five dollars to one hundred and fifty dollars, sadly needed instruction in order to do some good to the little ones committed to their tender mercies. The system

was cheap and poor, and to remedy it some of the wiser members of the society established a so-called normal school for males and females, the school for males being held on Wednesday afternoons, and that for the females on Saturday mornings. In this school or schools there had been no attempt to teach the theory and practice of teaching. There was no instruction given except in the ordinary English branches, and a little Latin to some of the boys. After the union of the Board of Education with the Public School Society in 1853, this "normal" school was abolished. The Board of Education then established a daily normal school, which, for lack of proper management, proved a total failure. It was really a misnomer to call it a normal school. The Board re-established the Saturday normal school in 1864, and placed it under the charge of Henry Kiddle. Now, for the first time, there was real normal work. One point, however, must not be overlooked. The Board of Education, as a rule, placed able teachers in these several schools; and it must be admitted that the influence of a superior instructor is in itself an important factor in normal work.

In 1869 the Board of Education elected by the people was abolished by the legislature, and power given to the then mayor, A. Oakey Hall, to appoint twelve commissioners to constitute a new board. Its members went diligently to work to ascertain the defects of the educational system, and very soon discovered that the chief necessity was educated and trained teachers. In studying the school law they perceived that the statute establishing the Free Academy, now the College of the City of New-York, authorized the Board of Education to establish one or more similar institutions for girls. Why this provision of the statute has been neglected for nearly a quarter of a century it is difficult to understand. At the close of 1869, under this authority, the board adopted certain by-laws establishing the Normal and High School, chiefly through the influence and under the direction of William Wood. In order to obviate the "law's delay," temporary quarters were hired on the southeast corner of Broadway and Fourth street; and a president, Thomas Hunter, and a vice-president, Arthur H. Dunton, were appointed and sent forth into other States, as well as New-York, to examine into and report upon the condition of normal schools. In the mean time a staff of professors and tutors was employed. On February 14, 1870 (St. Valentine's day), the Normal College was formally opened with an attendance of about seven hundred students, who were transferred from the supplementary classes of the public schools. These were classes which had finished the first grade, and were permitted to pursue advanced studies for one or two years. It was from these classes that the several boards of trustees obtained their teachers. The taking away of this patronage increased the difficulties of the organization of the college.

In the mean time Mr. Wood had the name Normal and High School changed to Normal College. The board applied for and obtained a site for a superior edifice, north of Fortieth street, intending to take a part of Bryant Square, then considered the most central place in the city. Fortunately, Bryant Square was refused by the city authorities, and a portion of Hamilton Park given instead. The boundaries of the site are Park and Lexington avenues and Sixty-eighth and Sixty-ninth streets. It is perhaps one of the finest situations in the city. It was then in the suburbs; now it is nearly central. In 1872 workmen commenced to dig the foundation, and in the fall of 1873 the college was removed from Fourth street to the new edifice, then considered the finest and best equipped single building in the country supported at public expense. The ground on which it stands is worth at least five hundred thousand dollars, and the building with its appliances cost four hundred thousand dollars. Add to these sums one hundred thousand dollars for the erection and equipment of the training department in 1874, and the total value of the college is one million dollars. There are four courses of study pursued: a normal course, especially adapted for teachers; an academic course, for those who intend to work for the degree of A. B.; a manual training postgraduate course, and a course in the kindergarten, for those who intend to teach these two special subjects in the public schools.

The expansion of the college, for several reasons, was difficult of accomplishment. In 1881 an additional year was given to the course, for the purpose of allowing more time for pedagogic instruction. Again, in 1888, the Board of Education prepared a bill making the Normal College a real college, with the power to confer degrees, and with all the rights and privileges appertaining to the colleges of the State. Through the efforts of the then President of the Board, J. Edward Simmons, and William Wood, aided by the alumnæ, the bill was passed through both houses of the legislature with but one dissenting vote. The attendance is, in round numbers, eighteen hundred students, one third of whom pursue the academic course and two thirds the normal. This is exclusive of the training department (which is, to all intents and purposes, a grammar and primary school for the accommodation of the children in the immediate neighborhood), which contains about twelve hundred pupils, divided into fourteen grades, which are used as classes for practice in teaching by the college seniors during their last year. The college receives from the city one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars for its support; but as the training department costs about twenty-five thousand dollars, the whole cost for the eighteen hundred students is a little less than one hundred thousand dollars—that is, at the rate of fifty-six dollars per capita; and this includes everything, even to the price of a lead-pencil.

MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

THE initial steps for the formation of the American Museum of Natural History were taken in the year 1868, the act of incorporation being granted by a special charter from the legislature, April 6, 1869. Seventeen incorporators were named in the act—John David Wolfe, Benjamin H. Field, Adrian Iselin, Benjamin B. Sherman, William A. Haines, Theodore Roosevelt, Howard Potter, William T. Blodgett, Morris K. Jesup, Robert Colgate, Robert L. Stuart, D. Jackson Steward, J. Pierpont Morgan, A. G. Phelps Dodge, Charles A. Dana, Joseph H. Choate, and Henry Parish. Of these gentlemen only six remain in the board of trustees at the present time. Immediately following the action of the legislature a permanent organization was effected, and in a short time subscriptions amounting to fifty-two thousand dollars were secured, mostly from the incorporators. With this sum the then famous collections of mammals and birds owned by Prince Maximilian of New Wied, Germany, the Verreaux collection, the Elliot collection, and others of lesser note, were purchased at a total expenditure of forty-five thousand dollars. The first president of the museum was John David Wolfe, who was elected April 8, 1869, and who died May 17, 1872. Robert L. Stuart succeeded him November 11 of the same year, and served as president for a term of nine years. His death occurred December 12, 1882. Morris K. Jesup became the president February 14, 1881, and continues in that office at the present date. The museum since its organization has lost by death the following trustees: John David Wolfe, Robert L. Stuart, William A. Haines, Theodore Roosevelt, William T. Blodgett, Robert Colgate, Joseph W. Drexel, Benjamin B. Sherman, Hugh Auchincloss, Henry G. Stebbins, Moses H. Grinnell, Richard M. Blatchford, John B. Trevor, Benjamin H. Field, and Charles G. Landon, all of whom served the institution with fidelity and enthusiasm, and who not only enriched the museum by their munificent gifts, but also devoted to it their time, influence, and wise counsel, and with their associates laid the foundation of that which is now a glory and pride to this metropolis. The corner-stone of the first wing of the edifice was laid June 2, 1874, by President Grant, and the building was completed and opened to the public on December 22, 1880, by President Hayes. Through the action of the legislature, laws were passed in 1887 and 1889 authorizing the municipal authorities to erect and equip an additional building. Work was begun on the new wing during the spring of 1887; it was finished and formally given over to the trustees November 2, 1892.

The trustees are indebted to the citizens of this metropolis, through the action of the municipal government, for the construction of these two buildings, which, together with the cases and electric plant, have

cost the sum of about one million and a half dollars. By the terms of an act of the legislature passed April 22, 1876, the Department of Public Parks was authorized and directed to enter into a contract with the trustees of the museum for the occupation by it of the buildings erected, or to be erected, in that portion of the Central Park known as Manhattan Square, and for the transfer thereto and establishing and maintaining therein its museum, library, and collections, and for the carrying out of the objects and purposes of the trustees.

The contract made in pursuance of the preceding enactment was entered into December 22, 1877, between the Department of Public Parks and this institution, which placed the trustees in possession and occupation of the premises, to have and to hold the same so long as they should continue to carry out the objects and purposes defined in the charter, or as any future amendment might authorize. It was further stipulated in the contract "that the trustees of the institution may appoint, direct, and control and remove all persons employed within said building, and in and about the care of said building, and the museum, library, and collections therein contained." The wise judgment evinced in this provision has been exemplified in the steady growth and unexampled prosperity of the institution. The interests of the museum have been zealously guarded and carefully watched and fostered by its successive boards of trustees, resulting in the acquirement of collections of the rarest merit and scientific value. The nominal value of the collections at the present time may safely be estimated at one million three hundred thousand dollars, to which must be added the endowment fund of three hundred and sixteen thousand dollars, the income of which, by agreement, must be devoted exclusively to the enrichment and enlargement of the collections through the purchase of new material.

An inspection of the list of members, as published in the various annual reports, demonstrates that a large number of our prominent citizens are in hearty sympathy with the appropriation of funds for the maintenance in this city of this and other institutions engaged in work of public benefaction and instruction. Their names are silent witnesses of their approval of what has been done by the city and the trustees. Among the many important and well-known collections in the museum, now on public display, are the Dr. James Hall paleontological and geological collections, representing the entire paleontology of New-York State; the collection of American gems and gem minerals; the Spang and minor collections of minerals; the Jay, the Steward, and Crooke collections of shells. The ethnological department embraces the Emmons collection of Alaskan objects; the collection from the Pacific Islands, formed by Appleton Sturgis; the series from British Columbia, known as the "Bishop collection"; the rare

and extensive collection of archæological specimens gathered by James Terry; and the Kunz collection of jade objects and material, purchased by the trustees from George F. Kunz. In the department of mammals and birds will be found the great Lawrence collection of birds, the Herbert H. Smith collection of Brazilian birds, and the Mearns collection of American birds and mammals.

Among the notable material in the entomological department is the large and unique collection of butterflies and moths of this State, made by the late Dr. S. Lowell Elliot, and the large general collection formed by the late Harry Edwards. To these should be added the well-known collection of James Angus. In the library, which contains twenty-five thousand volumes, will be found the Brevoort collection of books on fishes, the Dr. Jay works on shells, those of D. G. Elliot on birds, the Edwards library on insects, the general library of the late Dr. Elliot, the Cothcal gifts on botany and microscopy, the Jewett library on voyages, that on general natural history subjects, the gift of S. P. Avery, and the rare edition of "Audubon's Quadrupeds of North America," presented by George H. Brown. Recent acquisitions are Bradford's great painting of the "English Arctic Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin," presented by several gentlemen through William F. Havemeyer. This is supplemented by the large canvas owned by Collis P. Huntington, depicting "The Polaris in the Ice, Thank God Harbor" The economic department, displayed on the ground floor of the building, contains the Jesup collection of native woods of North America, gathered under the direction and supervision of Professor Charles S. Sargent, director of the Arnold Arboretum, Harvard College, embracing examples of every known species of the forestry of this country, attached to which are water-colors illustrating the foliage, flower, and fruit of each species. Among other unique specimens may be mentioned an immense section of the redwood (*Sequoia sempervirens*), and the giant redwood (*Sequoia gigantea*). The sections of these noted trees were presented to the "Jesup Collection of Native North American Woods" by Collis P. Huntington. They measure respectively eleven feet and twenty-two feet in diameter. Here also are displayed groups representing the ravages of insects on forestry, and the collection of economic geology, containing specimens of building-stones from all parts of the country, showing to builders, architects, and mechanics the different kinds of building and ornamental stones,—granites, sandstones, limestones, etc.,—exhibiting their colors and textures, and labeled as to the quarry from which the material is obtained. To properly care for these and other valuable collections requires the attention, knowledge, and skill of the most experienced scientists as chiefs of the several departments, as well as intelligent and experienced assistants and caretakers. During no

period since the opening of the first building have the receipts of the museum from the city or public equaled the expenditures. It has been the custom of the trustees to contribute each year the sum necessary to meet the deficiency, which in the aggregate amounts to one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

Professor Henry F. Osborn of Columbia College has recently been appointed curator of the new department of mammalian paleontology, and he has secured an efficient staff for field, collection, and museum work, headed by Dr. J. L. Wortman, a very experienced collector. The plan of this department is to secure for exhibition and study a complete series of Western fossil mammals, from the earliest and smallest to the latest and largest, as they appeared on the American continent; and to illustrate especially the evolution of the horse, rhinoceros, and other existing animals. The "Bulletin" of the museum, now in its fourth volume, contains papers on a wide range of subjects, and takes a high rank among similar publications of scientific institutions. The curators are authorities of high standing and wide reputation in their special lines of research. The guides to the collections give not only the place of specimens in the cases, but form condensed handbooks of the subjects treated. The Department of Public Instruction, originally established by the trustees, has been carried on under the auspices of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction since 1884, and during that time Professor Albert S. Bickmore has delivered one hundred and fifty lectures upon the collections of the museum and the various countries he has personally visited. The attendance upon this instruction to the teachers of the city has increased so rapidly that the present lecture-hall has proved inadequate. These lectures are already repeated in the normal schools and teachers' institutes throughout the State.

THE MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.

The educational value of the exhibits cannot be made known to the people without the provision of guides, labels, and lectures, and by the publication of bulletins. The "Bulletin" is the medium through which

the scientific work of the museum is made known to the public and to scientific investigators throughout the world. It is an octavo publication, illustrated with cuts in the text and with numerous plates. The fourth volume is now in press. It embraces papers on a wide range of subjects, and takes a high rank among similar publications of scientific institutions. In 1881 the trustees established a course of lectures to teachers, which system of instruction has proved so useful that from 1884 to the beginning of the present year it has been provided for by the State. The law of 1887, supplying the means for the new wing, required that it should contain a hall capable of seating at least one thousand persons, and the present lecture-room was accordingly provided; but already it has proved to be too small for the constantly increasing audiences, and last winter the legislature, in compliance with a memorial addressed to the mayor and signed by leading educators, authorized the city to add to the present buildings a new section that will contain an auditorium on a scale commensurate with the demands of this great city.

The first contract with the city provided that the exhibition halls should be opened to the public free on four days of the week, thus reserving two days for the uses of the members and their families. This proviso furnished an inducement to many of our citizens to become annual subscribers, and the funds accruing from this source have been of great value to the museum. During the last few years public opinion, as voiced by the press and otherwise, has demanded that the museum shall be entirely free to the citizens every day of the week, including the afternoon of Sunday and two evenings of the week. The desire of the trustees has been directed toward making the museum the greatest good for the greatest number, and thus meeting the supposed wishes of the people. Being fully aware that to do so would necessitate a largely increased expense for the maintenance of the museum, the board, with the knowledge and approval of the municipal authorities, made application last year to the legislature for the enactment of a law authorizing the Department of Public Parks, with the concurrence of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, to annually appropriate to this museum a sum not exceeding fifty thousand dollars, in addition to the twenty-five thousand dollars previously allotted, making the total sum of seventy-five thousand dollars available in each year.

GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

SEVERAL gentlemen met at the house of Dr. David Parsons Holton, 124 West Fifty-fourth street, New-York, on February 27, 1869, and then and there the first steps were taken for the formation of the New-York Genealogical and Biographical Society, which was incorporated the same year. In the certificate of incorporation is the statement that "the particular business and objects of the society are to discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever may relate to genealogy and biography, and more particularly to the genealogies and biographies of families, persons, and citizens associated and identified with the State of New-York." The first meetings were held at the house of one of its members. By-laws were enacted, a seal adopted, officers elected, and gifts of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts — the beginning of a valuable library — were received. On July 7, 1869, the society held its first meeting at Mott Memorial Hall, 64 Madison Avenue, which was its headquarters until July, 1888, when for a little more than a year it occupied a room temporarily at the Berkeley Lyceum, 19 West Forty-fourth street. In the fall of 1889 the society removed to the new building adjoining the Lyceum, 23 West Forty-fourth street. It is hoped that in the near future it will have a permanent home in a commodious fire-proof building, where its treasures can be safely deposited and records of families, churches, and other organizations can be preserved from destruction by fire and other consuming elements. The legacy of $20,000 from Mrs. Elizabeth Underhill Coles, whose son was a life member of the society, would render this soon practicable, were it not for the efforts of relatives who are making efforts to frustrate her generosity to this and other organizations.

Meetings of the society are held on the second and fourth Fridays of the month, excepting in July, August, and September, the first meeting of the month being for addresses, the second for conversation and business. The library contains several thousand volumes, pamphlets, and rarities, many of which are of great value and beauty. It is open in the afternoons from two to five o'clock for the use of members and persons introduced by them. The society's first publication was in December, 1869, known as "Bulletin No. 1," which was so favorably received that in January following the first number of "The New-York Genealogical and Biographical Record" appeared, and it has been continued to the present time, now in its twenty-fourth volume. To those who are interested in investigations concerning the history of families and localities in this city and State, its pages are invaluable. In addition to the "Bulletin" and "Record," this society has published a handsome royal-octavo volume entitled

"The Marriage and Baptismal Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in New Amsterdam and New-York from 1639 to 1800." Here, and here only, in print are to be found the names of the emigrants from Holland, and of their descendants for some generations, and of representatives of other nationalities as well, for the Dutch extended a welcome hospitality to all people. It is intended to publish two additional volumes, one of which is now in preparation.

Henry Reed Stiles was elected the first president of the society in 1869, and held the office until 1872. His successors have been Edward F. de Lancey, 1872–76; George S. Greene, 1877–80; Henry T. Drowne, 1881–85; and James Grant Wilson, 1886, still in office (1893). The society, although encountering indifference, in some instances ridicule, finds enthusiasts among quiet scholars who are sure that so long as the family is the foundation of nations, too much care cannot be taken to preserve its history. Among the society's two hundred and fifty annual, honorary, and life members, are representatives of almost all the Knickerbocker families of New-York, who very naturally feel an interest in their ancestors, and in the early annals of the American metropolis. The progress of the society has been slow, but sure, with always increasing numbers, and its outlook for great usefulness is constantly brightening.

CHAPTER XXII

EPISCOPAL AND OTHER CHURCHES

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

AT the end of the war for independence in 1783, dark indeed were the prospects of what is now known as the Protestant Episcopal Church. Ever since the planting of the Church of England on these western shores, the progress and growth of the church had been hampered and hindered by obstacles and drawbacks, such as no branch of Christ's church has ever had to encounter elsewhere. With no organization; with absolutely nothing to bind together and unite the separate congregations scattered along the coast from Maine to Georgia; a church to all intents and purposes without a bishop; teaching the importance of confirmation, but utterly unable to administer it to her members; compelled to draw her clergy from the mother-country, or else to send her sons across the stormy Atlantic for ordination at a cost of one out of every five lost by shipwreck or pestilence, she struggled bravely on, slowly but surely gaining ground, and winning for herself a place and a name. At the beginning of the Revolution it has been computed that there were in all the colonies about three hundred parishes and two hundred and fifty clergy.[1] North of Maryland, with a few notable exceptions, these were all missionaries depending largely on the support given by the venerable English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

In New-York the progress of the church had not been very decided during the eighteenth century. Until the occupation of the Dutch settlements by the English in 1664, there had been probably no public service of the Church of England held within the colony. In fact until the organization of Trinity parish in 1697, there had been few such services save those conducted by the chaplains of the royal governors or of the forces quartered in the town. We need not dwell here on the history of those early days, which has been told already so well, nor on the difficulties which the church had to meet

[1] Perry's "History of the American Episcopal Church," Vol. I, p. 447.

in New-York. Doubtless she had many; still the soil was not so hard and rugged as in New England.

"The Dutch had learned religious toleration in a hard school, and had learned their lesson well. In New-York alone of all the colonies, absolute religious liberty subsisted from the start. Even in Penn's colony no Jew, Turk, Infidel or Heretic" might live. New-York gave a home to everything that is human. Then the Jew first set foot in America. Lutherans, Puritans, Presbyterians, Huguenots, and Quakers dwelt undisturbed. Even when choleric old Peter Stuyvesant harried the Quakers and Lutherans, it was to satisfy a personal grudge, and his conduct was not sustained by the people. Dutch, French, and English were each spoken by so many that public documents required to be in all three tongues.[1] Moreover these early settlers were by no means set in their ways. The Dutch and the Huguenots were Presbyterians from necessity rather than from conviction, and "their theory of the presbytery came after the fact." The young, both of the Dutch and the Huguenots, were drawn to the Church of England, and many among them became active, consistent, loyal churchmen. The real opposition came later from the element brought in from New England and New Jersey.

A

SERMON

Preached in

Trinity Church in New-York,

In *America, May* 12, 1709

At the Funeral of the Right Honourable

John LORD Lovelace,

Barron of *Hurley*

Her Majesties Capt. General and Governour in Chief of the Provinces of *New York & New Jersey*, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon in *America*, and Vice Admiral of the same.

By *William Vesey*, A M and Rector of the City of New-York.

Printed and Sold by *William Bradford* at the Sign of the Bible in *New-York*, 1709

At the beginning of the war in 1775, there were in New-York four congregations of the Church of England: Trinity, her two chapels,—St. George's built in 1752 in Beekman street, and St. Paul's built in 1766,—and a congregation worshiping in "some inconvenient place in Horse and Cart street, now William street."[2] In Westchester County the church had secured a foothold at Bedford, Newcastle, New Rochelle, North Salem, Peekskill, Rye, Yonkers, Eastchester, and Westchester. On Long Island the missionaries of the society had extended their labors from Brooklyn to Islip, with strong centers at Jamaica, New-

[1] McConnell's "History of Episcopal Church," p. 62.

[2] Centennial History of the Diocese, p. 65. Above is reduced copy of title page. EDITOR.

town, and Hempstead. On Staten Island, St. Andrew's, Richmond, must have been the spiritual home of a large part of the population. Up the Hudson the church had pushed her outposts as far as Albany, where there was a strong parish, while on either side of the river were congregations of more or less strength at Fishkill, Lithgow, Poughkeepsie, Newburg, and Walden. In a statement sent to the Bishop of London in 1761, the population of the colony of New-York is given as one hundred thousand, and the number of church people as twenty-five thousand.[1] Other authorities put the proportion of members of the Church of England at one fifteenth instead of one fourth.[2] Probably the truth lay midway between the two.

The long struggle for independence almost crushed the life out of the church. For many reasons her lot was far harder than that of any other religious body in the land. Her very name was a burden too heavy for her to bear. To be known as the Church of England was enough of itself to make her obnoxious to the mass of the people, even if there had been no other prejudice against her. A change in her name was an absolute necessity, and while, in the opinion of many, her present designation is awkward, cumbrous, and misleading, yet it was then a happy suggestion, and perhaps the best that could have been adopted. In New-York the greater part of the clergy and laity took the unpopular side in the conflict. While in Pennsylvania Duché and White, and in Massachusetts Bass and Parker, were among the first to espouse the side of the colonies, in New-York the clergy, as a whole, were opposed to the war, and sided with the crown. Inglis, Moore, Seabury, and Wilkins seem to have represented fairly the clergy. It was hard in those days to do these men justice, but the time has come when we can, to some extent at least, put ourselves in their place, and, while thinking them mistaken, give them full credit for the honesty and courage of their convictions. Most of them were missionaries of the society, and therefore dependent on their stipends from England, but they had a far more potent influence to hold them to that side,—they had taken at their ordination a solemn oath of allegiance to the king.[3] While some of them, like White and Parker, felt that the change in the political situation had released them from this oath, others, like Seabury, felt bound to observe it, and not only to abstain from any opposition to the government, but even to do all in their power to aid the royal forces in maintaining the authority of the crown.

Even the end of the war, the acknowledgment of the independence of the colonies, and the restoration of peace, did not bring rest and

[1] Wilberforce's "History of the American Church," p. 104.

[2] Smith's "History of New-York," p 218. This, however, is the statement of an opponent, and of one who bitterly resented the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

[3] See McConnell's "History of the Episcopal Church," pp 205–6

prosperity to the church. She seemed doomed to utter destruction. The bitter passions engendered by eight years of domestic strife could not die in a day. Very deep and bitter were those feelings here in New-York. Ever since 1776 the town had been held by the hated British, while Long Island and Westchester County had been debatable ground, harried and plundered by both sides. Those who remembered well the long list of outrages committed by the Tory refugees on that bloody ground felt that at last the time had come to pay off the old score, and to take full revenge for all they had suffered. Throughout the colonies "set in a period of personal violence, social persecution, and legal repression which is not a pleasant page in American history."[1] The work of confiscation, pillage, and destruction went on almost unchecked. Churches and parsonages were burned, and glebelands appropriated, for in many places both pastor and people had fled from the land, and sought a refuge in Nova Scotia or the Bermudas, while those who remained were too timid to protest, and glad enough to purchase immunity for themselves by holding their peace.

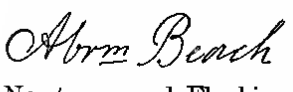
In New-York the outlook was dismal enough. Trinity Church, rectory, and school-houses had been burned in the great fire of 1776, which destroyed nearly one thousand houses, or about one fourth of the town. The two chapels of Trinity, St. George's and St. Paul's, were standing, but the fire had cut off a large part of the income of the parish, derived from the rents of the houses which had been burned. Outside of the town the prospect was still more dreary. In Westchester County the church seemed almost dead. Up to 1787 New Rochelle and Rye were the only places in the whole county which sent even a lay delegate to the convention of the newly organized diocese. Westchester village itself, where a church had been built as early as 1701, and a parish incorporated under a royal charter in 1762, was not represented in convention by a rector until 1794, and Eastchester, which in 1767 had been reported by Seabury as having a larger congregation than Westchester, and where at that time they had nearly completed the large, well-built stone edifice, still in use as the parish church, was represented in 1787 for the first time, and then only by a single lay delegate. On Long Island the war had been less disastrous, and Hempstead, Jamaica, Newtown, and Flushing were ready to respond promptly to the call to meet and confer together for the common welfare of the church.

The first step toward gathering together the fragments, and uniting these feeble, depressed, and scattered congregations, was taken at a meeting of a few clergymen from New-York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, held in New Brunswick in May, 1784. They had come together to consider the reorganization of the "Society for the Relief of the

[1] McConnell's History, p. 216.

Widows and Orphans of Clergymen." Naturally they fell at once to discussing larger and broader questions, the necessity of securing the episcopate and of some kind of federation of the churches. On the second day of this meeting they heard, much to their surprise, from one of their number, the Rev. Benjamin Moore, that measures had already been taken in Connecticut to secure a bishop, that the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury had been elected, and had sailed for Europe nearly a year before. A call for a larger meeting was issued, and to this second conference came representatives from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, besides the three States of New-York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, previously represented, It was certainly a notable group of men. From Massachusetts came the courtly Parker, afterward its bishop; from New-York the stately Provoost, with his gentle associate Benjamin Moore, the first and second bishops of New-York; from Maryland the scholarly Dr. Smith, president of Washington College; and from Pennsylvania the saintly White, destined to be revered as the patriarch of the American Church for the next fifty years. These unofficial representatives of the churches and congregations in seven States agreed to recommend the church in each of the thirteen States to send duly accredited deputies to a general convention to be held in Philadelphia on the Tuesday before St. Michael's Day, September 27, 1785.

In accordance with this recommendation, on Wednesday, June 22, 1785, the first convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York was held in New-York city. St. Paul's Chapel was probably the place of meeting.[1] There were present five clergymen: the Rev. Samuel Provoost, rector of Trinity, with his two assistants, the Rev. Abraham Beach and the Rev. Benjamin Moore; the Rev. Joshua Bloomer from the united parishes of Jamaica, Newtown, and Flushing, and the Rev. John H. Rowland of Staten Island. There were also present eleven laymen: James Duane, Marinus Willet, and John Alsop from Trinity; Charles Crommeline, Daniel Kissam, Joseph Burrows, and John Johnson from Long Island; Paul Micheau from Staten Island; Andrew Fowler from New Rochelle; Joseph Jarvis representing the churches in Ulster and Orange; and John Davis representing those in Duchess. The convention did nothing but elect deputies to the General Convention in Philadelphia. Curiously enough, in the meager printed record of the proceedings of the New-York Convention, the informal conference held in the pre-



[1] This is highly probable, but not altogether certain. The two sessions of the Convention of 1786 were undoubtedly held in St. Paul's; but the letter to Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, adduced by Dr De Costa as conclusive proof that the Convention of 1785 was also held there, obviously refers not to the first convention, but to the first session of the Convention of 1786 (Centennial History of the Diocese, pp. 67, 68.)

vious October is spoken of as the General Convention, the name not having acquired its present definite meaning, and being used in a loose way to indicate that the conference was made up of representatives from the church at large.

The second Diocesan Convention was held in St. Paul's Chapel, in May, 1786, when a report of the proceedings of the General Convention was made, and a copy of the proposed Book of Common Prayer was laid before the house. After a session of two days the convention adjourned, to meet again in June. At this adjourned session, "out of respect to the English bishops, and because the minds of the people are not yet sufficiently informed," the consideration of the proposed Prayer-book was deferred to some future day.[1]

Then came the formal selection of the Rev. Samuel Provoost as first bishop of New-York. There is no mention of any ballot being taken, and there probably was none.[2]

Samuel Provoost, first bishop of New-York, was of Huguenot descent, his father being a wealthy merchant of New-York. After being graduated at King's (now Columbia) College, young Provoost went to Cambridge University, England, and while abroad was ordained. Returning to America in 1766, he was elected as assistant at Trinity, which position he resigned a few years afterward, finding that his political views were not in accord with those of his associates and the majority of the parish. Purchasing a country place in what is now Columbia County, he lived there in retirement, busy with literary and scientific pursuits, till the end of the war, when he came back to the city, and was elected rector of Trinity in 1784, in place of the Rev. Charles Inglis, who had been included in the Act of Attainder, and compelled to go into exile in 1783.[3]

The Convention of 1786 closed its labors by instructing its deputies to the General Convention "not to consent to any act that may imply the validity of Dr. Seabury's ordinations." Such an extraordinary action calls for some explanation. Bishop Seabury had been consecrated at Aberdeen on November 14, 1784, by three Scottish bishops, and had returned to Connecticut in June, 1785, about the time of the first New-York Convention. Unfortunately, the active part he had played during the war had made him very obnoxious to many of his countrymen, who could neither forgive nor forget the fact that he had been a British partizan, and was still drawing half pay as a retired chaplain of the British army. Both facts were very bitter to the bishop-elect of New-York. He made no secret of his

[1] "Reprint of Journals," p. 9.

[2] The record reads: "In compliance with the directions of the General Convention Resolved — That the Reverend Samuel Provoost be recommended for Episcopal consecration."

[3] The Rev. Benjamin Moore had been elected to succeed Mr. Inglis, but a change in the vestry and the existing political feeling prevented him from entering upon the office, and Mr. Provoost was elected in the following year.

implacable hostility to Bishop Seabury, whom for years he refused to recognize, leaving his letters unanswered, and denouncing his consecration as irregular, if not absolutely null and void. In a letter written in November, 1785, he speaks with no little resentment of "the intrigues of the non-juring Bishop of Connecticut," and says, "Dr. Cebra" has been preaching at Hempstead, and ordaining there a candidate from Virginia.

The instructions to New-York's deputies originated unquestionably with Mr. Provoost, and were passed probably by the aid of the laity, as we know that most of the clergy sympathized fully with the Bishop of Connecticut. An attempt to pass a similar resolution in the General Convention was shelved by Bishop White. It was not, however, till 1787 that Bishop Seabury took his place in the General Convention, and it was 1792 before he and Bishop Provoost were brought together, just before the consecration of Bishop Claggett, when Bishop Seabury consented "to pay, and Bishop Provoost to receive, the visit which etiquette enjoined upon the former to the latter."[1] The difficulties in the way of the consecration of American bishops by bishops of the Church of England having been at last removed, Dr. White and Dr. Provoost sailed for England, and were consecrated in Lambeth Chapel, February 4, 1787. The next day they turned their faces homeward, and entered New-York harbor Easter Day, 1787.[2] Thus, at last, the church in New-York, ninety years after the incorporation of Trinity parish, was duly organized, and prepared to take up its work as a living branch of the Catholic Church.

The first results of Episcopal supervision were very encouraging. The early confirmations in America were very large, almost incredible to us, even though we remember that up to that time there had been no opportunity for members of the church to receive the rite. At Trinity the first class numbered over three hundred, and was composed of both young and old. On July 15, 1787, in St. George's Chapel, Bishop Provoost ordained two deacons, "the first apostolic ordination to the sacred ministry in the city of New-York,"[3] the ordination at Hempstead, in 1785, by Bishop Seabury, being the first within the State. At the convention in November, 1787, Bishop Provoost reported that he "had made a visitation of several churches on Long Island for the purpose of confirmation." In 1791 fourteen clergy were on the roll of the diocese, and in 1793 the bishop reported the consecration of two churches, one at Duanesburg, the other at Ballston. At the latter place he "had confirmed upward of two hundred, and administered the communion to above ninety persons."[4]

[1] Bishop White's "Memoirs," p. 162.

[2] McConnell says: "While the bells of Trinity were calling the people to church" These must have been the bells of Trinity's chapels, for Trinity Church itself was still in ruins, not being rebuilt until 1788

[3] Centennial History of Diocese, p. 76.

[4] Reprint of Journals, pp 67 and 68.

Soon, however, the clouds settled down again, darker than ever. The church, in many quarters, was regarded as "a piece of heavy baggage, which the British had left behind,"[1] and there were very few who believed that she had a work to do in this land. Outsiders regarded her as dying, if not already dead, and the prediction was often made that she would not, and could not, survive that generation. The continued disputes with the old country had revived the feeling of hostility to England, and made it, if anything, deeper and bitterer than before. Bishop Provoost was hardly the man to meet and overcome such difficulties. While his well-known and ardent patriotism had helped to disarm some and win back others who had been estranged from the church by the political attitude of her leading clergy and laity, still he had neither the taste nor the training for the office and work of a bishop. He was a scholar rather than an ecclesiastic, fonder of natural science and literature than of doctrinal questions and details of administration. In the alterations to the Prayer-book and in drafting the constitution of the church he had shown little interest, and was not even present at the important General Convention of 1789. Not a man of sanguine temperament, he regarded the future of the church as hopeless, and expressed his conviction that she could not survive another generation, but would die out with the old colonial families.[2] The death of his wife led him to resign in 1800 his position as rector of Trinity, and in 1801 his office as bishop.

No diocesan convention had been held for over three years. A special convention was called in 1801, which accepted Bishop Provoost's resignation, and elected unanimously as bishop the Rev. Benjamin Moore, D. D., rector of Trinity Church. The second bishop of New-York was a native of Long Island and graduate of King's College. He was a man of singular gentleness, meekness, simplicity, and courtesy, unwearied in pastoral work in Trinity, where his popularity was unbounded, and where, in thirty-five years, he had solemnized 3578 marriages, and baptized 3064 children and adults. During his episcopate he retained the rectorship of Trinity, having under his charge Trinity Church, rebuilt in 1788, with the three chapels, St. George's, St. Paul's, and St. John's, the last being finished in 1807. The growth of the church continued to be slow, the number of the clergy not increasing rapidly. In 1811 his physical infirmities compelled Bishop Moore to ask for an assistant, and the Rev. John Henry Hobart, D. D., assistant minister of Trinity, was elected assistant bishop of the diocese.

At this convention the names of twenty-six clergymen were on the roll, and delegates from thirty-three parishes were present. In New-York city, besides Trinity with its three chapels, there were eight other

[1] McConnell's History of the Episcopal Church, p. 317.
[2] Centennial History, pp. 151 and 161.

parishes,—Christ Church, Grace, St. Mark's, St. Esprit, St. Stephen's, St. Michael's, St. James, and Zion; while, outside the city, we find at the north St. Peter's, Albany, and Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, and at the west Trinity, Utica. John Henry Hobart, the third bishop of New-York, was of Puritan descent, but born in Philadelphia, whither his parents had removed, and where they had joined Christ Church. Here, under the pastoral care of Bishop White, the boy grew to manhood, having been baptized, confirmed, and ordained deacon by him. In 1800 the young deacon was elected an assistant at Trinity, New-York, and continued to hold this position till, on the death of Bishop Moore, he became rector. The consecration of Dr. Hobart was secured with no little difficulty. Bishop Provoost was persuaded reluctantly to come out of his retirement, and to unite with Bishops White and Jarvis in consecrating Hobart as assistant bishop of New-York, and Griswold as bishop of Massachusetts.

Soon after Bishop Hobart's consecration a question arose which threatened for a time to cause some trouble. The resignation of his jurisdiction by Bishop Provoost had been accepted ten years before by his diocese; but the House of Bishops, in giving consent to the consecration of Bishop Moore, had declared that they should consider him only as assistant bishop during Bishop Provoost's life. Curiously enough, however, in the journal of the House of Bishops, Dr. Moore is referred to as bishop of New-York, and his formal letter of consecration recites the fact that he was duly consecrated bishop of New-York. As such he had been recognized by his diocese without any protest, from any quarter, till after the consecration of Bishop Hobart. The election of one so young, and yet so pronounced in his views, called out opposition in some quarters, and an attempt was made to use the action of the House of Bishops to embarrass and hamper the young bishop in his work. Bishop Provoost attempted to resume his jurisdiction, and sent to the Convention of 1812 a communication in which he claimed to be the lawful bishop of the diocese. This claim was respectfully but firmly refused by the convention by an overwhelming vote of both orders. Henceforth Bishop Hobart's authority was undisputed.

The hour and the man had now come. The church was almost at its lowest ebb. The older clergy were fast dying out, and few were coming forward to take their places. But soon a very great change took place. The young bishop brought to his work the qualities and the training which commanded success. He became at once the foremost churchman of his day, the first of the new race, destined to build in this land a church, one with the church of the early centuries in all essentials, and at the same time in touch with the life and thought of the day. Bishop Hobart's early training as secretary of

the House of Bishops in 1799, secretary of General Convention in 1804 and 1808, and secretary of the diocese of New-York from 1801 to his election as bishop, had made him thoroughly familiar with the history of the diocese, and all the details of its administration. He was emphatically one of the epoch-makers in the history of the church. A man of strong and deep convictions, an enthusiastic believer in the divine origin of the church, and in the importance of her sacraments and threefold ministry, he had also the courage of his convictions. "My banner is evangelical truth and apostolical order," he wrote. His pen was rarely idle. Compelled to defend the church and her claims, he did it in such a way as to command the respect and win the admiration of friend and foe. His labors were unending. Rector of the largest church in his diocese, he soon showed the world that a bishop was something more than a mere machine to confirm and ordain, and he was soon recognized as the foremost missionary and the wisest leader of his day. To and fro across the length and breadth of his diocese he went, and pushed his labors as far as Detroit, where he laid the corner-stone of a church in 1817.

When told by his wife that he was undertaking too much, he answered, "How can I do too much for him who has done everything for me!" In advising a young clergyman, he said, "My young friend, take little thought about present consequences; set yourself upon principle, and trust God with the result."[1] He practised what he preached. Warned on his last visitation to mix some brandy with the water in the limestone district, where he was working, he refused. He was told that in his weak condition he would die if he did not do it. "Then I will die," was his answer. The end came at Auburn, not many days afterward, and the great bishop of New-York fell asleep September 10, 1830. He died, as he would have wished, in the harness. His episcopate had lasted only nineteen years, but marvelous had been the growth in that short time. The number of clergy had increased from 26 to 127, and the parishes represented in convention from 33 to 86.

At the convention held in the following October, the diocese took steps to lessen the labors of the future bishop by releasing him from the necessity of holding a parish. Up to this time every bishop of New-York had been also rector of Trinity. The convention then elected the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D., an assistant minister of Trinity, to the vacant bishopric. He proved himself no unworthy successor to his great predecessor. Four years afterward he advised the division of the diocese, which had grown too large for any one man to supervise, and after a long and acrimonious discussion it was consummated in 1838, and western New-York was set off as a sepa-

[1] Brand's "Life of Whittingham," Vol. I. p. 93.

rate diocese. In 1832, in St. Paul's Chapel, an event took place which produced a profound impression at the time, and opened the eyes of many to the new life which was stirring in the church. This was the consecration of four bishops at once,—Bishop Hopkins of Vermont, Bishop Smith of Kentucky, Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio, and Bishop Doane of New Jersey. In the autumn of 1844, when Bishop Onderdonk was "at the zenith of his fame," he was accused of acts of immorality, brought to trial, condemned, and sentenced to suspension from the exercise of his ministry and his office as bishop. The story of those dark days is very sad. The condemned bishop never lost the love and confidence of his diocese. His clergy and laity stood by him with loyal hearts, and by a great many his prosecution was regarded as a persecution for his doctrinal views. Probably few can be found to-day to admit that he was guilty of anything worse than imprudence. He died, protesting with his last breath that he was innocent of the charges brought against him.

In 1852, after an interregnum of nearly eight years, the Rev. Dr. Wainwright was elected provisional bishop. He entered on the enormous work, increased greatly by the arrears accumulated, with intense zeal, and absolute devotion to the service of the Lord, but, unfortunately, with too little regard for his own advanced years and far from robust strength. Within less than two years he consecrated 15 churches, ordained 37 deacons and 12 priests, and confirmed 4127 persons, traveling throughout his great diocese. In the midst of his herculean labors he died as a soldier of the cross, "his feet on the field; his face to the foe; his armor on; his spear in rest; the crown of life falling 'mid fight upon his brow."

The convention lost no time in filling the vacancy, and chose the Rev. Horatio Potter, D. D., rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany, as provisional bishop. He was the first bishop of New-York who, at the time of his election, had not been connected with Trinity parish. On the death of Bishop Onderdonk in 1861, Bishop Potter became the fifth bishop of New-York. During his long and successful administration, party spirit ran high, and it needed a calm temper and a steady hand to steer the ship safely through the perils which encompassed her. He skilfully avoided forcing things to a crisis. Dark clouds gathered, but the sun broke through again, and the clouds rolled away. Steadily the church grew, till the time came for division again. Reluctantly the bishop gave his consent, and Albany and Long Island were set off in 1868. At that time there were 446 clergy on the roll. During his episcopate St. Stephen's College, Annandale, was founded, with the special object of preparing young men for the sacred ministry.

In 1883 Bishop Horatio Potter, who had now administered the

affairs of the diocese for nearly thirty years, seven years as provisional bishop and twenty-two years as bishop, was compelled by his growing infirmities to ask for the election of an assistant, and the Rev. Henry C. Potter, D. D., rector of Grace Church, New-York, was elected assistant bishop, and consecrated October 20, 1883, and on the death of Bishop Horatio Potter in 1887 he became sixth bishop of New-York. The idea of a cathedral, a church which should worthily represent the moral and spiritual forces in our modern civilization, and bear comparison with the warehouses, public buildings, and palaces which represent its material progress, had been broached under Bishop Horatio Potter's administration, but hardly began to crystallize till the time of his successor. On St. John's Day, December 27, 1892, the cornerstone of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine[1] was laid in the presence of a vast and representative gathering of clergy and laity.

Henry C. Potter

Looking back over the record of these hundred years, the first thought is how marvelous has been the growth of the despised church of those early days of our country's independence. Contrast that little gathering of faithful men in St. Paul's Chapel in 1786, who came together with fear and trembling to elect the first bishop of New-York, with the figures as given to-day. In 1892 there were in the State of New-York five dioceses, presided over by five bishops, and containing 708 parishes, 824 clergy, and 120,566 communicants. In 1835, fifty years after the first convention and three years before the first division of the State into two dioceses, there were 214 parishes, 194 clergy, and 9738 communicants. Since 1835 the number of parishes has increased 230 per cent., the clergy 325 per cent., and the communicants 1140 per cent. The number confirmed in the last year exceeded the whole number of communicants in the State in 1835.

During this time the population in the State has grown immensely, and instead of a population of about two millions we have nearly six millions, an increase of about two hundred per cent. In other words, the increase in the strength of the church, as shown by the number of her communicants, has been nearly six times that of the population, notwithstanding the steady stream of immigration composed to a very large extent of elements having little affinity to this church. While this material growth has been confined to no one locality, it has been

[1] See illustration of the Cathedral, Vol. III. p. 83.

so marked of late years in the city of New-York as to excite repeated comment in both secular and religious papers, and provoke many questions as to its cause. The following figures will show the growth for the last two decades in the diocese of New-York:

	1870	1880	1890
Clergy	293	309	357
Churches	182	199	206
Baptisms	3,659	5,399	7,223
Confirmed	2,525	2,968	4,380
Marriages	1,117	1,483	2,296
Burials	2,054	2,613	3,622
Sunday-school Scholars and Teachers	20,134	36,567	41,013
Communicants	19,829	35,637	51,655

The figures for 1892 show that this phenomenal growth is, if anything, increasing, and the returns give now 56,015 communicants. About two thirds of the strength of the diocese is in the city, and the convention reports show that in the city proper the increase in communicants has been as follows: 1870, 11,953; 1880, 26,719; 1890, 35,720. There are now ninety-four churches and chapels in the city, and divine service is said every Sunday in nine different languages.

CHURCH OF THE TRANSFIGURATION.

Great as has been the material progress, as shown by such figures, the change in other respects is even more marked. The services of the church have been enriched, and her worship made more what it should be, while at the same time services have been multiplied, so as to meet the needs of a great city like this, and to minister to the moral and spiritual necessities of so heterogeneous a population. Few realize how great has been the change in both these respects. We have read of the old days when the clerk monopolized the responses, the surplice was seldom seen, the altar was hidden behind the pulpit and reading-desk, the canticles were never chanted, and few and far between were those who knelt in the house of prayer. But we need not go back to those days. In 1863 colored cloths to mark the sea-

sons were unknown; Trinity Church had the only vested choir; Holy Innocents', St. Mary's (Manhattanville), and Holy Communion were the only churches which had a weekly communion.[1] Now, the surplice in the pulpit, the vested choir, and the weekly celebration are the rule in the parishes of New-York city, and have entirely lost any party significance.

This enrichment and multiplication of services have been caused mainly by the desire to reach and minister to those for whom Christ died. The church has been growing more in touch with the life and thought of the day, more prepared to take up the problems of modern civilization and city life, and to do her best to solve them in the spirit of her Lord. To do this she has had to multiply her agencies for relieving the material needs, the bodily pains and ills of poor suffering humanity. She has recognized, perhaps, as never before her mission to be the earthly representative of him who came to seek and to save those who are lost. Instead of waiting for them to come to her, she has gone out into the highways to bring back the wanderers, to strengthen the weak, and to lift up the fallen. Look over the published list of the organized charities of the Protestant Episcopal Church in our great city, and we get a still broader view of what the church really is doing for the world around her. Hospitals for the sick and crippled; homes for the convalescent and the incurable, the

ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH.

[1] In Trinity parish the rule was to have a monthly communion in each church, with special celebration on the great festivals of Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Whitsun-Day and Trinity Sunday. At Trinity Church, Epiphany and All Saints' were added to the list; and in St. Paul's where Dr. Dix had charge, a great advance had been made, and there was a weekly celebration on the Thursdays in Advent and Lent. On the other hand at St. Paul's and St. John's there was no celebration on Ascension, the communion at Trinity being regarded as meeting the wants of the three down-town churches. Dr. Ewer's rule at the same time was: "The first Sunday of each month. Christmas, Monday, Thursday evening, Easter, Ascension, Whitsun Day, and Trinity Sunday." It will be observed that on saints' days in all these churches no celebration was reported in the parochial reports to convention.

orphan and the aged; nurseries to lift the hurden from the shoulders of the weary mother; training-schools for hoys and girls; shelters for respectable young women, and houses of mercy for the fallen,—these are the marks and notes that the church is loyal to him who went about doing good. Besides these, almost every large city parish has now its summer home by the sea-shore or up among the hills, to which the children from the tenement-houses can be sent for a week or ten days' sojourn in the fresh hracing air.

Side by side with this multiplication of organized agencies and institutions for the relief of souls and bodies, there has been also a vast increase in the working force. We have begun to realize the economy of giving the hard-worked rector of a large parish two or three assistants, to divide up the work, and to be hands and feet to the busy brain which plans and oversees all. Still, the supply fails to meet the demand, and now, as never hefore, the laity are waking up to realize their priesthood, and to count it a privilege to take some part in this work. There is an ever-growing number of both men and women who give some part of the day or week to special parish work, while in addition eager volunteers are coming forward as memhers of brotherhoods and sisterhoods, as deaconesses and trained nurses, to consecrate their lives to the cause of humanity and the service of Christ.

Such is the change wrought by a single century. The poor, weak, despised church, which a hundred years ago was regarded by almost all as a dead, effete relic of the past, has shown by her works that she is a living hranch of Christ's Church, loyal to her Lord, and all on fire with a passionate love for winning souls to him. What lies before her we know not, but the past encourages us to hope and to believe that he who has led and strengthened her in the dark days which are past will continue to guide and bless her in the years to come, and to make her more and more a fit instrument for his work.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NEW-YORK

THE Northmen of the tenth and subsequent centuries, then recently converted to Christianity, planted Vinland in New England, and claim to have visited Hvitrammana-land, or Great Ireland, in the South; they may have been the first Catholics to visit Manhattan. In 1525 the Catholic navigators Verazzano and Gomez visited the beautiful bay and shores, then the undisputed heritage of the Indians. A century passes without a Catholic record. In 1626 there were two Catholic soldiers at Fort Orange. The first Catholic priest who entered the

city was the Jesuit Father Isaac Jogues, rescued from Iroquois captivity, to whom New Amsterdam gave a passage to France, in 1643, when he found in the city only two Catholics,—a Portuguese woman, and a transient Irishman from Maryland,—whose confessions he heard. In the following year, the Jesuit Father Francis Joseph Bressani, ransomed by the Dutch from the Iroquois and by them supplied with passage for Europe, passed through the city, finding no Catholics. Fathers Le Moyne and Vaillant, from Canada, afterward visited New-York, and administered the sacraments to several Catholic sailors.

When Charles II. granted New-York and New Jersey to James, the Catholic Duke of York, which ended the Dutch rule in Manhattan, the door was open to English immigration, and the coast, from Connecticut to the Potomac, was under the government of Catholic rulers. It was short-lived. Under the administration of Governor Andros, in 1674, the lieutenant-governor, Anthony Brockholls, and Lieutenant Jervis Baxter, both Catholics, rendered loyal services to the government. But in 1683 a Catholic governor, Colonel Thomas Dongan, succeeded Andros as governor. He was accompanied by an English Jesuit Father, Thomas Harvey. They were afterward joined by Fathers Henry Harrison and Charles Gage, and two lay brothers. A Catholic chapel in Fort James, just south of Bowling Green, and a Latin school on the King's Farm, near or on the site of Trinity Church, were established. Governor Dongan convened the popular assembly, established freedom of conscience, and his administration is recognized as eminently successful and beneficial. In 1685 the Duke of York succeeded to the throne as James II. The Catholic flock increased under the favorable administrations of King James and Governor Dongan. In July, 1688, King James essayed the union of all the British-American provinces under one head, and appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor-general; and by the king's orders Dongan turned over New-York and New Jersey to him. But the revolution of 1688, which overthrew King James and placed William and Mary on the throne, found a corresponding response in New-York under Leisler, a citizen of good connections previously, who now became an anti-popery leader, and under the guise of an election by a committee of safety, usurped the government, and afterward paid the penalty of his rashness by being executed for treason. Dongan had to fly for his life, the Jesuit Fathers Harvey and Harrison barely escaped the pursuit of Leisler and his associates, and though a priest remained at the fort with Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, it was not long before that officer and the Jesuit fled. Father Harvey, who had escaped on foot to Maryland, returned to New-York with another Jesuit, and, in constant peril, ministered to his little flock for a few years. By 1690 the New-York mission was utterly destroyed.

In 1696, under Governor Fletcher, the number of Catholics in the city was only nine. Penal laws against them in New-York were enacted in 1700. In 1741 a panic seized the people, kindled by reports of a negro plot to burn the city. The origin of this agitation was an accidental fire in the fort, hut the plot was unfortunately attributed to the Spanish negroes. Rev. John Ury was accused of being the leader of the plot, and although he was a dissenting minister from England and wholly inoffensive, the public fears led to his accusation as a Catholic priest. This gave an anti-Catholic turn to the affair. Though there was no evideuce to convict him, he was condemned and hanged. Among the victims of this mad excitement, after a hasty trial, were four white persons hanged, eleven negroes burned at the stake, eighteen negroes hanged, and fifty negroes transported and sold. Several of the negroes died with crucifixes in their hands, probably Catholic sailors from the West Indies. For more than three quarters of a century after the flight of Governor Dongan and the Jesuits, the few Catholics remaining were without a place of worship, living in fear of penal prosecutions. After Canada was ceded to England, the Acadian exile took place, in 1755. The Acadians landed in New-York from British ships, were scattered, and scarcely a trace of them could be found after thirty years.

Catholics in New-York were excluded from office by the following oath, required of all persons appointed to office: "I do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testifie, and declare, that I do not believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is any Transubstantiation of the elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous." Aud the first flag raised in New-York by the Sons of Liberty was inscribed "No Popery."[1] Just prior to the American Revolution, there was a little Catholic congregation worshiping in the house of a devout German in Wall street, and the Jesuit Father Ferdinand Steinmeyer visited and ministered to them on his trips from Maryland. To avoid arrest he assumed the name of Farmer, and entered the city in disguise. The little church was burned in the conflagration following Washington's retreat, and the congregation was broken up. The first priest to celebrate mass in New-York after the British occupation was the Abbé de la Motte, an Augustinian, who was chaplain of a French ship takeu at sea by the British cruisers, and brought for condemnation to New-York. Requested by the French officers and crew and by the few Catholics iu New-York to say mass, the Abbé de la Motte was confronted

[1] Goulding's "Catholic Churches of New-York," edited by Dr. John G. Shea, pp 27, 28

by the law forbidding it; when he applied to the British commander for permission, it was refused. But the chaplain, through ignorance of English, mistook the refusal for permission, said mass, and for this was arrested and kept a close prisoner in the Old Dutch Church in Nassau street, or in the old Provost Prison, now the Hall of Records, until exchanged in 1779.

Although New-York's convention in 1777, participating in the popular resentment at the passage of the Quebec Act, by which Great Britain upheld the Catholic faith in Canada, enacted a naturalization law which virtually excluded Catholics from citizenship, religious toleration gained rapidly on public opinion, and Catholics began to feel free in the public practice of their religion. Thus, after the evacuation of the city by the British, Father Farmer came boldly to New-York to look after the remnants of his little flock, and in 1784 the number of communicants was eighteen. After our independence was achieved, Pope Pius VI. appointed Rev. John Carroll, of Maryland, Prefect Apostolic of the church in the United States. Toward the close of that year the Catholics of New-York invited Rev. Charles Whelan, an Irish Capuchin, to their city, and Dr. Carroll granted him authority to officiate. In addition to this congregation, which attended mass in hired halls, New-York being then the capital of the United States, mass was celebrated at the embassies of the French and Spanish legations by their chaplains. By March, 1785, the chapel of the French embassy was fully equipped, and afforded religious services for many New-York Catholics. The law of 1700, in relation to "Papish Priests and Jesuits," was repealed by an act of the New-York legislature in 1784, but the naturalization oath, though annulled in 1801, was required of them until 1806, when, on the petition of a numerous body of the Catholics of the city, gotten up by the trustees of St. Peter's Church, it was finally abrogated.

The congregation of New-York Catholics worshiped in a carpenter shop in Barclay street, fitted up for temporary use, and there were three priests in the city—Fathers Whelan, Nugent, and La Valmière, the last being especially in charge of the French and Canadian Catholics. Dissensions between Fathers Whelan and Nugent and their respective adherents led to the withdrawal of both from the city, which then had only Father La Valmière. The little congregation in the carpenter shop, in the mean time, had undertaken the erection of a permanent church; the lots at the corner of Barclay and Church streets were purchased, and the corner-stone was laid on October 5, 1785, in the presence of a large assembly. Dr. Carroll received from Rome special faculties, not usually given to any bishops, to consecrate the new St. Peter's. The dedication took place November 4, 1786, the feast of St. Charles Borromeo, in honor of Charles IV., King of Spain,

who was said to have presented $10,000 for its erection. Other prominent benefactors of St. Peter's were the French Consul de Crèvecœur, the Spanish Consul Stoughton, Dominick Lynch, and others. The trustees of St. Peter's were incorporated in 1785, and reincorporated in 1787. In 1787 Rev. William O'Brien, a Dominican, became pastor by appointment of Dr. Carroll, and faithfully served for several years.

The first American Catholic bishop, Right Rev. John Carroll, was consecrated in England, on August 15, 1790, as Bishop of Baltimore, having episcopal jurisdiction over the whole United States. New-York city became an episcopal see of a new diocese by bulls of Pope Pius VII., dated April 8, 1808, and his jurisdiction extended over the whole State of New-York and the eastern part of New Jersey. The Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, a distinguished Dominican of Rome, was appointed by the pope first bishop of New-York, was consecrated at Rome on April 24, 1808, but failing to reach his see after repeated efforts, owing to the military condition of the country, died at Naples on June 19, 1810. Mrs. Elizabeth Seton, a distinguished convert, made her first communion at St. Peter's on March 25, 1805; she afterward became the foundress of the Sisters of Charity in America. On Christmas eve, 1806, a number of rioters, whom the "Evening Post" of December 26, 1806, calls Highbinders, attempted violence about St. Peter's Church, and the next day made an assault upon the Irish settlement in Augustus street, now City Hall Place. The disturbance was quelled under a proclamation of Mayor Clinton. Rev. Anthony Kohlmann, a Jesuit, was appointed by Archbishop Carroll, under a general authority received from Bishop Concanen, vicar-general and administrator of the diocese of New-York, though the latter took steps, perhaps afterward, for the appointment of Rev. Ambrose Maréchal as vicar-general. Fathers Kohlmann and Fenwick, both Jesuits, officiated at St. Peter's. From that church they visited, at his request, Thomas Paine, the well-known infidel writer. Such was the increase of the Catholics of New-York, that in 1809 another church became necessary, and Fathers Kohlmann and Fenwick took an active part in the work; the corner-stone of the new church, situated on Mott and Mulberry streets, was laid on June 8 of that year, and, at the suggestion of Archbishop Carroll, it was called St. Patrick's. It was consecrated on Ascension day, 1815. St. Peter's and St. Patrick's

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properties were vested in the trustees of St. Peter's until 1817, when the two congregations were separately incorporated. Fathers Kohlmann and Fenwick founded the first Catholic school, the New-York Literary Institute, situated at the intersection of Fifth Avenue and Fiftieth street, on a part of the site of the new cathedral. They also officiated at St. Patrick's until 1817, when they were recalled to Maryland by their provincial. In 1813 an important decision was made by Mayor Clinton, in a criminal case, by which Catholic priests were protected from revealing the secrets of the confessional in court. The principles of this decision were afterward incorporated in the Revised Statutes of the State.[1]

John Connolly

In 1814 Pius VII. appointed as Bishop of New-York the Rev. John Connolly, who was prior of St. Clement's Dominican Convent at Rome. He was consecrated at Rome on November 6, 1814, arrived at New-York on the 24th, and, without formal installation, entered on the administration of his see. The Catholic population of the State and city was then between fifteen and twenty thousand, and there were only four priests in the city, two of whom, the Jesuit Fathers, were soon withdrawn, and with their departure the Literary Institute was discontinued. The monks of La Trappe and the Ursuline nuns made temporary sojourns in the city, but they too now soon departed. Bishop Cheverus, of Boston, had performed episcopal offices for the Catholics of the city during the interregnum. Such were the necessities and poverty of the church of New-York, that its bishop was compelled to perform the duties of a missionary priest, and officiated alternately at St. Patrick's and St. Peter's. St. Patrick's, in Mott street, was his cathedral. The bishop modestly resided at first at 211 Bowery, then in Broome street, nearly opposite the house of reception of the New-York Catholic Protectory, and lastly at 512 Broadway, where he died. In 1822 the city had only three priests besides the bishop; St. Patrick's Cathedral was served by Bishop Connolly and Rev. Michael O'Gorman, and at St. Peter's were Rev. Charles Ffrench and Rev. John Power. During the episcopate of Dr. Connolly, he ordained as priests Rev. Michael O'Gorman, 1815; Rev. Richard Bulger, 1820; Rev. Patrick

[1] Sampson's "Catholic Question in America," 1814, *passim*

Kelly, 1820; Rev. Charles Brennan, 1822; Rev. John Shanahan, 1823; Rev. John Conroy, 1825. While three of these were laboring in the city, the rest were on the missions of the State. Bishop Connolly introduced into New-York the Sisters of Charity from Mrs. Seton's Mother House at Emmettsburg, and they took charge of the orphan-asylum, incorporated in 1817 as the New-York Benevolent Society, in Prince street, where the permanent building was erected in 1825, the west wing in 1833, and the east wing in 1834. When the yellow fever visited the city, the bishop and his priests were heroic in their ministrations to the sick and dying. Bishop Connolly and the Protestant Episcopal Bishop Hobart, of New-York, enjoyed the friendship of each other. The latter was so liberal toward Catholics that many supposed he had a leaning toward Catholicity. He died, however, an Episcopal bishop; but his daughter, Rebecca Hobart, wife of Dr. Levi Silliman Ives, who, while the Episcopal bishop of North Carolina, became a Catholic, joined her husband long afterward in being united to the Catholic Church. She died in New-York, and her remains rest beside those of her distinguished husband in the grounds of the Catholic Protectory, of which he was the founder.

During the episcopal administration of Dr. Connolly a series of conversions of eminent Protestants begau, which continued into the times of his successors. In 1816 Rev. John Kewley, rector of the Episcopal Church of St. George, became a Catholic; he is thought to have spent the remainder of his life in a religious house in Belgium, where Bishop Hobart, who carried on his visit to Europe letters of introduction from Bishop Connolly, visited him. In 1840 Rev. Maximilian Oertel, a Lutheran minister, was received into the Catholic Church by Rev. William Quarter of St. Mary's. In 1842 Rev. James Roosevelt Bayley, rector of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church at Harlem, became a Catholic, was appointed secretary and chancellor of Archbishop Hughes, and afterward Bishop of Newark, N. J.; he died while filling the office of Archbishop of Baltimore. In 1849 Rev. Thomas S. Preston, assistant minister at St. Luke's Episcopal Church, became a Catholic, was afterward pastor of St. Ann's Catholic Church, chancellor and vicar-general under Cardinal McCloskey and Archbishop Corrigan, and received the honors of the purple as a monsignor. In 1851 Rev. F. G. White, of the Episcopal Church, became a Catholic, as also did Rev. William Everett, of the Episcopal Church, now pastor of the Catholic Church of the Nativity; Rev. Donald McLeod was converted in the same year, and Rev. John Holmes in 1852. Bishop Connolly's advanced years and declining health caused him to ask Rome for the appointment of Rev. Michael O'Gorman as coadjutor, but the latter died at the bishop's residence before the appointment could be considered. In 1822 the Propaganda at Rome had proposed

Bishop Kelly, of Richmond, as coadjutor bishop of New-York, but this was prevented by the opposition of Bishop Connolly. The bishop took a severe cold while attending Father O'Gorman's funeral, but continued his missionary labors; he was prostrated at another funeral in January, 1825, and died on February 6 following. During the vacancy of the see of New-York, Rev. Dr. John Power, whom the late bishop had appointed his vicar-general, became administrator of the diocese. Father Bulger died in 1824.

In 1826 Rev. John Du Bois, founder of Mount St. Mary's College, Emmettsburg, Maryland, and a leading adviser of Mother Seton in founding the Sisters of Charity, was appointed third Bishop of New-York. He was one of the *émigré* clergy driven from France by the revolution of 1791. He was consecrated at the cathedral in Baltimore, by Archbishop Maréchal, on October 29, 1826, and was installed at St. Patrick's Cathedral, New-York, on November 9, in presence of the clergy and four thousand Catholic laymen. New-York city then possessed a Catholic population of twenty-five thousand, as estimated by Bishop Du Bois,—it was much nearer thirty thousand,—with three churches and six priests. New-York had two Catholic free schools, which were supported in part by municipal aid. Christ Episcopal Church in Ann street was purchased in March, 1827, by Rev. Dr. Felix Varela, with the aid of Spanish merchants and others, and was solemnly dedicated as a Catholic church on July 15. Bishop Du Bois devoted himself with untiring labor to the work of promoting religion, education, and charity. Like his predecessor, he had to struggle with lay-trusteeism in the churches, as well as personal opposition. Yet the merits and services of both prelates were cordially acknowledged by the vast majority of the Catholic people, who were devout and well disposed. During Bishop Du Bois's visit to Europe, in 1828, Dr. Varela governed the diocese as vicar-general. While encouraging the erection of new churches in the State, and struggling to provide pastors for them as well as for the city, Bishop Du Bois conceived the plan of erecting a diocesan seminary. At this period the whole annual revenue of the Bishop of New-York was $1200, with which he supported himself and his two assistants, paid house-rent, and the entire expenses of his visitations throughout his vast diocese. While the wealthy Catholics of the city insisted upon the lay-trustee system as a condition to their building new churches, the bishop was wholly opposed to that system. This accounts for the slow increase of churches and priests. Having failed to obtain the services of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, more Sisters of Charity were procured from Emmettsburg, a female academy was started at 261 Mulberry street, and soon another at St. Peter's. In 1831 St. Mary's Church, in Sheriff street, was burned by incendiaries, who first robbed the sanctuary, and in

the conflagration the only Catholic church bell in the city perished. The present St. Mary's Church stands at Grand and Ridge streets, where Bishop Du Bois laid the corner-stone on April 30, 1832, and dedicated the church on June 9, 1833. The church has undergone renovation and re-dedication, and has had amongst its pastors Rev. William Quarter, who afterward became Bishop of Chicago, and Father Starrs, once vicar-general under Archbishops Hughes and McCloskey. During the visitation of the cholera in 1832, Bishop Du Bois and his clergy were untiring in their services, and on its departure a Te Deum was solemnly sung in all the Catholic churches. In 1832 a farm was purchased near Nyack, and an ecclesiastical seminary founded and put in operation with professors and students, but a disastrous fire swept away the infant establishment, with great loss to the diocese. In 1831 another church, St. Joseph's, was erected in Sixth Avenue and Grove street, in the outlying village of Greenwich (the present St. Joseph's stands at Sixth Avenue and Washington Place). In 1833 the first Catholic newspaper was established in the city, "The New-York Weekly Register and Catholic Diary": it was afterward combined with the "Freeman's Journal," in 1840. In 1834 a conflict arose between the trustees of the cathedral, led by the Rev. Thomas C. Levins, and Bishop Du Bois; the latter firmly maintained his episcopal authority. For some few years there had been a German Catholic congregation, with Rev. John Raffeiner as pastor, who worshiped in hired quarters under the invocation of Holy Trinity. In 1834 they built their own Church of St. Nicholas in Second Avenue; it was dedicated in 1836. Christ Church, in Ann street, in 1836 became the Transfiguration in Chambers street, while another part of the congregation erected St. James Church, with Rev. Andrew Byrne as pastor, who afterward became Bishop of Little Rock, Arkansas. In 1835 St. Paul's at Harlem was erected, with Rev. Michael Curran as pastor. In 1836 the "Awful Disclosures" of Maria Monk, at once a dupe and impostor, were published in New-York, and led to an outbreak of anti-Catholic sentiment, until the imposture was exposed. In 1837 Rev. John Hughes became coadjutor bishop of New-York, in consequence of Dr. Du Bois's advanced years and weak health. Bishop Hughes was consecrated in the cathedral by Bishop Du Bois on January 7. In 1839 lay-trusteeism at the cathedral came in conflict with the strong will and executive ability of Dr. Hughes, and the system fell prostrate under his stroke. The administration of the diocese, in consequence of the fast-declining health of Bishop Du Bois, was confided to his hands, which he

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held until December 15, 1842, when, upon the death of the aged prelate, he became Bishop of New-York in his own right.

Some of the earliest important events of Dr. Hughes's administration were the commencement in 1839 of St. Joseph's Seminary, at Rose Hill Farm, and of St. John's College, which was opened in 1841; his championship of the Catholic school question in 1840–41; the organization of the Church Debt Association and the introduction of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in 1841; the holding of a diocesan synod in 1842, which was attended by fifty-four priests of the diocese, and whereat diocesan statutes were announced by the bishop; the appointment of Right Rev. John McCloskey as coadjutor in 1844; the erection of several new churches, and the introduction of the Fathers of Mercy. In 1844 Bishop Hughes, by his consummate address and undaunted courage, averted the repetition in New-York of the church-burning scenes and disasters which had been enacted in Philadelphia by the Know-nothings. In 1846 the Sisters of Mercy were introduced, also the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, and the Sisters of Charity of New-York were organized as a separate community. Mount St Vincent's convent and academy were founded on the site now embraced in Central Park, and since then removed to the new St. Vincent's on the Hudson. The Redemptorists having come to New-York in 1842, and settled in Second street, where St. Nicholas's Church was built, they also erected in Third street, between Avennes A and B, the convent, school, and temporary Church of the Most Holy Redeemer. The Church of St. Nicholas was rebuilt in 1848, and that of the Most Holy Redeemer in 1853. The Sisters of Mercy placed their institute in Broome and Mulberry streets, and subsequently in Madison Avenue, near Eighty-first street. Up to March 1, 1853 (seven years), the Sisters of Mercy had placed in respectable situations seven thousand three hundred and sixty-five poor girls; and at that rate the number must amount to fifty thousand in 1893. In 1848 the Brothers of the Christian Schools arrived in New-York, and now they have charge of over fifty parochial schools with sixteen thousand pupils, besides Manhattan College and several institutes. In 1850 were erected the Jesuit College of St. Francis Xavier and the church connected therewith, an establishment not surpassed in New-York.

On October 3, 1850, by brief of Pius IX., the diocese of New-York was subdivided and erected into an archiepiscopal see, with the dioceses of Boston, Hartford, Albany, and Buffalo as suffragans; and Dr. Hughes, now an archbishop, proceeded in November to Rome, where he received the pallium, emblem of archiepiscopal authority, from the hands of the pope. New churches had been erected during the last several years, and in 1853 there were in the city twenty-four

churches and three chapels, sixty priests, four literary institutions for young men and five for young women, St. Viucent's Hospital, three orphan-asylums, aud a Catholic population of two hundred thousand. Archbishop Bayley wrote that "the two hundred Catholics of 1785 were better provided for than the two hundred thousaud who iu 1853 dwelt within the bouudaries of the city of New-York." St. Joseph's Semiuary and St. John's College at Fordham had been turued over to the Jesuits, aud in 1891, the fiftieth auniversary of St. John's College, a statue of its illustrious founder was erected at the college. Churches and institutions greatly multiplied during the remainder of Archbishop Hughes's administratiou. The reception of Archbishop Bedini, the papal ablegate, in 1853, Dr. Hughes's visit to Rome in 1854, a masterly report of the condition of his archdiocese made to the pope iu 1858, the laying of the corner-stoue of the new St. Patrick's Cathedral on August 15, 1858, in the presence of seveu bishops, one hundred and thirty priests, aud one hundred thousand people, and the erection of the massive foundations of the new cathedral to a height of twelve or fourteen feet, were some of the later events of his administration. New-York city in 1863 possessed thirty-one churches, twelve chapels, aud uearly ninety priests. Worthy of mention is a bitter controversy in 1842 between Archbishop Hughes and Erastus Brooks of the New-York "Express," resulting in the publicatiou of a book by the former in 1855, entitled "Brooksiana," and of a reply by Mr. Brooks; also the controversy between the archbishop and Nicholas Murray, who took the name of Kirwan, and whom Dr. Hughes answered in a work entitled "Kirwan Unmasked." Another important event was the founding in 1862–3 of the New-York Catholic Protectory, which dnring thirty years of existence has cared for nearly thirty thousand poor, under the successive administrations of Levi S. Ives, LL. D., Heury J. Auderson, LL. D., Henry L. Hoguet, and Richard H. Clarke, LL. D., and now not surpassed by any similar institution in the world. The Sisters of the Good Shepherd for the reform of penitent women were introdnced iu New-York under Dr. Hughes, and they founded a couvent and Magdalen House. Converts to the Catholic Church in New-York were Rev. Isaac T. Hecker, Rev. A. F. Hewit, Rev. Clarence Walworth (son of Chancellor Walworth), and Rev. Edgar P. Wadhams. The organization of the first American order of priests, by Fathers Hecker, Hewit, Baker, Deshon, and Walworth, "the missionary priests of St. Paul the Apostle," occurred in 1858–9; they erected a church and convent in Fifty-ninth street, uear Ninth Avenue, in 1859. The massive church of St. Paul was afterward erected on the Ninth Avenue front. The Paulist Fathers now number nearly twenty-five members, and are engaged iu preaching missions throughout the country. In 1863 the New-York

Catholic Church Incorporation Act was passed by the legislature, under which Catholic churches can be incorporated with the archbishop, vicar-general, pastor, and two laymen as trustees. In 1861 the patriot prelate of New-York was appointed by the United States Government a special envoy to the governments of France and England on a mission of peace. His visit to Europe was at about the same time that Mason and Slidell visited Europe in behalf of the Southern Confederacy. In 1863 he was appealed to by the governor of the State to use his influence for quelling the anti-draft riot then prevailing in the city; and though in feeble health, he issued a call for the disaffected to assemble at his residence, when he addressed them from a balcony for the preservation of law and order.

John Card. McCloskey

The city of New-York passed under the spiritual rule of Most Rev. John McCloskey on May 6, 1864. His administration is distinguished for development of the Catholic Protectory, which he greatly encouraged, the purchase by it of the Varian Farm in Westchester County in 1865, and the erection thereon of most of the permanent buildings, the corner-stones of which were laid by Archbishop McCloskey. The protectory also established a house of reception in the city. In 1867 a fair was held at Union Square, and realized over $100,000 for the protectory. In 1865 work was resumed on the new cathedral in Fifth Avenue. The title to the cathedral site was not acquired by gift from the corporation, as has frequently been stated in public prints, but was purchased for cash from a private owner. The city parted with its ownership in 1799 for £405 to a private purchaser, reserving an annual quit-rent of four bushels of wheat; and, after passing through different owners, it was in 1828 sold to Francis Cooper, under the foreclosure of a mortgage held by the Eagle Fire Insurance Company. Francis Cooper sold it in 1829 to the trustees of the cathedral and of St. Peter's Church, for about $5500, its whole value at that time. In 1852 a friendly partition suit resulted in the purchase by the cathedral of St. Peter's Church's half interest for $50,500. Subsequently the annual quit-rent of four bushels of wheat, a remnant of feudal tenure, was commuted for its equivalent in cash. The Land Records show these transfers. The cathedral, the erection of which

cost $3,000,000, was dedicated and opened to public services on May 25, 1879. The archiepiscopal and parochial residences on the Madison Avenue front were erected next. The former cost $90,000; the latter $80,000. It was during this episcopal administration that new institutions and religious orders were established in the city: the house of the Franciscan Fathers, the Capuchins, the Dominicans, Brothers of the Society of Mary, the Franciscan Brothers, the Ursulines, Missionary Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, School Sisters of Notre Dame, Sisters of St. Dominic, Sisters Marianites of the Holy Cross, Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, Presentation Nuns, Sisters of Christian Charity, Little Sisters of the Poor, Sisters of Bon Secours, and Sisters of St. Francis. St. Lawrence's Church, at Park Avenue and Eighty-fourth street, was turned over to the Jesuits, who have commenced there a new church and college. Other works, such as the Foundling Asylum and Maternity Hospital founded by Sister Irene of the Sisters of Charity, which have received and cared for nearly fifty thousand infants; the homes and hospitals of the Little Sisters of the Poor; the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin for homeless boys and girls, founded by the late Father Drumgoole, in Lafayette Place and on Staten Island; the Association for Befriending Children and Young Girls, established by Mrs. Starr, of the Sisters of the Divine Compassion; and St. Joseph's Institute for the Improved Instruction of Deaf Mutes, were founded.

ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL.

On April 27, 1875, papal officials from Pope Pius IX. invested Archbishop McCloskey with the insignia of the cardinalate, New-York city thus becoming the see of the first American cardinal. Cardinal McCloskey was summoned to the conclave of cardinals at Rome in 1878, but before he could reach Rome the conclave had elected Pope Leo XIII. In 1873, on December 8, the archiepiscopal city and diocese were consecrated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The Catholic

Union and the Catholic Club were founded under Cardinal McCloskey, who celebrated in the cathedral the golden jubilee of his priesthood on January 12, 1884. On October 1, 1884, Most Rev. Michael Augustine Corrigan became coadjutor, under the title of Archbishop of Petra. Cardinal McCloskey died on October 10, 1885. At that time the number of churches in the city was sixty-four, chapels forty-eight, and priests nearly three hundred. The Catholic population of New-York was five hundred thousand.

The city and archdiocese then passed under the spiritual jurisdiction of Most Rev. Michael Augustine Corrigan, who became third archbishop of New-York. Many new churches and institutions have been erected between 1885 and 1893; the beautiful towers of the new cathedral were erected. In 1884, when Henry George, candidate of the labor organizations and advocate of the single tax and other theories, ran for mayor, Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn, pastor of St. Stephen's Church, actively espoused his cause, visited the polls with him, and took part in the canvass. Archbishop Corrigan's disapproval of his course, and the doctor's refusal to desist, led to his suspension as a priest, and upon summons and refusal to go to Rome, by order of the pope he was excommunicated. Archbishop Corrigan issued a pastoral, dated November 19, 1886, upholding the rights of property, a document which won for him the thanks of all denominations. At Christmas, 1892, Archbishop Satolli, the recently arrived papal delegate, restored Dr. McGlynn to his priestly functions on his complying with the conditions imposed. In November, 1892, New-York city was the place of the annual conference of the American archbishops, who sat at the archepiscopal residence to consider Catholic education and other subjects; Monsignor Satolli attended their conferences as the representative of Pope Leo XIII. The new building of the Catholic Club on Fifty-ninth street was completed in February, 1892. Several new religious orders have been introduced, among them the Dominican Nuns of Perpetual Adoration, who erected a new convent at Hunt's Point. The Ursuline Nuns, formerly of East Morrisania, have taken posses-

M. A. Corrigan

sion of their new convent and academy at Bedford Park. A new and spacious theological seminary of St. Joseph, for the education of New-York priests, has been commenced near Yonkers; the corner-stone was laid on May 17, 1891, by Archbishop Corrigan, and donations to a large amount have been received. Now, at the beginning of the year 1893, there are in the city eighty-five churches, forty-five chapels, and about four hundred priests.

The present estimated Catholic population of the city is between six and seven hundred thousand, derived from various sources of nationality: from the old English Catholic settlement in Maryland and the old French settlements along our northern frontiers and the vast region originally known as Louisiana; from the Spanish settlements in Florida and States acquired from Mexico; from Canadians, American converts, and a large portion from native-born citizens of foreign parentage, the Irish and German predominating. The nations contributing to our Catholic population are American, English, Irish, German, Scotch, Italian, French, Canadian, Spanish, Portuguese, Central and South American, Polish, Swiss, Belgian, Hungarian, Cuban, and Syrian. The secular clergy, performing the ordinary mission of the church, constitute three fifths of New-York's priests; two fifths are composed of the regulars, or members of religious orders which devote themselves to special works: Jesuits, Redemptorists, Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, Apostolic Missionaries of Piacenza, Capuchins, Carmelites, Paulists, and Fathers of Mercy. There are religious organizations for education and charity, such as the Brothers of the Christian Schools, Brothers of the Society of Mary, Franciscan Brothers, Sisters of Charity, Ladies of the Sacred Heart, Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of the Good Shepherd, Ursuline Nuns, Sisters of the Divine Compassion, Sisters of Misericorde, Franciscan Sisters, Sisters of Notre Dame, Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent, Dominican Sisters, Sisters Marianites of the Holy Cross, Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, Sisters of the Presentation, Sisters of Christian Charity, Sisters of St. Agnes, Little Sisters of the Poor, Salesian Missionary Sisters, and Franciscan Sisters.

It was the expectation of the Editor to have followed these two notices with similar sketches of the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other prominent religious bodies, but the volume having already passed the limit, as to the number of pages, placed on it by the publishers, he is regretfully compelled to omit the interesting and valuable monographs on the above mentioned and many other important churches which had been carefully prepared for this chapter of the Memorial History.

THE COLLEGIATE REFORMED CHURCH, NEW YORK

The following list presents the ministerial succession of the Collegiate Church, without any intermission, from the earliest date, 1628, to the present, 1893, a period covering more than a quarter millennium:

Jonas Michaelius	1628–1633	John Neilson Abeel	1795–1812
Everardus Bogardus	1633–1647	John Schureman	1809–1811
Johannes Backerus	1647–1649	Jacob Brodhead	1809–1813
Joannes Megapolensis	1649–1669	Philip Milledoler	1813–1825
Samuel Drisius	1652–1673	John Knox	1816–1858
Samuel Megapolensis	1664–1668	Paschal Nelson Strong	1816–1825
Wilhelmus Van Nieuwenhuysen	1671–1682	William Craig Brownlee	1826–1860
Henricus Selyns	1682–1701	Thomas De Witt	1827–1874
Gualterus Du Bois	1699–1751	Thomas Edward Vermilye	1839–1893
Henricus Boel	1713–1754	Talbot Wilson Chambers	1849–
Joannes Ritzema	1744–1784	Joseph Tuthill Duryea	1862–1867
Lambertus De Ronde	1751–1784	James Meeker Ludlow	1868–1877
Archibald Laidlie	1764–1779	William Ormiston	1870–
John Henry Livingston	1770–1812	Edward Benton Coe	1879–
William Linn	1785–1805	David James Burrill	1891–
Gerardus Arense Knypers	1789–1833		

Next after Trinity, the Collegiate Church is the wealthiest religious corporation or institution in New-York. It is estimated to be worth between $5,000,000 and $8,000,000. It was in 1803 that the last sermon in the Dutch language was preached in this city to a very small congregation. EDITOR.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, FIFTH AVENUE.

METHODIST CHURCH, MADISON AVE.

L'ENVOI.

With the fourth and concluding volume of the "Memorial History of the City of New-York," the Editor desires to make his acknowledgments to the many persons who have in various ways contributed to the completion of the work. First, to Bishop Potter, the Rev. Drs. De Costa, Dix, Isaacs, and Vermilye; to Messrs. Conway, Fernow, Fowler, Gerard, Lawrence, Saunders, Stevens, and Stone; to Dr. Shrady, Professor Johnston, Generals Clark and Rodenbough, Colonel Langdon, and the other well-known contributors, the Editor is particularly indebted. Two expected contributors to the Memorial History, Dr. John Gilmary Shea and Mr. George Pellew, died during the progress of the work, before completing their promised chapters. To his efficient office assistants, the Rev. Daniel Van Pelt and his successor, Mr. Walter S. Wilson; and to the artists Bonwill, Daecke, Reich, and Warren, who aided him in illustrating the four volumes, he desires to return his thanks. To the Hon. John Jay, the Rev. Dr. Henry Van Dyke, and Captain Alfred T. Mahan of the United States Navy, who each anticipated contributing chapters to the work, and who, being prevented by illness or engagements, placed useful data at the disposal of the Editor,—as did also Robert Lenox Belknap, Morris K. Jesup, Elbridge T. Gerry, John R. Haines, Dr. Thomas Hunter, Francis S. Longworth, George McCulloch Miller, Rev. Drs. Talbot W. Chambers and Albert S. Hunt, Admiral Samuel R. Franklin, of the United States Navy, and many others,—his thanks are also due. To the librarians of the Astor, Columbia College, Genealogical and Biographical Society, New-York Historical Society, Lenox, Mercantile, and New-York Society libraries, the Editor is indebted for various courtesies; and to the Hon. Simon Gratz and Mr. Ferdinand S. Dreer, both of Philadelphia, for tracings from their unrivaled collections of American autographs. To Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., Duprat & Co., Harper & Brothers, and Tiffany & Co. thanks are returned for the use of valuable illustrations; to James S. Bradley, Jr., for an ancient document; to Mrs. Georgiana Cole, for the loan of the manuscript "A Song of the Union," by her father, George P. Morris; to Mrs. Joseph W. Drexel, for the use of her complete collection of autographs of the mayors of New-York; to Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., of Boston, for photographs of Sir John and Lady Temple; to Bauman L. Belden, for a rare Washington print; to General Charles W. Darling, for miniatures of General and Mrs. Washington; to Colonel George L. Gillespie, U. S. A., Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, and David Gardiner, for valuable illustrations; to Clarence W. Bowen, for the use of several portraits; to Hon. James W. Gerard, for the loan of his New-York illustrations; to George G. DeWitt, for ancient engravings; to Clermont Livingston, for family portraits; to General Egbert L. Viele, for the use of his admirable map of Manhattan Island; to John Austin Stevens, for three valuable portraits; to Thomas J. McKee for playbills and portraits to illustrate the chapter on Theaters; to Franklin Bartlett and J. V. Olcott, for views of the Union and Colonial Clubs; to General De Peyster, for various family memorials; also to the Earl of Darnley and Earl Stanhope the Editor is indebted for aid in illustrating his volumes. In addition to the many persons already mentioned elsewhere throughout the Memorial History, who contributed portraits, views, documents, and autographs to illustrate the work, the Editor returns his grateful thanks to scores of others, who have in many ways assisted him in making the work worthy of the poet's invitation:

> "I pray you, let us satisfy our eyes
> With the memorials and the things of fame
> That do renown this city."

NEW-YORK, April, 1893.

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GENERAL INDEX

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